

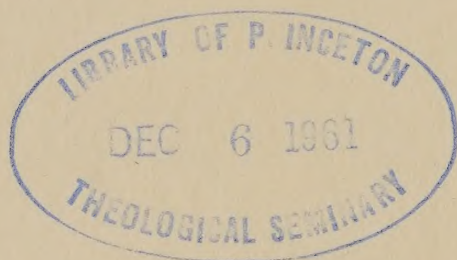
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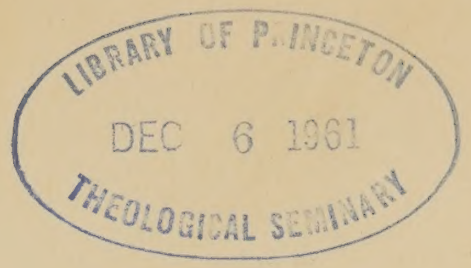


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Industry, Labor, and Community

HARPER'S SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES

*Under the Editorship of
F. Stuart Chapin*



INDUSTRY, LABOR, AND COMMUNITY

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INDUSTRY, LABOR, AND COMMUNITY

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To Mildred and Rosemary

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PREFACE

BUSINESS and organized labor are two of the most influential groups currently forming community policy. Business has long been a force on main street, influencing the policies of central social institutions of the city. Recently, organized labor has grown powerful enough to represent a major and countervailing challenge to business control. Both business and the labor unions purport to speak for broad audiences. Business claims to champion the interests of all who believe in free enterprise as well as those who have property claims. Labor says it supports the values and interests of all consumers in the community; it speaks for all workers, salaried or wage, organized or unorganized. These two agents are becoming the natural centers of local political influence and power. Their influence is not only felt in government; it extends to all other social institutions such as the family, school, church, welfare, and the mass communications agencies.

This book seeks to analyze the external relationships which are developing between business, labor, and other community agencies. These complex relationships are viewed both in their coöperative and conflict dimensions. Sometimes, they are observed as coöperative community relations programs both by business and labor organizations. At other times, they are seen as opposing alignments in various local issues and conflicts. Sometimes their relations are submerged in a network of relations dominated by other local institutions.

Six different orientations have been employed to analyze the network of business, labor, and community relations:

1. Business and labor are viewed as relatively self-contained sets of economic forces that mold the community in accord with their economic demands.

2. Business, labor, and community are seen as interacting entities whose activities are inextricably interrelated toward common objectives.
3. The community is analyzed as a relatively self-contained set of social forces that condition local labor-management relations.
4. Business and labor are seen interacting with given social institutions such as government, mass communication, education, welfare, church, and family.
5. Business and labor are observed in their power relations in general community issues, projects, and contests.
6. The roles of community specialists and researchers are examined in the light of the problems calling for social action and research.

The scope of this work indicates that community relations are now a significant concern of business and labor groups. These groups often initiate major changes in the institutional arrangements in the city. Those interested in community action—social workers, teachers, ministers, government workers, and women's groups—usually find their efforts facilitated or restricted by the business and labor groups. But the noneconomic sectors of the community are not without power, for they are sometimes called upon to mediate the conflicts which develop between big business and big labor. Thus they may hold the balance of power in community decision-making.

John Kenneth Galbraith in *The Affluent Society* postulates that there is a distinct imbalance today between the contributions of private and public investment in the community. Investment in the public sector of the community is said to be lagging acutely behind private investment in production and distribution. Galbraith points out that schools, hospitals, recreational facilities, and welfare agencies are being starved and that this imbalance can also affect governmental responsibility for industrial and urban planning, street and highway maintenance, sewage, and water supply. Contests about these issues invariably draw business, labor, and the noneconomic sectors into recurring struggles. If social balance is to be achieved in private and public investment within a local community, the assistance of business and/or labor groups is needed.

This book seeks to analyze the underlying social structures and processes which guide these struggles and seeks to delineate the alternate power models that emerge as different sectors of the community achieve power and influence. This search has been pursued in various parts of the world during the past five years. The authors have conducted studies in England, in Mexico (see Chapters 15 and 16), and in many parts of the United States. Large and small cities were studied to determine the existence of similarities and differences in the structures of community power. The overwhelming impression was that much similarity exists in communities of industrialized countries which have a private property base. The dif-

ferences, however, usually revolve around business and labor responses to the presence or absence of strong public interests. Perhaps, it is not too soon to grapple with the problem of predicting community change and evolution.

Hopefully, one of the outcomes of this endeavor is to encourage a breadth of thinking about community patterns. The authors have sought to provide a perspective by outlining the historic relations among business, labor, and community organizations, their current structures, and their future relationships. A serious attempt has been made to avoid generalizing from the contemporary pattern found in the United States. While emphasis has been given to the United States, the patterns have usually been considered for all industrialized states in North America and Europe.

We expect and want this book to raise controversy. We know that our readers will find many exceptions to our statements about the values of business, labor, and community institutions. They will (or should) challenge the community power models that are depicted in Chapters 5–10. They may argue with the selection of models of maximum likelihood which characterize the relations of business, labor, and other institutions in their community. The reader may want to challenge the empirical facts marshaled to explain the pattern of control through which power is stabilized and maintained locally. We are aware that we have tried to generalize prematurely about the place of functional groups in community power structure, for tested social science knowledge is still inadequate. Yet we are convinced of the urgent need to stimulate the systematic exploration of industry, labor, and community relations in economic, political, and social dimensions. We believe our work will prove useful to all who wish to teach or do research in this field. We hope that the text will also be useful to the increasing number of community specialists.

Many people have helped us in this endeavor. Our primary debt is to our graduate students who have been doing field projects in various seminars during the past nine years at the University of Washington, Michigan State University, Pennsylvania State University, and Indiana University. We have also learned much from our undergraduate students in our courses in Industry and Community who also did studies of their local communities. We are especially indebted to Dr. William H. Mather, Chairman of the Department of Sociology at Pennsylvania State University, who generously made available typing and mimeograph service and who constantly encouraged us. Dr. Charles P. Loomis, research professor at Michigan State University, also graciously gave material and intellectual support to our endeavors. We are also grateful to Marilyn L. Jesser, Marcia Stamm, Vera Krause, Gerald E. Goslin, Emeline Harpster, Katherine Lehman, and Joan Onley for their enthusiastic help in preparing the manuscript.

WILLIAM H. FORM
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PART I

Perspectives for Analyzing Business and Union Relations in the Community

Part I presents an overview of industry-community study. It is first concerned with describing the concepts and frames of reference needed for the study. This is followed by an analysis of how the economic structure of the community directly shapes such various aspects of the community as its size, growth, land-use patterns, institutional life, and power structure. Yet industry is dependent upon other local institutions to function effectively. While business and unions have concrete goals and expectations for different community institutions, the latter also have goals and expectations for business and unions. These goals and expectations are described in detail, and then analyzed for their convergence and conflict in the context of various types of union-management relations.

Chapter 1

INDUSTRY AND THE COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

TRENDS IN COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

Development of Management's Social Ethics
Labor's Community Involvement

AREAS OF INDUSTRY-COMMUNITY STUDY

Perspectives of Industry-Community Relations
Impact of Industry on Community Structure
Interdependence of Business, Labor, and Community
Impact of Community on Union-Management Relations
Interaction of Business, Labor, and Local Institutions
Business and Labor in the Community Power Structure
Applied Problems of Industry and Labor Within the Community

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL PROBLEMS

Structural-Functional Analysis of Interinstitutional Relations
Institutional Dynamics
Community Power Structure and Dynamics

INTRODUCTION

One of the most crucial problems facing all Western societies today is the social control of the economy. While no institution can be completely independent of another, the economy has succeeded most in the United States in developing an independent course. In most other Western nations, con-

trols of a greater order have been imposed on the economic institution, especially by government. Despite variations in the amount of restraints imposed, the problem of controlling the economy persists.

Why is the control of this institution such a critical concern in technologically advanced societies? Simply put, the economy has grown so rapidly that it has been difficult to limit its influence on the rest of society.¹ Economic agencies such as corporations, trade associations, and the labor unions have amassed wealth, power, and organizational effectiveness undreamed of in earlier eras. Technological change in industry has altered and continues to alter the local community by changing the occupational structure and contingent relations.

Even if economic organizations attended only to their "knitting," their social impact would be enormous. However, they cannot limit the scope of their activities. They must be concerned with the broader community and society if only better to achieve their economic ends. Besides, they clearly have noneconomic goals. The corporation, the trade association, the professional society, and the labor unions today constitute a massive apparatus dedicated to shape and change the existing order. Their wealth is abundant, their organizational skills are enormous, and their influences are ubiquitous. There is probably no area of life—government, education, religion, welfare, and family—which is unaffected by the decisions made by these economic agencies.

Apart from being themselves influential, these agencies have stimulated the formation of many agencies in other institutions. Put another way, the organization spawned by other institutions in response to changes in the economy has been almost as numerous as the organizations created within the economy. The result of this twofold movement is clear. As Moore indicates, in the process of limiting economic action other agencies determine the ends which the economy should serve, as well as additional values with which it should be consistent.²

There is no better place than the community to observe the interaction of economic and other agencies. Altogether too frequently, the public focuses directly on (1) the economic struggles of business and unions locally or nationally, or (2) the national political struggles. Such foci unfortunately lead the observer to feel that the partisans are engaged only in an economic struggle which has no consequence for other areas of life. By following closely the activities of business, unions, professional groups, and other economic agencies on the local level, the observer becomes aware of the relationships which are built with other institutions. To be sure, these relationships are often amorphous and in a state of flux.

¹ See M. B. Ogle, Jr., L. Schneider, and J. W. Wiley, *Power, Order and the Economy*, Harper, 1954.

² Wilbert E. Moore, *Economy and Society*, Doubleday, 1955, p. 30.

TRENDS IN COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

Contemporary urban-industrial society is a society in change, seeking perpetually to find organizational forms which provide a satisfying social existence for its members. This change has been stimulated by continual innovations in the technology and social organization of industry. Not only have permanent technological and organizational revolutions created instability in the economic realm, they have also forced changes in political, family, religious, educational, and other institutional areas.

The integration among institutions so characteristic of the history of mankind has become conspicuously problematic in contemporary urban and industrial communities. Thus, the contemporary urbanite is not only concerned with making his work life more meaningful, he is also concerned with relating his work to other community activities.³ In the preindustrial era, the integration of economic and noneconomic areas was assured automatically and spontaneously by the coexistence of many institutional bonds within small, homogeneous, integrated folklike communities.

Emile Durkheim, over half a century ago, demonstrated that the dependence of modern man on his fellow man has increased with the rising division of labor in industrial society.⁴ Yet despite this growth in functional interdependence, man's social life has become segmented in both its economic and noneconomic spheres. A condition of social anomie has resulted. Anomie is a condition of the community and society characterized by an absence of common values, sentiments, and social norms. The anomaly of high interdependence coexisting with social anomie is simply this: a changing society which is rapidly developing a highly diversified economic structure also tends to be (at first) a society in which the dominant (economic) institution is characterized by an absence of norms, ethics, sentiments, and social integration.

By making a comparative study of other societies in other historical epochs Durkheim demonstrated that it is the *normal* condition of cities with complex industrial or occupational systems to develop occupational associations which assume many noneconomic functions for their members—such as training, welfare, moral supervision, recreation, and general social responsibility. That is to say, the norms of the society and the integration of its institutional functions are usually generated by the dominant institution. In a society in which the dominant institution is industry, social and moral integration must be provided by the economic institution itself. It appears,

³ See Carlo L. Lastrucci, "The Status and Significance of Occupational Research," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1946, pp. 78–84.

⁴ Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. George Simpson, Free Press, 1947.

then, on the basis of comparative historical study, that societies normally repair the tears in their social fabric and that these repairs or integrative mechanisms are generally stimulated by the dominant institution.⁵

Whether Durkheim's thesis can be fully documented by current trends in American society is uncertain. However, it may be useful to point to evidence supporting his general proposition that economic associations tend to assume noneconomic functions and foster general integration of the broader community. It may well be that contemporary communities in Western society have already passed the period of greatest malintegration. It is clear that industry is beginning to assume an increasingly greater number of noneconomic functions which it previously avoided. Moreover, businesses and unions are evidencing genuine concern for the ethical and moral responsibilities they have to the workers, the local community, and the broader society.

Development of Management's Social Ethics

The hero of the nineteenth century businessman was a fellow who had built, through dint of hard work, initiative, and self-sacrifice, a strong and secure business. His business was a reflection of his individuality; it was an instrument of his design; and it operated for his profit and glory. The "obligations" which the businessman had toward his employees, other business, and the community were conceived as self-imposed. Since these were personal obligations they could be altered at any time. In short, the operational ideal of the businessman was to "go it alone" according to the dictates of his conscience.⁶

Living according to this individualistic ethic was possible perhaps in an era dominated by small business. However, it is increasingly difficult for large business to follow this pattern today. Many businessmen now realize that the era of unrestricted self-direction of enterprises is over. They realize that they have developed many complex relationships with many organizations in the local community. Each relationship not only limits freedom of action, but imposes positive obligations and responsibilities.

It may be well to mention a few of the external ties of large business today. Most large corporations belong to trade associations which often circumscribe price determination, marketing practices, advertising, recruitment, and many other activities. Individual businesses are expected to contribute their proportionate share of the administrative costs of the association, and to help finance any common undertakings. Members are expected to participate in local business, welfare, educational, political, and

⁵ *Ibid.*, preface to second edition.

⁶ Irvin G. Wyllie, *The Self-Made Man in America*, Columbia University Press, 1954.

other organizations in order to promote or preserve a favorable public image of their industry. They are also expected to develop common policies with respect to government, labor confederations, consumers, and related industries.

The relationships of employers to *employees* are becoming increasingly broadened. The "human relations in industry movement" is derived in no small measure from management's recognition that its employees are something more than hired hands. They are citizens who can help build the image of the company in the community. Such an image is recognized as having a direct effect on the company's ability to (1) recruit good workers, (2) hold on to good employees, (3) sell its products in the local markets, and (4) have satisfactory labor-management relations.

Building favorable and enduring employee attitudes is seen by sophisticated managers as something more than being "charming" to employees and sending supervisors to "charm school." Protestations that employees are individuals and should be treated as such soon become recognized as hollow if they are not supplemented by substantial programs in the plant and in the community. Public relations programs (the invisible sell) without visible participation in community affairs may lead managers to a false sense of security. The trends are clearly apparent. Modern industries are assuming an increasing number of noneconomic functions. They are providing internal health and welfare programs, adding recreational functions, educating workers in technical and nontechnical skills, encouraging the worker's family to identify with the company, and providing the community with facilities for various activities. Sometimes these projects are jointly operated with labor unions or are a response to union pressures.

Programs are also pursued in the community: the Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Kiwanis, and related business associations often engage in a wide variety of community projects. Managers are sometimes encouraged to seek office in political, educational, welfare, religious, and other local organizations. Modern business is also expected to contribute financially to, and provide personnel for, the community chest, hospital boards, school boards, city commissions, and other agencies. Further, it is expected to take active roles in special community projects, such as fund-raising for symphony orchestras, teen-age centers, welfare and other agencies. It is also expected to protect the position and the good reputation of local business.

Such activities represent a significant departure from the pattern of community involvement of the nineteenth century businessman. Managers of the modern corporation have been described as having developed a social ethic which is replacing the Protestant ethic of their forebears.⁷ The former are increasingly concerned with employee relations, community relations, and public relations. Personally, modern managers want to fit into the com-

⁷ William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man*, Simon and Schuster, 1956.

pany team. They want to conform to the company and community patterns. They want to be accepted.

It is not suggested that all businesses have developed complex social ties with the community or that all managers have this social ethic. Yet industry has been modifying its approach to the community. The general shift has been from a position that the community was obligated to industry to a position that industry has major responsibilities to the community. Ralph B. Spence has described the changes in industry-community relations during the past century as a rough progression of three stages: the isolation stage with its company police; the philanthropic stage with its public relations men; the coöperative stage with its community relations studies.⁸ Of course, some individual companies are still at the isolation stage, and many others hesitate to enter the last stage.

The rise of the social ethic among businessmen is not derived from a new-found compassion for mankind, from a sudden development of a sense of community responsibility, or from a reduced concern for profits. As a matter of fact, the "human relations in industry" movement and the development of public and community relations programs are new and probably more effective operational methods to increase profits, maintain customer loyalty, and ward off restrictive legislation. Whether employee and community involvement is voluntarily or involuntarily, conscious or unconscious, motivated for profit or for glory, it seems inexorably associated with the growth of industry, which extends its community ties in order to function effectively.

Business needs government coöperation as it plans its growth; it needs educational institutions to help train future employees; it needs welfare agencies to help handle problems created by economic instabilities; it needs recreational agencies to provide outlets for workers; it needs communication agencies to inform the residents of its needs and plans. Large corporations therefore cannot escape some involvement with all of the community's institutions. They cannot avoid participating in community projects and taking stands on local issues, for their future and that of the community are inextricably related. Businesses can fight or coöperate with local agencies, but they cannot ignore them.

Labor's Community Involvement

Organized labor has not escaped the community involvement forces which have affected the modern corporation. Almost from their very inception, local unions were aware that they could not survive independent of the labor movement. Participation in local labor councils, regional federations, and national congresses was part of the pattern from the very beginning.

⁸ Ralph B. Spence, "Some Needed Research on Industry Within the Community," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December, 1953, p. 147.

Historically, the ideology of labor differed somewhat from that of management because labor always envisioned its welfare in social rather than individual terms. As a social movement, labor unions have always *sought* to relate themselves to the political, educational, and social systems of the broader community and society.⁹

Yet labor's formal participation in community-wide agencies is of rather recent origin. The low level of early participation can be explained largely in terms of constraints placed on participation rather than by a lack of desire to participate.¹⁰ After early and stormy attempts to become part of the political and social fabric of society failed, the American Federation of Labor embraced the principle of bread-and-butter unionism as its primary survival mechanism. For the most part business unionism limited its goals to better wages, hours, and working conditions. Its political role was restricted to backing individual candidates (not parties) on the basis of their past labor records.¹¹

This restricted role was harmonious with management's conception of what proper functions of unions should be, if indeed unions had any proper functions. The business community was largely successful before the twentieth century in restricting the unions' noneconomic activities in local community affairs. This condition persisted until 1934, when the federal government gave organized labor legal recognition and assistance. From that time to the present, labor unions have broadened the scope of bargaining, broadened their internal functions, and participated increasingly in the social life of the community and nation.

The history of labor negotiations since the Great Depression reveals an increasing range of bargaining arenas. For example, health, welfare, and retirement systems are now commonly found in contract agreements. Unions themselves are constantly adding functions and services for their members. Clinics, hospitals, schools, camps, bowling alleys, insurance companies, buying coöperatives, radio stations, pensions, and libraries are only a few of the facilities acquired by labor unions. Indeed, unions may be paralleling or replacing many of the services previously provided by other agencies.¹² Furthermore, they are acquiring counselors and liaison officers to acquaint their members with the community resources and facilities available to them.

Labor unions are also seeking representation in the whole range of com-

⁹ See John R. Commons, *History of Labor in the United States*, Vol. I, Macmillan, 1921.

¹⁰ See Warren L. Sauer, *Labor's Entrance Within the Community Power Structure*, unpublished M.A. thesis, Michigan State University, 1958.

¹¹ See Selig Perlman and Philip Taft, *History of Labor in the United States*, Vol. IV, Macmillan, 1955, pp. 580-602.

¹² C. W. M. Hart, "Industrial Relations Research and Social Theory," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, February, 1949, p. 73.

munity agencies. Typically they have representatives on the community chest, hospital boards, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and many welfare agencies. Not infrequently they are organized politically to obtain representation on city councils, commissions, boards of education, and other public agencies. In addition, they sometimes sponsor joint programs with the local schools, churches, and other institutions.

Labor officials try to keep posted on all important community events and issues. Where their interests are involved, they "take a stand" either as representatives of organized labor or as spokesmen for the "common man." In many communities in the United States organized labor is now a legitimate and significant segment of the community power structure.¹³ No longer is the community the sole handmaid of business, for labor stands ready to challenge management's power, or at least share in wielding it.¹⁴

The question arises, "Why is labor involved so widely and deeply in the community?" Aside from its historical social orientations, labor unions (like management) need many local ties to operate effectively and to survive. Even more than business, the survival of labor unions depends upon a favorable political and social climate. The strength given to labor by legislation may be removed by legislation. Furthermore, labor's need to be involved in certain community activities is a "matter of honor." Obtaining status equality with management may be necessary before labor can match the power of management in many local associations. Moreover, if labor becomes an integral part of the whole range of institutional life, its power cannot be arbitrarily severed by a zealous opposition. To be involved in community activities is to have status and power; and organized labor is out to get both.

The involvements of business and labor in the community are many and complex. To facilitate this study the present book is divided into four broad areas, which will now be briefly described.

AREAS OF INDUSTRY-COMMUNITY STUDY

The general field of industry-community relations has been divided into four major parts:

1. Perspectives of Industry-Community Relations
2. Interaction of Business, Labor, and Social Institutions
3. Business and Labor in the Community Power Structure
4. Applied Problems of Industry and Labor in the Community

¹³ Alice H. Cook, *Labor's Role in Community Affairs*, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, October, 1956, Bulletin 32.

¹⁴ James McKee, "Status and Power in the Industrial Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1953, pp. 371-380.

Perspectives of Industry-Community Relations

Introductory perspectives for the study of business-union relations constitute the first substantive area of study. They are (1) the impact of industry on the community; (2) the interdependence of business, unions, and community agencies; and (3) the community factor in labor-management relations. The first perspective stresses economic and structural variables, the second is concerned with values (specified as ends, norms, and sentiments) of economic and other community agencies, and the third stresses the equilibrium of economic and other agencies in the community.

IMPACT OF INDUSTRY ON COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

Modern cities are fashioned by their industrial bases. Their size is determined to a large extent by the size of the labor force required by their industries. The growth patterns of communities are largely dependent on fluctuations in the labor demands of business. The industrial composition of the community also tends to fashion local land-use patterns. A city dominated by heavy industry, such as steel fabrication (Bethlehem), has a different pattern of land use than a city dominated by government (Washington). Not only do industries use land differently, but other land uses (e.g., transportation, residential, retail) in the community are affected by industrial land use. The emergent land-use pattern gives the community its unique appearance or ethos. Thus the clean, neat, orderly city and the dirty, disorganized city usually have different industrial bases.

The occupational composition of the city is a direct response to its industrial structure. Skill, income, and educational levels, patterns of consumption, and style of life are all traceable to the type of industrial structure.¹⁵ Types of retail services, churches, schools, recreational and other facilities in turn are responses to the particular occupational composition of the community. The nature of the special- and even the general-interest local organizations is also conditioned by the local occupational structure. All these factors, in turn, fashion the stratification system of the community.¹⁶ This concatenation of structural forces is discussed at length in Chapter 2. As will be noted, ecology and urban sociology have much to contribute to this perspective of industry-community relations.

INTERDEPENDENCE OF BUSINESS, LABOR, AND COMMUNITY

The community and its agencies are not a simple reflection of the industrial base. Union officials and businessmen realize that industry and the community are interdependent. While they may constantly evaluate the com-

¹⁵ See Paul Bates Gillen, *The Distribution of Occupations as a City Yardstick*, King's Crown Press, 1951.

¹⁶ Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure*, Rinehart, 1957, chap. III.

munity from their economic perspectives and even create agencies to further their objectives, other community associations develop concrete expectations toward business and the unions. Chapter 3 describes in detail the values (norms, ends, and sentiments) which business, unions, and specific institutional agencies develop with reference to one another. How the norms, ends, and sentiments of the three groups converge, conflict, and are resolved are also considered.

IMPACT OF COMMUNITY ON UNION-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

Community factors are not generally conceived as having an important bearing on union-management relations. Yet over a period of years unions and businesses build reputations in the community with which they must live. These reputations, in turn, have a direct impact on their recruitment patterns. Local communities also build up expectations of how collective bargaining should normally proceed, and how labor and management should relate themselves to important community projects and issues. The relevance of community forces on labor-management relations is perhaps most clearly evident in prolonged strikes and in industrial conflict. Analysis of the role of community in union-management relations is presented in Chapter 4.

Interaction of Business, Labor, and Local Institutions

The norms, ends, and sentiments which business, unions, and local institutions develop toward one another must be considered in the context of the actual relations which develop among them. In Part II the concrete system of relations of business and unions is analyzed separately with reference to the following institutions: government, education, mass communication, family, welfare, and religion. The types of relationships, the patterns of interaction, and the power struggles which develop among the institutions merit detailed analysis.

The industrial sociologist is highly aware of the fact that the behavior of the worker in the plant and in the union is clearly affected by his social identities. The family, religious, political, racial, ethnic, and sectional loyalties of the worker are brought into the plant. These loyalties affect the morale of the work group, loyalty to the union, attitudes toward the company, and many areas of behavior. How the community influences work behavior will be examined while analyzing the institutional relations of industry.

Business and Labor in the Community Power Structure

Studying the paired relations between economic agencies and another specific institution is an oversimplification, because in reality all institutions

are interacting simultaneously. In Part III this broader complex of inter-institutional relations is studied in the setting of community issues. The roles of business and labor are singled out for special observation, for at times they are called upon to mediate conflicting interests among various economic groups. Occasionally business and union officials are called upon to mediate conflicts among community institutions. During such crises various economic and noneconomic organizations may form coalitions in bitter power struggles. Such situations force our attention upon the power structure of the local community, the process by which local groups become involved in issues, and the decision-making process itself. Many materials from the field of social stratification and political sociology illumine this area of study.

Applied Problems of Industry and Labor Within the Community

The community relations of labor and management are so complex in the modern metropolis that they cannot be left in the hands of amateurs, charlatans, or self-designated experts. Businesses need planners to help them locate plants, design traffic flow, route raw materials, and solve related problems. Labor and management officials also need the advice of community relations experts on how to improve the public images of their organizations. They also need help in preparing a community for an unpopular decision, such as the removal of an industry.¹⁷

As industry changes its technology, it often disrupts the routines of other local agencies. Labor and management groups need information on how their decisions will affect the community. They need advice on how to launch community projects, how to deal with various local agencies, and how to organize community projects. To meet these needs businesses and labor unions are creating community relations departments. They are hiring new specialists, such as the out-plant engineer, the community organization specialist, and the community relations specialist. The development of these applied areas and the training of such occupational specialists constitutes an important area of industry-community study.

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL PROBLEMS

The modern community, unlike most communities in previous historic epochs, is tied directly into national and international economic, political, and social networks. It is no longer possible to segregate neatly the social

¹⁷ See Leonard P. Adams and Robert L. Aronson, *Workers and Industrial Change*, Cornell University Press, 1957.

organization which is "communal" from that which is "external" to the community, for local economic, educational, and political organizations are invariably tied to national associations. These ties simultaneously expose localities to social forces which sweep in from distant centers¹⁸ and provide channels through which local changes affect other outside communities. For this reason it is difficult to depict either the physical or social boundaries of communities precisely.

Another distinguishing feature of modern cities is their great heterogeneity, which is reflected in complex industrial and occupational structures; ecological subareas; diverse ethnic, religious, class, and other systems. One of the consequences of this heterogeneity is a "mushy" social structure characterized by tenuous social bonds, a fluctuating sense of community consciousness, ubiquitous factions, and apathetic masses.¹⁹ These characteristics do not necessarily mean that city life is disorganized. They do suggest that the character of community organizations, urban integration, and local self-consciousness is dynamic, and responds to changing conditions which must be specified. In this book the community is not generally conceived as a close-knit and highly integrated entity. Rather, it is viewed as an area roughly demarcated by the residences of its labor force, served by a loosely knit institutional structure which is integrated to attack communal problems only under certain sporadically occurring conditions.

Of course, all communities do not conform to this pattern. Small well-integrated single-industry communities are much easier to study because their internal patterns tend to be more traditionally fixed, and their power structures tend to be more stable. It is important to study industry-community relations in larger urban communities today precisely because they are in a state of *flux*, because *contest* exists in their power structures, and because they cannot resolve many *issues* routinely.

Although this book will be concerned with industry-community relations in a broad range of communities, most of the analysis will apply to medium and large cities which have the following characteristics: (1) a growing area of metropolitan dominance; (2) many industries, none of which completely dominates the community economically or socially; (3) socially heterogeneous populations; (4) nonsolidary institutional structures; (5) strong labor union organizations; and (6) power structures which reflect the internal cleavages of the changing city.

Company towns, one-industry cities, satellite cities, suburbs, and planned communities tend to lack these attributes.²⁰ Although studying them may help us understand institutional interdependence, they offer few oppor-

¹⁸ Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Some Logical and Methodological Problems in Community Research," *Social Forces*, October, 1954, pp. 51-57.

¹⁹ Robert A. Nisbet, *The Quest for Community*, Oxford University Press, 1953, chap. 4.

²⁰ Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order*, Macmillan, 1951, pp. 553-558.

tunities to study changes in institutional relations and community power structures. Therefore only occasional references will be made to these kinds of communities.

Industry is defined here as the local economic institution. It includes all of the business and industries in the locality, and all economic associations, including those of business, unions, and the professions. In addition, it includes interbusiness and interunion associations and specialized positions in these organizations.

For purposes of analysis, "community" is sometimes considered as a "residual category," made up of all local institutional elements with the exception of industry. This "distortion" is made necessary by the requisite to focus on industry in relation to the other institutions. In reality the economic institution is part and parcel of the community.

Structural-Functional Analysis of Interinstitutional Relations

INSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS

The theoretical orientation of this book is in the tradition of structural-functional analysis. The community is regarded as a complex set of interacting social structures which are organized to achieve or maintain certain manifest goals. Many of the actual relations among the organizations and their functionaries are more or less a direct consequence of these fixed relations. However, some relations may not be readily apparent and may actually depart from officially recognized ends. Thus the structure may have some latent functions for its participants. These distinctions are arbitrary but useful for analyzing the dynamics of interinstitutional relationships.²¹

A number of steps are necessary for a structural-functional analysis of interinstitutional relations (in this instance, industry and another institution). These steps will be followed in Part II of the text. First of all, the *structural components* (organizations, agencies, and facilities) of the institutions involved are catalogued. Second, an analysis is made of the *values* (norms, ends, and sentiments)²² which each component pursues vis-à-vis the other components with which it interacts. Third, since a limited variety of power relationships develop between institutions, models describing them are presented, and the one which best represents the case of maximum likelihood in a given society is selected. From this model a number of concrete hypotheses are drawn concerning the specific relationships which develop between industry and a given institution. Fourth, an analysis is made of the

²¹ See Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Free Press, 1949, pp. 21-81.

²² Loomis and Beegle feel that the concept "value" is too diffuse a term to be useful in social research. They have "specified" various aspects of it in a discussion of norms, ends, and sentiments. See Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology*, Prentice-Hall, 1957.

patterns of control which tend to stabilize the interinstitutional relations. Fifth, both customary and conflict relations among the components are examined in the context of a broad range of issues. Finally, the relations which develop between industry and a given institution as issues arise are examined to observe relative capacities of the parties to obtain or maintain their norms, ends, and goals. The resolutions of issues are then appraised for the consequences they may have on future interinstitutional relations.

COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE AND DYNAMICS

A further task remains for us in the complex study of the interaction between industry and two or more institutions which are themselves interacting. Since it is almost impossible to describe this in detail, specific issues, projects, or events which galvanize many community elements to act will be studied to highlight the patterns. This, it is hoped, will provide more insights into the roles which unions and business play in the structure of community power. Part III of this book is devoted to this area of research.

The study of community power must be set within the broad contours of the power relationships in society. Local power structures in various societies are examined to ascertain the range of roles which are played by business and organized labor. Focusing on American society, a series of hypotheses about community power are proposed which specify the probable arrangement of organizations and influentials on a given range of community issues. Concrete issues in several types of communities are then examined for the light they may shed on the hypotheses concerning the place of business and labor in community power analysis.

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Chapter 2

INDUSTRY SHAPES THE COMMUNITY

THE COMMUNITY AS AN ECONOMIC MECHANISM

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS WHICH SHAPE THE COMMUNITY

Industry Determines Location of Communities

Location Is Influenced by the Stages of Technology

Industrial Location, 1939-1953

The Role of Organizations Sponsoring Industrial Development

Industry Influences the Size of the Community

The Multiplication Factor

Effect of the Multiplication Factor on Stability of the Community

Industry Shapes the Growth Patterns of the Community

The Life Cycle of a Community

Four Patterns of Growth

Industry Differentiates the Community by Functional Type and Occupational Composition

Functional Types

Occupational Composition

Industry Affects the Total Land-Use Pattern

Common Patterns

Theories of City Growth

Industry Shapes the Power and Social Class Structures of the Community

Power Structure

Social Class Structure

Industry Influences Community Character

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE INDUCES ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE IN THE COMMUNITY

The Relation of Technological Change to Community Life

Technological Change and Community Solidarity

Technological Change and Social Class

Resisting Effects of Technological Change

Conclusion

THE COMMUNITY AS AN ECONOMIC MECHANISM

“Community” may be defined as people living in one locality or region under the same culture and having some common geographical focus for their major activities. The distinctive characteristic of the community is that a constellation of institutional organizations have grown up around a particular center of specialized function.

The most essential institutions for men everywhere have been defined as those by which persons get their living (economic), make group decisions and maintain sanctions and taboos (political), live with the other sex and rear the young (family), perform religious practices (religion), and carry on patterned forms of leisure (recreation).¹ In this chapter, the economic institution has been selected for special study.

The economic institution provides the means of livelihood for most members of the community; the physical structure of the community tends to be laid down according to the economic requirements of industry, and, indeed, patterns of social life and thought are strongly influenced by the character of the economic institution. Karl Marx, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, and Thorstein Veblen are among those who described most forcefully the tremendous impact of economic organization upon the other social institutions, including the political, familial, religious, and recreational phases of social life.² Veblen said: “Any community may be viewed as an industrial or economic mechanism, the structure of which is made up of what is called its economic institutions. These institutions are habitual methods of carrying on the life process of the community in contact with the material environment in which it lives. When given methods of unfolding human activity in this given environment have been elaborated in this way, the life of the

¹ Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* Princeton University Press, 1945, p. 19; cf. R. S. Lynd and Helen Lynd, *Middletown*, Harcourt, Brace, 1929, and *Middletown in Transition*, Harcourt, Brace, 1937.

² Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Modern Library, 1936, pp. 11–13; Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. T. Parsons and A. M. Henderson, Hodge, 1947; Emile Durkheim, *On the Division of Labor in Society*, trans. G. Simpson, Macmillan, 1933; Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Macmillan, 1912.

community will express itself with some facility in these habitual directions.”³

A picture of community revolving about economic institutions is only a partial picture of reality, because the life of a community is a composite of many institutional forces. However, acceptance of community as an industrial or economic mechanism enables the student to see more clearly the pervasive influence of economic institutions. In such a frame of reference the community may be viewed as containing many dependent variables, each of which is influenced by factors initiated by industry. This direct chain of causation becomes the guiding framework for the analysis in this chapter and will illustrate, therefore, the first of the perspectives that are described in Chapter 1. It will show how the economic structure which arises in a community conditions the broad social and ecological organization of community life. It must be remembered that the following description is based on the operation of a “free enterprise” economy.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS WHICH SHAPE THE COMMUNITY

In this section, “industry” will refer only to individual firms and the personnel associated with them. The purpose is to deal successively with the impact of economic institutions on:

1. Location of communities
2. Size of the community
3. Growth patterns of the community
4. Functional type and occupational composition
5. Total land-use pattern
6. Power and social class structure
7. Community character

Industry Determines Location of Communities

LOCATION IS INFLUENCED BY THE STAGES OF TECHNOLOGY

Businessmen weigh many factors in deciding upon the location of industry. These factors are influenced by the given stage of technology. An historic view of industrial location reveals that the location of plants follows the requirements of four rather distinct stages of technology: the modern craft age, the machine age, the power age, and the atomic age.

Importance of Water Power to the Emergence of the Modern Craft Age. The modern craft age was based on muscle and water power. The use

³ Veblen, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

of water wheels was a significant first step in the transition from animate to inanimate energy. The early growth of textile manufacturing occurred along the streams of New England. The largest developments were established at Lowell, Manchester, Lawrence, Holyoke, and Lewiston before the Civil War.⁴ Water power was not transportable, and the plants were forced to concentrate at the site itself. This greatly centralized industry about good water-power sites. Flour milling centered about such cities. Minneapolis and Buffalo testify to the early importance of water power.

Modern industrialization awaited the utilization of steam. The steam engine provided a means for converting fuel into mechanical energy and could be set up wherever fuel was obtainable.

Importance of Coal and Iron to the Emergence of the Machine Age. Coal was the cheapest of the most effective fuels for the steam engine. Since the fuel could be transported, it was possible to locate industry more widely. Still, transportation costs could not be ignored. The locational effect was to concentrate industry on navigable water where it was cheap to transport coal or in the coal fields themselves. The application of steam power to the textile industry led to the rapid growth in the Fall River-New Bedford area after the middle of the nineteenth century. In the same period a rapid growth occurred in the Pennsylvania coal fields. As the processes of steel-making became established an area of heavy industry arose. It was cheaper to bring the iron to the coal over the Great Lakes water route than to attempt the reverse, due to problems of transport. In addition, the large consuming market was already established in the East. With the coming of the steam locomotive and an elaborate rail system, a vast industrial area was shortly established. It covered an area which stretched along the Atlantic seaboard between Portland, Maine, and Baltimore, Maryland, extending westward across the Appalachians as far as the west side of Lake Michigan, and reaching from a line on the north through the lake ports of Toronto, Detroit, and Milwaukee, to the Potomac and Ohio Rivers on the south. Outlying districts may be identified particularly around Montreal and St. Louis. A separate region is found in the South Atlantic Piedmont. On the Pacific Coast, manufacturing is now increasing, but until recently it has been of relatively minor importance compared with lumbering, agriculture, and commercial activities.

Iron and coal exert a controlling influence on the location of manufacturing because extremely large amounts are required by many industries. The amount of iron consumed is greater than that of all other metals combined. The equipment of modern industrial civilization is largely made of iron and steel: machines, tools, commercial and manufacturing buildings, and trans-

⁴ T. R. Smith, *The Cotton Textile Industry of Fall River, Massachusetts—A Study of Industrial Localizations*, Kings Crown, Press, 1944, Table 8, p. 42; W. Fred Cottrell, *Energy and Society*, McGraw-Hill, 1955.

portation facilities are all made primarily of steel. Most power and heat for industry as well as for rail transportation is still obtained from coal, although oil and gas are being increasingly used.

The location of heavy industry identifies the heart of an industrialized nation. The industrial heart of America lies within a triangular area including the Pittsburgh coal field and the south shores of Lake Erie and of Lake Michigan. In this relatively small area are found most of the iron and steel industries of the continent and the great variety of other heavy and light industries associated with them. The development of this strategic district is based primarily on its accessibility to three things: iron, coal, and consuming markets. In addition, the coincidence of a rich agricultural area and nearness to sea routes is especially helpful to its sustained growth.⁵

Manufacturing stimulates commerce. The great commercial centers rise on the ocean ports of the North Atlantic and North Pacific, on the Great Lakes, and on rail centers. Since most industries collect raw material from different areas and distribute their products to different regions, proximity to the major trade routes is of great importance. The exchange route between North America and Western Europe is the greatest trade route in the world.

Importance of Electricity to the Emergence of the Power Age. The power age is identified with the widespread use of electricity. The steam engine remains important because it becomes a prime mover for the generation of electricity and for other reasons, too. Hydroelectric power has been increasingly employed, but steam plants generate the largest quantity of electric power. Electric power has had locational effects on industry that are important but far less revolutionary than those of steam. The ability to transmit electric energy as much as 1000 miles gives added flexibility. The Columbia and Tennessee River valleys are new recipients of industry based on hydroelectric power.

It has been thought that the availability of electric power would produce a general scattering of industry to small rural plants or even back into workers' homes, but no major shift has occurred. It is true that plants no longer need to huddle around giant steam engines close to rail lines. The large modern factory using electric motors is a long, one-story, shedlike structure which increasingly locates in suburban locations. The motor transport of products and workers and the transport of electrical energy make the new pattern possible. The rapid growth of satellite towns and cities is evidence of the pattern.

Importance of Atomic Energy to the Emergence of the Atomic Age. The atomic age provides a new fuel for steam power stations. Heat can be developed and converted into electricity. The light weight of the fuel opens

⁵ Richard Hartshorne in Emerson P. Schmidt (ed.), *Man and Society*, Prentice-Hall, 1937, pp. 359-372.

many new possibilities for airplane and marine engines. Use of atomic energy in the submarine *Nautilus* and its sister ships now operating for the United States Navy demonstrates an application of this superior fuel. The Atomic Energy Commission has announced successful "breeder" experiments which may eventually indicate the release of much greater energy at lower costs. Certainly, the development of economical atomic fuels and reactors which could be transported cheaply in an airplane to any point in the world would suggest revolutionary possibilities.

Perhaps another locational effect of the atomic age should be pointed out. The threat of the atomic bomb is encouraging dispersion of industry where feasible. In general, widespread dispersion of existing plants is considered so expensive as to be prohibitive, but the location of new plants may be increasingly influenced by the threat of atomic bombing. Many large corporations are placing new plants in or near small cities, away from heavily industrialized areas. A shift of B-52 bomber production from the Seattle plant of Boeing Airplane Company to Wichita, Kansas, was announced in June, 1957, after many previous encouragements from the United States Defense Department. New plants built by DuPont in recent years have been located near small cities or towns. Their nylon plant at Seaford, Delaware, is a good example. Many employees hired at the plant were born within a 40-mile radius. They tend to reside in their communities of birth and commute to Seaford daily to work.

INDUSTRIAL LOCATION, 1939-1953

The picture of industrial location for the years 1939-1953 includes the following:

The industrial heart of the United States remains where it has been for decades.⁶ Nearly two-thirds of the nation's manufacturing is concentrated in New England, the Middle Atlantic Area, and states of the East North Central region. The area is a little more than a seventh of the country's area.

In the years since 1939 industry has expanded all across the United States. Important regional variations include:

Less than average rate of growth in New England.

More than average growth in the Southeast, Southwest, and Far West.⁷

A good index of the trend is found in the older industrial sections where the steel industry has long been centered. In 1939 about 84 percent of the nation's steel plants were east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio River. By 1951 the area had 79 percent. Between 1951 and 1953 this area secured

⁶ Cf. Frederic B. Garver, Francis M. Boddy, and Alvan J. Nixon, *The Location of Manufactures in the United States, 1899-1929*, University of Minnesota Press, 1934.

⁷ Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce, *1952 Annual Survey of Manufacture*, Series MAS-52-5, United States Government Printing Office, November 18, 1953. Cf. *U.S. News and World Report*, June 19, 1953, p. 28.

75 percent of the new steel facilities. Thus, the area can be seen to be slowly losing some of its dominance, but with its leadership still well assured.

Industry grows where it sees markets, materials, power, and labor. Location is being decided largely by business rather than military factors. Newer sections of the country have a slight edge on some of these factors. Water power and minerals, important to new industries, are being developed in the Southwest and Far West. Rate of population growth on the Pacific Coast is highest in the country. But factors which gave the older regions their dominance are still powerful.⁸

Table 1 indicates the share of manufacturing in each of nine regional blocks of states in the United States for 1939 and for 1953. Significant de-

TABLE 1. Share of All Manufacturing Employment in the Nine Regional Blocks of States

Region	1939 Percentage	1953 Percentage
New England	11.6	9.2
Middle Atlantic	28.9	26.0
East North Central	27.6	29.7
West North Central	5.2	6.2
South Atlantic	11.9	10.9
East South Central	4.4	4.6
West South Central	3.7	4.5
Mountain	0.9	1.1
Pacific	5.8	7.8
	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Bureau of Census Department of Commerce, 1952 *Annual Survey of Manufacture*, Series MAS-52-5, United States Government Printing Office, November 18, 1953, pp. 1-6.

velopments underlie the statistics of Table 1. The most noteworthy trends and effects in location of manufacturing in the United States have been in the direction of equalization of the interregional distribution of industry and population, equalization in the degree of "industrialization" of various regions, greater concentration of population in urban areas, and suburbanization of both population and manufacturing.⁹ Per capita income of the United States shows a marked trend toward regional equality.¹⁰

THE ROLE OF ORGANIZATIONS SPONSORING INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Vigorous efforts are being made by local and state organizations to attract industry to their communities. Merchants and manufacturers have been in

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-6.

⁹ Edgar M. Hoover, *The Location of Economic Activity*, McGraw-Hill, 1948, p. 165.

¹⁰ Editors of *Fortune*, *The Changing American Market*, Hanover House, 1955.

the forefront of these efforts. Sometimes, the chamber of commerce takes the lead. Sometimes the city government sets up an industrial development organization. Industrial land development is the order of the day.¹¹ Continuous advertising and promotion is carried on.

Brookhaven, New York, has a vigorous program that was reported in the *New York Times* as follows:

BROOKHAVEN, IN BID FOR INDUSTRY, TAKES
30 ON TOUR OF POTENTIAL FACTORY SITES

By Byron Porterfield

Special to the *New York Times*

Patchogue, L. I., November 25, 1957—Thirty industrialists inspected Brookhaven Township's 400 square miles from an airliner this morning. Then they joined a seventy-six mile motor tour of potential factory sites here.

They were guests of the Brookhaven Town Industrial and Advisory Committee, a quasi-official group appointed by the town board as "low-pressure salesmen" to attract manufacturing to the area. . . . The fourteen-man industrial committee is comprised of other town officials, businessmen, bankers and building contractors. The chairman is Leslie Weiss, president of the Patchogue Electric Light Company.

The guests were among 700 industrialists reached by the council through brochures and letters. They comprised the vanguard of more than 100 manufacturers who expressed an interest in establishing either their entire operations or branches on Long Island.¹²

Local inducements are being reinforced by state support. The state of Pennsylvania has established an Industrial Development Authority which offers special assistance to community industrial programs through provisions of 25 years, 2 percent interest second mortgage loans to assure low cost financing of new plant building in Pennsylvania.¹³ The state of North Carolina has established a 5000-acre Research Triangle Park to attract industry by offering the nearby research facilities of its three major universities.¹⁴ The independent effect of these planned efforts are undetermined, but there is no doubt that they encourage the location of new industry in particular communities. Industry is being wooed with competitive vigor as the geographical scope of profitable locations is enlarged by the improved technology of the atomic age. One urban geographer has shown that even amenities such as climate and cultural inducements may be decisive factors in winning industry to a state or local community.¹⁵

¹¹ Lincoln Industrial Park, *New York Times*, Section 10, October 13, 1957.

¹² Paterson Industrial Commission, *Paterson, An Old Timer with Young Ideas*, City of Paterson, New Jersey, 1957.

¹³ *New York Times*, Section 10, November 8, 1957.

¹⁴ *New York Times*, Section 10, November 17, 1957.

¹⁵ Edward L. Ullman, "Amenities as a Factor in Urban Growth," *Geographical Review*, January, 1954, pp. 119-132.

Industry Influences the Size of the Community

THE MULTIPLICATION FACTOR

The size of a community depends mainly on the size of the industrial base which undergirds it. The industrial base may be considered as composed of two parts: the basic activities and the service activities. Basic activities refer to those producing goods and services for sale outside the community; service activities are those carried on for internal consumption only. Thus, the basic activities support the service activities. This is commonly measured by the number of basic employees (those working for an export activity) and number of service employees (those working for internal consumption). Economists, in analyzing the growth of an area, often speak of the “multi-

TABLE 2. Every 100 Jobs in Industry Create These Additional Jobs

Jobs	Percentage	Jobs	Percentage
Bus drivers	.42	Architects	.06
Department store clerks	2.5	Electricians	.22
Lawyers and judges	.44	Miners	2.2
Waitresses	1.6	Real estate agents	.16
Plumbers	.13	Nurses	1.0
Doctors	.57	Shoe repairmen	.16
Painters	1.0	Teachers	.50
Firemen	.30	Pharmacists	.25
Dressmakers	.44	Editors and reporters	.25
Bank clerks	.66	Florists	.13
Stenos, typists	2.2	Plasterers	.13
Cleaners, laundrymen	1.6	Mechanics, machinists	2.2
Carpenters	2.6	Postmen	.50
Musicians	.44	Bookkeepers	2.0
Truck and tractor drivers	4.0	Dentists	.20
Gas station attendants	.40	Telephone operators	1.0
Printers	.22	Technical engineers	.14
Beauticians, barbers	1.0	Shoe clerks	.20
Policemen	.57	Photographers	.14
Highway workers	.10	Entertainers	.13
Librarians	.14	Bakers	.33
Food clerks	1.3	Farmers	28.5
Cooks	.66	Tailors, Furriers	.40
Newsboys	.09	Hardware clerks	.44

This table is based on a ratio of civilian jobs in manufacturing to the number not in manufacturing. In the table that ratio is assumed to be 1 to 2.6. This is higher than the multiplication factors which are described because of the classification of all jobs *not in manufacturing* as supportive. Many nonmanufacturing jobs which produce goods and services for export are basic activities. See *Better Living*, Employee's Magazine of E. I. DuPont Co., May-June, 1954, p. 14.

plication factor." They refer to the fact that any development that provides new jobs in basic activities also creates jobs in service activities. Table 2 shows the reproductive process which is set in motion by the creation of new jobs in manufacturing. It shows some of the many supporting jobs that are required as one new job is created in manufacturing. However, the ratio of basic to service activity varies according to city size and function and also according to the classification of basic activities and service activities. Indeed, there may be a great deal of variation within a given city over time. All that one can say as a generalization is that the multiplication factor arises because basic activities require service activities in a specialized industrial economy and that basic activities generally originate and support the service activities. Therefore the multiplication factor is not accidental; it is a product of the economy in a local area and has a definite range of values.

The search for values of the multiplication factor has led to an examination of the ratio between basic and service activities in many cities. The ratio for cities over 10,000 population appears fairly certain to be between 1 to .5 and 1 to 2. The larger the city, all other things being equal, the larger the service component should be, because a larger range of specialties will be supported by the larger market.¹⁶ In small cities from 10,000 to 120,000 the ratios range between 1 to .6 and 1 to .9.¹⁷ As larger cities are examined, the ratio of service employees to basic increases. Wichita, Kansas, with about 200,000 population, has averaged about 1 basic to 1.4 service workers from 1940 to 1950. Cincinnati, with 787,000, had a 1 to 1.7 ratio. New York City comes to about 1 to 2.¹⁸

In most middle-sized cities it may be concluded that approximately a 1 to 1 ratio appears. Thus for every employee in a new factory in a town, ultimately one service job in the city would be created in various activities, particularly in retail trade and services; the result would be two new employees; if each of these two employees had an average family size of three, a sixfold increase in population would result. A new plant employing 100 would thus support 600 total new population.

For a large city with a ratio of basic to service employment of 1 to 2, a ninefold increase in population would take place, so that 100 new basic

¹⁶ Edward R. Ullman, "The Basic-Service Ratio and the Areal Support of Cities," in David A. Revzan and Ernest A. Engelbert (eds.), *Proceedings, Western Committee on Regional Economic Analysis*, Social Science Research Council, University of California, June 25-27, 1953, pp. 110-123.

¹⁷ Medford, Oregon (20,000 population), basic to service ratio, 1 to .8; Oshkosh, Wisconsin (42,000), basic to service ratio, 1 to .6; Albuquerque, New Mexico (100,000), basic to service ratio, 1 to .9; Madison, Wisconsin (110,000), basic to service ratio, 1 to .8; Brockton area, Massachusetts (120,000), basic to service ratio, 1 to .8.

¹⁸ Ullman, "The Basic-Service Ratio . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 120. Cf. the newly developed "minimum expectation method" as shown in Ullman's *Major Characteristics of the San Francisco Economic Base*, Discussion Paper No. 8, University of Washington, June 24, 1958.

TABLE 3. Illustration of the Effect of the Multiplication Factor on Supporting Workers and Population of a Community

Population of the Community			
Basic workers	100,000	Service workers	200,000
Dependents	200,000	Dependents	400,000
Total	300,000	Total	600,000
Grand total	900,000		

Estimated Number of Service Workers Required in Some Selected Occupations			
Jobs	Number	Jobs	Number
Truck drivers	5,500	Gas station attendants	900
Department store clerks	5,500	Tailors, furriers	900
Stenographers, typists	5,000	Firemen	800
Mechanics, machinists	5,000	Welfare workers	800
Bookkeepers, cashiers	4,000	Cabinet makers	600
Teachers	4,500	Clergymen	500
Cleaners, laundrymen	3,500	Dentists	500
Waitresses	3,500	Printers	500
Food clerks	3,000	Shoe clerks	500
Carpenters	3,000	Real estate agents	400
Painters	2,800	Shoe repairmen	400
Beauticians, barbers	2,400	Florists	300
Postmen	2,300	Plasterers	300
Nurses	2,000	Roofers	300
Bank clerks	1,500	Librarians	300
Cooks	1,500	Photographers	300
Druggists	1,500	Conductors	250
Electricians	1,500	Writers, editors	250
Watchmen	1,500	Highway workers	220
Plumbers	1,300	Newsboys	200
Policemen	1,300	Entertainers	200
Insurance agents	1,200	Architects	100
Phone operators	1,200		
Musicians	1,100	Outside Services Included:	
Hardware clerks	1,000	Farmers	40,000
Bakers	1,000	Miners of raw materials in- cluding fuel	5,000
Dressmakers	1,000	Federal and state employees including armed forces	24,000
Lawyers, judges	1,000		
Doctors	950		

SOURCE: Adapted from *Better Living*, May-June, 1954, pp. 10-14. Data represent estimates which are useful for illustrative purposes only.

workers would have the effect of adding 900 to the population. Thus, if we imagine a mythical city of 100,000 basic workers, our city turns out to be a metropolis of 900,000 population comparable in size or scope to Buffalo, New York and its suburbs. Two hundred thousand (200,000) service workers are providing the needs for their dependents, and for the basic workers and their dependents. As a result our city has an estimated total of 15,000 business establishments, 100 charitable organizations, and 150 professional athletes. There are 92 elementary and 19 high schools. Churches number more than 400. The municipal airport handles 40,000 flights a year with 500,000 passengers using the facilities. The city is governed by 9970 municipal employees (see Table 3).

EFFECT OF THE MULTIPLICATION FACTOR ON STABILITY
OF THE COMMUNITY

The ratio of basic to service employment can vary rather widely in the same city depending on the business activities. In Wichita, Kansas, the ratio varied from 1 to 2.5 in 1939, to 1 to .6 in 1944. This variation is a large one and

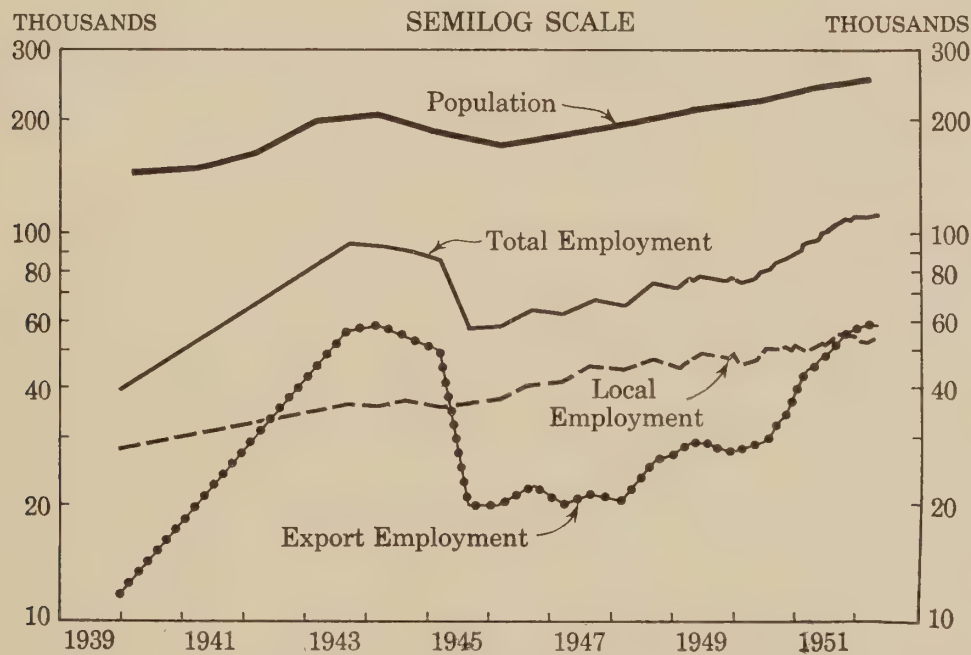


FIGURE 2.1. Employment and Population in Wichita, 1939-1952. On a semilogarithmic graph, equal slopes indicate equal rates of change. The population change appears small, even though it amounted to 80 percent, because of the scale adopted to accommodate the wide fluctuations in export employment. (*Monthly Review, Agricultural and Business Conditions*, Tenth Federal Reserve District, Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, September 30, 1952.)

was brought about largely by fluctuation in airplane production. Figure 2.1 shows the basic (export) employment, total employment, and population of Wichita from 1939 to 1952. The impact of the war economy and the rapid

rise of basic (export) employment can be seen. Its multiplying effect on total employment and population appears small because of the semilogarithmic graph, but the population change amounted to 80 percent over the period 1939-1952.

This multiplication factor can be very serious in the augmented impact of basic activities in a community where one basic industry provides the bulk of employment in manufacturing. In Seattle, Washington, the Boeing Aircraft Company is the largest employer of labor. It is an employer whose principal product (Boeing bombers and missiles) fluctuates with war and defense needs of the nation. These marked fluctuations in basic employment have repercussions throughout the entire community. The President of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Thomas N. Pelly, in 1951 voiced feelings that have been repeatedly emphasized:

Seattle furnishes one of the nation's prime examples as to what might and could occur if a single industry became the basis for our entire living. I am speaking of the Boeing Airplane Company, one of the city's really great businesses. Eleven short years ago Boeing employed a little more than 5,000 persons; seven years ago employment at Boeing jumped to in excess of 45,733 but in the following year, 1945, more than 35,000 workers suddenly found themselves without a job. In 1947, employment went up again to almost 17,000 but dropped within five months to 6,740. These are violent fluctuations causing great instability, not only in the lives of individuals and their families, but in the activities of hundreds of related businesses and their employees.¹⁹

Since 1951 the Boeing Airplane Company has continued to expand at a rapid rate. The pay roll in 1954 was \$6,000,000 a week.²⁰ Every community facility feels the impact of the rise in basic employment. Hundreds of homes are needed monthly for new workers. Over 500 rental units a month are required by the Boeing workers. Schools, churches, restaurants, stores, parks, garages, highways—all feel the demand for more services. Labor force figures show the addition of approximately one more service-supporting worker employed in Seattle for every new worker brought into the community for work in the airplane company.²¹ Population is increasing sevenfold for each additional worker added in manufacturing. The threat of a possible cut-back in Boeing production is a threat that sends the same magnification of fears at the thought of the impact on the entire community. The present mayor,

¹⁹ *Seattle Times*, Sunday, August 19, 1951.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, June 14, 1957.

²¹ The Employment Security Department reported the county's average manufacturing employment increased 6100 between 1955 and 1956 in Seattle. Total wage and salary earners increased 12,200. This indicates one new job created outside of basic industry. Population increased in the county to 818,700, a gain of 44,800, between 1955 and 1956. This relation of the basic employment increase of 6100 to the total population gain of 44,800 represents a multiplication factor for population of approximately 1 to 7. E. B. Fussell, "Striking Gains in Western and Central State Areas Shown by New Population Studies," *Seattle Times*, March 20, 1957.

like his predecessors, keeps calling for new and diversified industry. Mayor Gordon S. Clinton has warned the community that "the aircraft industry has become synonymous with Seattle. The past year saw an accelerated program of new employees for industry. While this expansion is welcomed by the community it has the effect of throwing our economy still further out of balance. The fact is that we are not growing industrially with that type of balanced diversification which means stabilized growth."²²

It may be concluded that industry determines not only size of the community, but also that the industrial base may greatly affect the stability of the community. Furthermore, industry plays a dominant role in the growth patterns of various communities.

Industry Shapes the Growth Patterns of the Community

THE LIFE CYCLE OF A COMMUNITY

Most communities seem destined to live and to die. Some may have rebirths like Athens and Rome, but all cities are constantly expanding or contracting with the vicissitudes of geographic, biological, and social change. The life of some communities follows short cycles of life and growth; others have very long lives. A mining town, for example, appears with the discovery and demand for the resources its area possesses. When the resources vanish, only the ghostlike shadow of its former prosperity remains. This may happen in a decade or two. A community built on a sole resource which is exhausted very slowly or on a trade and industrial complex might well have a life cycle spanning centuries.

Paul Landis studied the three iron-mining towns of Virginia, Hibbing, and Eveleth, Minnesota, over a time period extending from 1895 to 1930.²³ He found that these towns characteristically experienced three phases of a relatively short life cycle. These were: (1) a rapid growth to maturity, (2) a period of relatively stable population, and then (3) a rapid decline. He found that the towns exhibited four kinds of synchronous cycles which he called physicosocial, cultural, biosocial, and psychosocial. The physicosocial cycle refers to an early period of quest and discovery of ore; the subsequent period of exploitation which soon brought shipments above discoveries and hastened the depletion of high-grade ore; and, third, a period of conservation of a rapidly diminishing resource.

The rhythm in cultural cycles is exhibited in three stages of material culture of the community mores. The simple material culture gave way to a lavish material culture which faded into decay with the decline of the community. The mores developed around a tolerance of prostitution, gambling, fighting, and drinking, later to be succeeded by a reform of vice but

²² *Seattle Times*, June 17, 1957.

²³ Paul H. Landis, *Three Iron Mining Communities*, Edwards, 1938.

PHASE OF CYCLE MAXIMUM				PERIOD OF DECAY
	PIONEER PERIOD (GROWTH)	CONFLICT PERIOD (MATURITY)		
MINIMUM				
Physicosocial Cycles Geographical Resource Cycle Social Policy Cycle	Extent of ore unknown Discovery and development	Abundant supply located Exploitation	Supply rapidly diminished Conservation	
Cultural Cycles Life Evaluation Cycle Moral Standards Cycle Material Culture Cycle	Life held cheap Tolerance of vice Simple material culture	Well-developed protective community Tolerance of paternalism and graft Lavish material culture	Protective culture Economic mores in government Decay of material culture	
Biosocial Cycles Birth Rate Cycle Age Group Cycle Population Growth Cycle Sex Ratio Cycle	Few married couples and few births Young adult males Boom growth Males predominant	High birth rate Disproportionately large number of children Stable population Males predominant	Low birth rate Disproportionately large number of old people Decline Balanced sex ratio	
Psychosocial Cycles Group Relations Cycle Dominance and Submission Cycle Industrial Groups Cycle	Integration Public ascendancy Individual capitalists	Conflict Mining company ascendancy Predatory corporations	Conflict Mining company ascendancy Predatory corporations	

FIGURE 2.2 Life Cycle of the Mining Town Civilization. (Paul H. Landis, *Three Iron Mining Communities*, Edwards, 1938, pp. 130-131.)

an establishment of patronage and extravagance. As ore reserves declined, economy mores emerged.

The biosocial cycle refers to the growth of population. In the beginning the mining town is composed of adults, probably consisting chiefly of single young men, between the ages of 20 to 40, venturesome in temperament and full of vitality and courage. The second period is characterized by an abnormally large adult population. Declining opportunity will cause youth to leave for fields of opportunity elsewhere. The old will remain with vested interests in the community. The psychosocial cycle refers to the group attitudes as these changed from an early period of community integration when people worked together in the face of common dangers. This was followed by the ascendancy of the large mining company when conflict developed between the community and the mining company. High taxes were levied against the mining companies, and towns began a regime of spending that led the companies to institute lawsuits and various restraining actions against town building and recreation programs. This continued until companies became more powerful and made the communities bow to tax policies more advantageous to them.

These cycles are shown in Figure 2.2 with the appropriate data for each stage.

FOUR PATTERNS OF GROWTH

These three iron-mining towns demonstrate a life cycle that can be observed in one generation. Thus, time is telescoped and it is possible to study the full cycle. This is ordinarily not possible because cities outlive the observer. But it is possible to observe cities in various stages of their growth pattern and to see how industry affects them. Over a given time period, growth patterns of communities may be of four major types. These include the pattern of *rapid growth*, the pattern of *continuous growth*, the pattern of *relatively stable growth*, and the pattern of *decline*. These are patterns which correspond to the phase of a cycle and any community might exhibit any of these phases in any sequence. A cross section of American communities at any given time will exhibit all of these patterns of growth. Figure 2.3 represents such a range of community growth patterns for the state of Washington.

Table 4 is a classification of 120 of 162 Standard Metropolitan Areas in the United States. The 30 fastest growing SMA's with growth increases from 45 percent to 109.9 percent are shown to illustrate rapid growth patterns from 1940 to 1950; the next 30 cities represent continuous growth patterns; the next group of 30 cities with growth increases of 12.7 percent to 17.7 percent reflect slow growth; while the 30 slowest growing SMA's show diminished or a declining pattern of growth ranging from 12.6 percent to -14.6 percent.

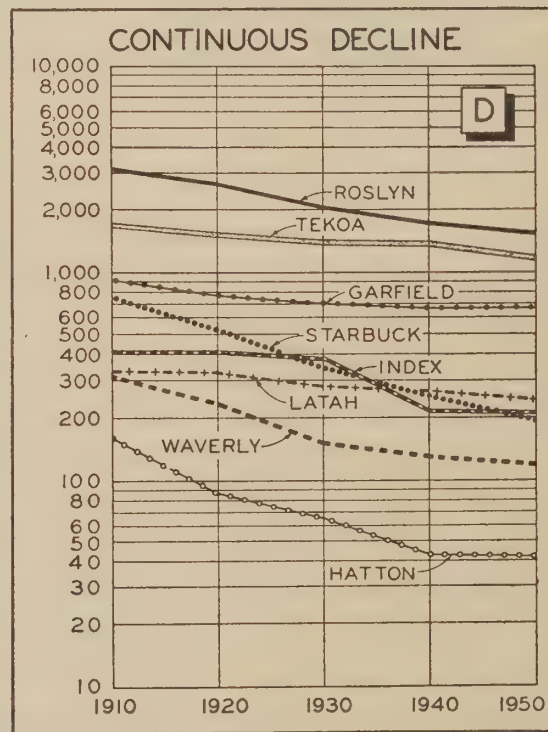
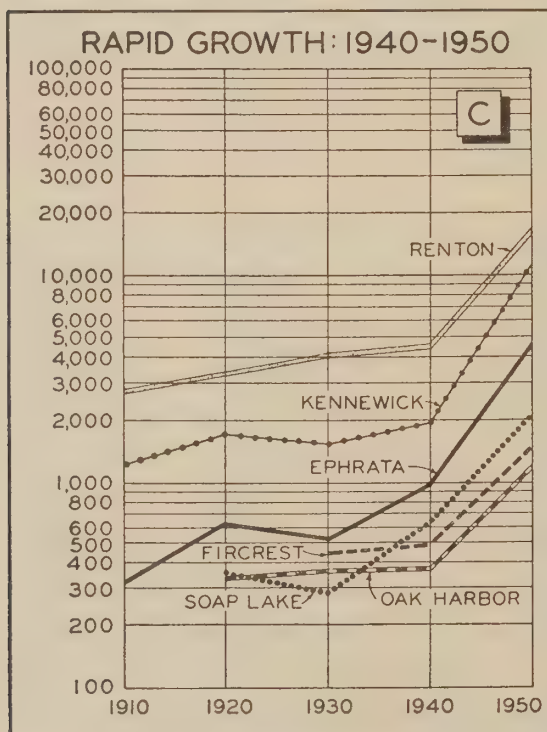
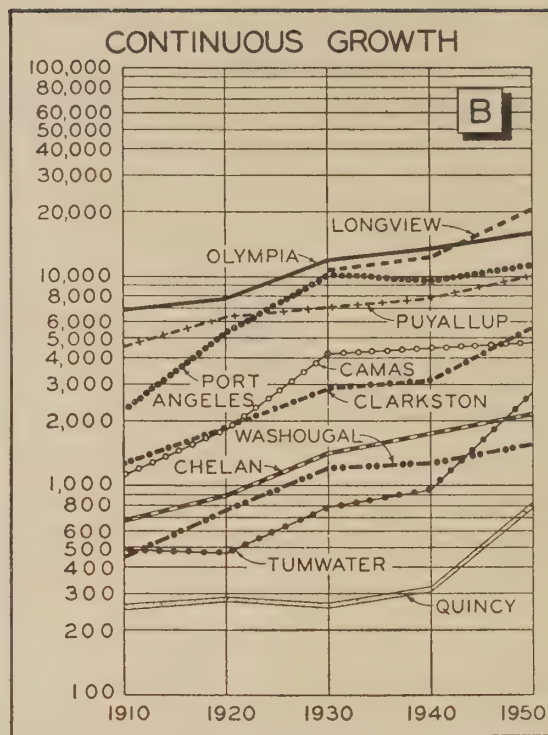
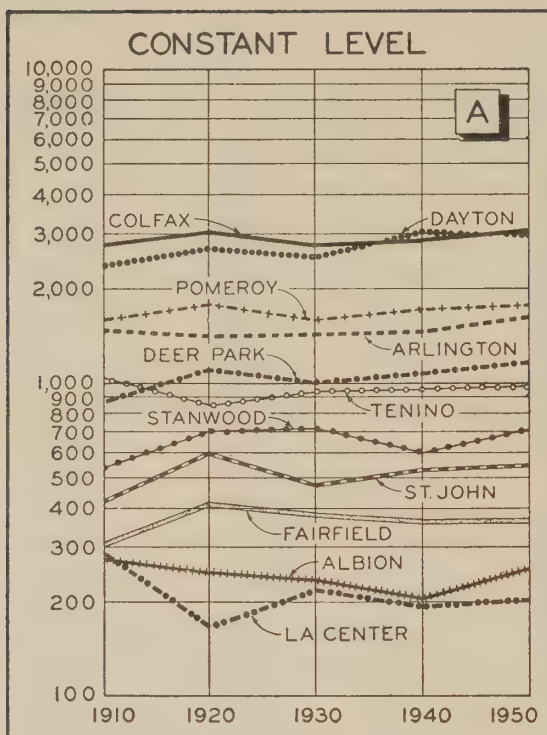


FIGURE 2.3. Four Patterns of Growth in the State of Washington. It will be recalled that in this type of chart the slope of the curve indicates the rate of population change. A. Sample of towns and cities that have manifested relatively little population change during the past 40 years. B. The municipalities selected for this panel show a pattern of continuous growth. C. Emphasis in this panel is on rapid growth between 1940 and 1950. D. This sample of cities illustrates a pattern of relatively steady population decline since 1900. (Calvin F. Schmid, "Population Trends in Towns and Cities of the State of Washington," *Western City*, February, 1952, p. 30.)

The rapid growth pattern in the United States is occurring largely in the cities located along the Gulf Coast, in the Southwest, and in the West. Here industry is booming because of increased discovery and use of oil and gas, the increase in such war industry production as shipbuilding and airplane manufacturing, and the growth of many new civilian industries. Available labor and space facilities have encouraged growth. Increasingly, amenities such as climate attract the sick and the healthy, the young and the old.

Intensive studies have been made of the boom pattern in some cities. Havighurst and Morgan report on Seneca, Illinois, a small town of 1235 in 1942 with a population of 6600 two years later. The boom was due to the location of a shipyard next to the village. Eighty-two million dollars were paid in wages in a little less than three years to the shipyard workers. To care for the inrush of workers, public housing projects were built; business, churches, and schools expanded; and the whole institutional complex of the village was transformed.²⁴ Carr and Stermer describe a similar process of boom in Willow Run, a village transformed by the entry of airplane manufacture.²⁵

The continuous growth pattern is appearing in cities that are developing new industries and expanding established industries. New industries especially stimulate rapid growth. The DuPont Company has adopted a policy of decentralizing its operations in relatively small cities over the United States, placing plants in 25 sites in 14 different states. At Montague, Michigan, the new neoprene plant is pumping a \$2,000,000 annual pay roll into nearby communities. Carefully planned training programs, a month of tune-up operations, and dummy process runs have helped 200 new employees step from local farms, shops, and schoolrooms into a twentieth century chemical plant. These employees become the basic employment which sets the multiplication factor operating to increase service employment and population. New industry is one source of rapid growth, expansion of established industry is another. In an interdependent economy the demand of one expanding industry often sends repercussions throughout a large part of the entire economy. The supply requirements of the Boeing Airplane Company call upon every state in the nation for raw materials and parts.

Diversified cities with a broad base of industries create an especially stable economic base for the community. If these industries support systematic research and introduce new products, industry maintains its vitality and strengthens its position.

The slow or constant level growth pattern may be found where a city has developed an established economy which remains in a relatively stable posi-

²⁴ Robert Havighurst and H. Gerthron Morgan, *The Social History of a War Boom Community*, Longmans, Green, 1951.

²⁵ Lowell J. Carr and James E. Stermer, *Willow Run, A Study in Industrialization and Cultural Inadequacy*, Harper, 1952.

TABLE 4. Growth Trends and Standard

Rapid Pattern of Growth—20 Fastest Growing SMA's	Percentage Increase 1940-1950	Continuous Growth—30 SMA's	Percentage Increase 1940-1950
1 Albuquerque, N.M.	109.9	31 Jacksonville, Fla.	44.7
2 Lubbock, Texas	95.1	32 Macon, Ga.	42.0
3 San Diego, Calif.	92.4	33 Amarillo, Tex.	41.8
4 Miami, Fla.	84.9	34 Portland, Ore.	40.6
5 Baton Rouge, La.	79.0	35 Galveston, Tex.	39.3
6 Corpus Christi, Tex.	78.6	36 Denver, Colo.	38.3
7 Phoenix, Ariz.	78.2	37 Dayton, Ohio	38.0
8 San Bernardino, Calif.	74.8	38 Knoxville, Tenn.	37.0
9 Norfolk, Portsmouth, Va.	72.3	39 Charleston, S.C.	36.1
10 San Jose, Calif.	66.1	40 Columbia, S.C.	36.0
11 Orlando, Fla.	64.0	41 Columbus, Ga.	34.9
12 Mobile, Ala.	62.8	42 Memphis, Tenn.	34.7
13 Sacramento, Calif.	62.7	43 Beaumont-Port Arthur, Tex.	34.2
14 Fort Worth, Tex.	60.2	44 Wichita Falls, Tex.	33.8
15 Wichita, Kan.	55.1	45 Oklahoma City, Okla.	33.3
16 Fresno, Calif.	54.9	46 Jackson, Miss.	32.5
17 Dallas, Tex.	54.3	47 Lansing, Mich.	32.4
18 San Francisco, Calif.	53.3	48 Lorain, Elyria, Ohio	31.8
19 Houston, Tex.	52.5	49 Pueblo, Colo.	31.0
20 Tacoma, Wash.	51.5	50 Tulsa, Okla.	30.2
21 Washington, D.C.	51.3	51 Salt Lake City, Utah	29.9
22 Tampa-St. Peteb., Fla.	50.4	52 Charlotte, N.C.	29.8
23 San Angelo, Tex.	49.9	53 Atlanta, Ga.	29.7
24 Los Angeles, Calif.	49.8	54 Madison, Wis.	29.6
25 Stockton, Calif.	49.6	55 Columbus, Ohio	29.5
26 El Paso, Tex.	48.8	56 Gadsden, Ala.	29.4
27 San Antonio, Tex.	48.0	57 Savannah, Ga.	28.4
28 Ogden, Utah	46.9	58 Louisville, Ky.	27.8
29 Seattle, Wash.	45.2	59 Waco, Tex.	27.8
30 Austin, Tex.	45.0	60 Lexington, Ky.	27.7

SOURCE: Donald J. Bogue, *Population Growth in Standard Metropolitan Areas, 1900-*

Metropolitan Areas—1940-1950

Slow Growth— 30 SMA's	Percentage Increase 1940-1950	Diminished or Declining Pattern of Growth— 30 Slowest Growing SMA's	Percentage Increase 1940-1950
132 New Haven-Waterbury, Conn.	12.7	163 Scranton, Pa.	-14.6
131 Omaha, Neb.	12.7	162 Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton, Pa.	-11.2
130 Buffalo, N.Y.	13.6	161 Wheeling, W.Va.	-2.8
129 Milwaukee, Wis.	13.6	Steubenville, O.	-2.4
128 Chicago, Ill.	13.9	160 Johnstown, Pa.	-2.4
127 York, Pa.	13.9	159 Altoona, Pa.	-6
126 Asheville, N.C.	14.4	158 Duluth, Minn.	-
125 Philadelphia, Pa.	14.7	157 Superior, Wis.	-5
124 Cincinnati, Ohio	14.9	156 Sioux City, Ia.	.3
123 Toledo, Ohio	14.9	155 St. Joseph, Mo.	2.9
122 Des Moines, Ia.	15.4	154 Fall River-New Bedford, Mass.	4.6
121 Topeka, Kan.	15.5	153 Terre Haute, Ind.	5.5
120 Winston-Salem, N.C.	15.5	152 Reading, Pa.	5.7
119 Cleveland, Ohio	15.6	151 Pittsburgh, Pa.	6.3
118 Springfield, Mo.	15.8	150 Atlantic City, N.J.	6.7
117 Syracuse, N.Y.	15.8	149 Providence, R.I.	7.5
116 Harrisburg, Pa.	15.9	148 Utica-Rome, N.Y.	8.0
115 Jackson, Mich.	15.9	147 Boston-Lawrence-Lowell, Mass.	8.3
114 Portland, Me.	15.9	146 Worcester, Mass.	8.3
113 Chattanooga, Tenn.	16.5	145 Manchester, N.H.	8.4
112 Racine, Wis.	16.5	144 Pittsfield, Mass.	8.7
111 Trenton, N.J.	16.5	143 Huntington, W. Va.	8.9
110 Charleston, W. Va.	16.6	Ashland, Ky.	8.9
109 Decatur, Ill.	16.7	142 Allentown-Bethlehem- Easton, Pa.	10.4
108 Springfield, Ohio	16.7	141 Albany-Schenectady Troy, N.Y.	10.5
107 Cedar Rapids, Ia.	17.0	140 Lancaster, Pa.	10.5
106 Grand Rapids, Mich.	17.0	139 New York-N.E., N.J.	10.7
105 St. Louis, Mo.	17.4	138 Rochester, N.Y.	11.3
104 Shreveport, La.	17.5	137 Binghamton, N.Y.	11.4
103 Saginaw, Mich.	17.7	136 Springfield, Ill.	11.5
		135 Youngstown, Ohio	11.6
		134 Brockton, Mass.	12.2
		133 Springfield-Holyoke, Mass.	12.6

tion. A consumer goods industry like flour milling and food processing has a relatively steady demand for its products. If the community is an agricultural service center it may continue for years with a slow growth pattern, since its hinterland is probably making a fairly steady demand for services. The community with a stable growth pattern may be facing a real decline. A shift in technology or in service may have placed it in a disadvantaged position.

The diminished or declining growth pattern is often associated with exhaustion of resources or a shift in technology. The cities with gross declines are in coal and iron mining areas where mechanization of production and decline in the richer or less costly produced ores have brought reductions in populations. Some cities die slowly, some rapidly. The standard metropolitan area of Scranton, Pennsylvania, demonstrates a declining growth pattern of long duration:

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Percent Change</i>
1910	250,570	
1920	286,311	10.3
1930	310,397	8.4
1940	301,243	-2.9
1950	257,396	-14.6

Scranton may be considered as in decline since 1910, when its growth was less than the average population growth in the United States. It may continue to decline, to stabilize at a lower level, or attract new industry and experience a stable growth pattern. With its large population, its immediate life is not threatened with extinction.

The West is dotted with mining towns that have disappeared. Many of the lumber producing towns have experienced decline due to depletion of the forests. The manager of the Elma, Washington, Chamber of Commerce has described the plight of his town:

In the beginning the forests ran like a green sea down to the little city. The great timber was fought like . . . an enemy. Pioneers hacked it, burned it, dissipated it in an effort to make a clearing. Loggers cut it ruthlessly and with no thought to perpetuate the stand. Yes, even worse than that—they utilized only the finest trees, and had no thought of the morrow. Everything was incidental to the logging and milling of the timber. Although Elma was situated in the great valley of the Chehalis, with rich and fertile soil at hand, farming was casual. The camps and mills offered a security of wage—the farm was merely a place of retreat. After a while men looked at the valleys and the hills and the timber was gone. By that time farming and dairying had attained a precarious dignity, there were substantial business buildings, churches, high schools; the country was gridironed with fine roads, with rural mail service—what's the use of continuing the story? It is that of several hundred communities west of the

[Cascade] mountains. There had been the exhilaration, and then the sobering realization.²⁶

Technological change is another factor constantly threatening the growth pattern of the community. Charles R. Walker in *Steeltown*²⁷ describes the impact of such a change on Ellwood City, Pennsylvania, when the National Tube Company announced that operations of its plant there would be moved to Gary, Indiana. The change was brought about in part by new technical requirements of continuous seamless tube mills. The company employed 4000 workers, two-thirds of the city's industrial workers, in a city of 14,000. The announcement brought first shock and resentment. Then a struggle to keep the plant followed. Finally, efforts were turned to acquiring new industry for the community.

In the Western part of the United States, Caliente, Nevada, a small railroad town, was also being faced with technical change. Cottrell describes how the introduction of the diesel locomotive brought new maintenance requirements. As the distance between servicing points was lengthened, Caliente was bypassed; and for Caliente this was death—death by dieselization: "Those who have raised children see friendships broken and neighborhoods disintegrated. The childless more freely shake the dust of Caliente from their feet. Those who built their personalities into the structure of the community watch their work destroyed."²⁸

Four growth patterns have been described. Each has implications for the life of the community. These patterns result from many different causes. Increasingly, all these growth patterns become dependent on events and the actions of people far removed from the immediate community. Yet it is the local community which must adjust to the economic forces which condition its growth or decline.

Industry Differentiates the Community by Functional Type and Occupational Composition

FUNCTIONAL TYPES

The most widely accepted functional classification of cities was made by Chauncy D. Harris.²⁹ Nine principal types of cities are recognized, and each type is designated by a letter and definition, as follows:

²⁶ E. S. Avery in *The Elma Survey*, Washington State Planning Council, 1941, p. 1.

²⁷ Harper, 1950.

²⁸ W. F. Cottrell, "Death by Dieselization: A Case Study in the Reaction to Technological Change," *American Sociological Review*, June, 1951.

²⁹ Chauncy D. Harris, "A Functional Classification of Cities in the United States," *Geographical Review*, January, 1943, pp. 86-99; cf. Grace Kneedler Ohlson, "Economic Classification of Cities," *Municipal Yearbook*, 1949, pp. 31-39; Victor Jones, "Economic Classification of Cities and Metropolitan Areas," *Municipal Yearbook*, 1953, pp. 49-54, 69; Howard J. Nelson, "A Service Classification of American Cities," *Economic Geography*, July, 1955, pp. 189-210.

TYPE OF CITY	CRITERIA
M'—manufacturing city (predominantly manufacturing)	Employment in manufacturing equals 74 percent or more of the total employment in manufacturing, retailing, and wholesaling. The manufacturing and mechanical industries contain at least 45 percent of the gainful workers.
M—manufacturing city (manufacturing with other characteristics)	Employment in manufacturing equals at least 60 percent of the total employment in manufacturing, retailing, and wholesaling. The manufacturing and mechanical industries contain between 20 and 45 percent of the gainful workers.
R—retail city	Employment in retailing is 50 percent or more of the total employment in manufacturing, wholesaling, and retailing, and at least 2.2 times that in wholesaling alone.
D—diversified city	Employment in manufacturing, wholesaling, and retailing, is less than 60 percent, 20 percent, and 50 percent, respectively, of total employment in these activities. No other special criteria apply. (Manufacturing and mechanical industries, with few exceptions, contain between 25 percent and 35 percent of the gainful workers.)
W—wholesale city	Employment in wholesaling is at least 20 percent of the total employment in manufacturing, wholesaling, and retailing, and at least 45 percent as much as retailing alone.
T—transportation city	Transportation and communication contain at least 11 percent of the gainful workers, and workers in transportation and communication equal at least one-third the number in manufacturing and mechanical industries, and at least two-thirds the number in trade.
S—mining town	Extraction of minerals accounts for more than 15 percent of the gainful workers (applied only to cities of 25,000 and over for which data are available).
E—university town	Enrollment in schools of collegiate rank (university, technical schools, liberal arts college and teachers colleges) equaled at least 25 percent of the city population (1940).
X—resort and retirement town	No satisfactory criterion found.

These classifications reveal that one-fourth of the cities over 10,000 population in the United States are manufacturing cities; a little more than one-fifth are either industrial cities or diversified cities in which manufacturing predominates; one-eighth are diversified cities in which retailing predominates; one-sixth are residential cities; and the remaining cities have single functions, for example, mining, transportation, education, resort, or government.

Manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, and transportation are the fundamental economic functions to keep in mind, for even the state capitals, educational, recreational, cultural, and religious centers are largely dependent upon these basic economic activities to furnish employment for the bulk of the labor force.³⁰ If cities were classified by the proportion of manufacturing, Gary, Indiana, would emerge as the manufacturing city par excellence. It has 68.9 percent of its workers engaged in industrial activities. Since Gary is one of Chicago's satellites, a great many of the latter city's services and attractions are rather readily available to the people of Gary. Were it not for this fact it would probably not be possible for so large a proportion of the labor force to be engaged in manufacturing. Miami, Florida, Washington, D.C., and Sacramento, California each with manufacturing supplying employment to less than 11 percent, are cities which supply many services to their own population, to many visitors, and to persons outside the city.

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION

Cities vary a great deal in their occupational structure. Some cities have a comparatively high proportion of professionals, for example, while others have relatively few employed persons of professional status. Such differences are also characteristic of other occupational groupings. An occupational profile of individual cities brings out these differences quite clearly. Figure 2.4 illustrates the occupational profiles of four cities: Irvington, New Jersey; Rochester, Minnesota; Reading, Pennsylvania; and Youngstown, Ohio.

These profiles suggest different industrial and social functions. Gillen believes that the chief factors which make for the differences between cities are the incomes of the people of the city and the amount of education they possess. His research led him to view the occupational distribution of the city as the single best indicator of these two chief factors.³¹ This discovery makes possible an estimate of community character, as will be demonstrated in a following section.

³⁰ T. Lynn Smith, "The Functions of American Cities," in T. Lynn Smith and C. A. McMahan (eds.), *Urban Life*, Dryden, 1951, p. 102.

³¹ Paul Bates Gillen, *The Distribution of Occupations as a City Yardstick*, King's Crown Press, 1951.

DETERMINING THE OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE

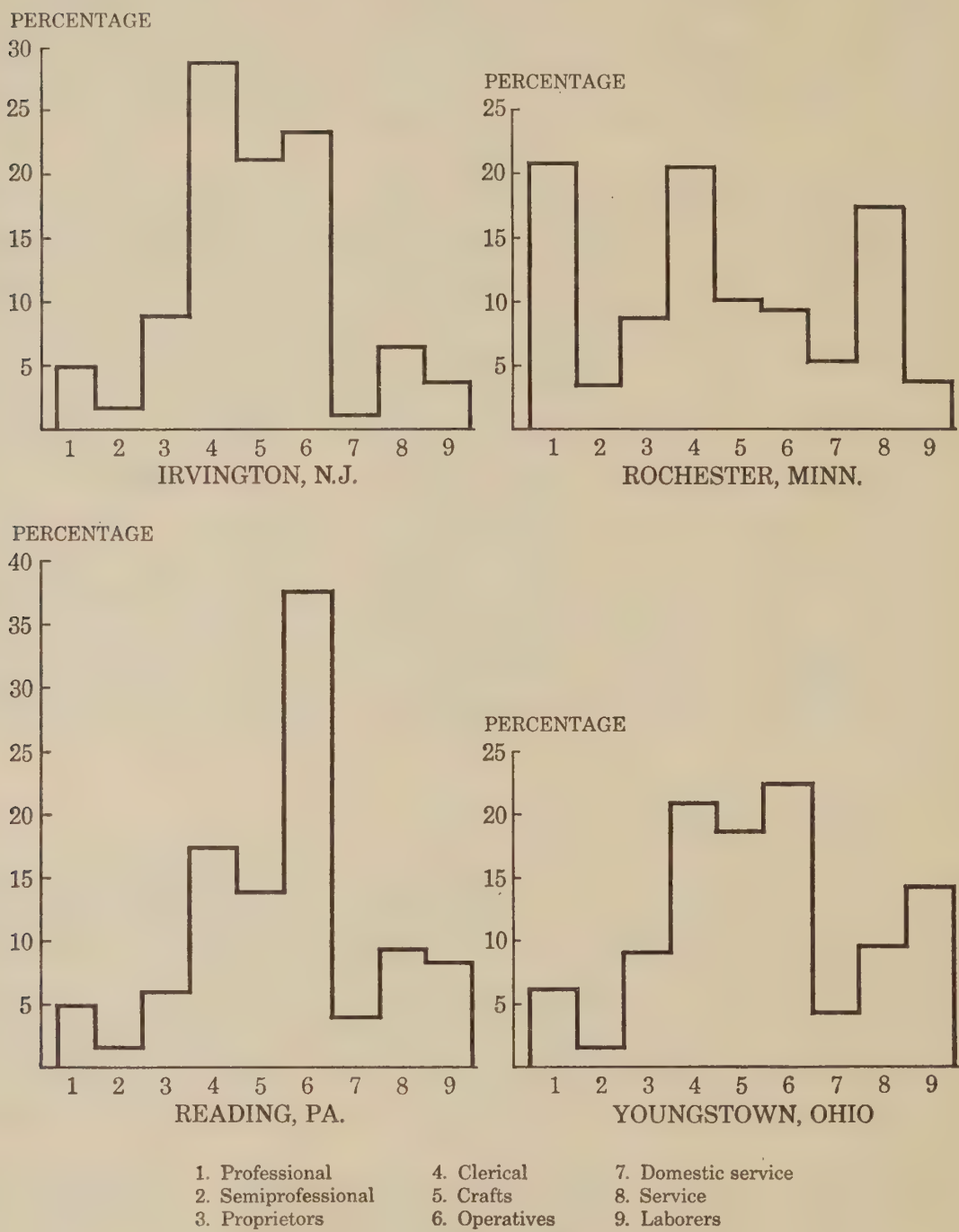


FIGURE 2.4. The Occupational Profiles of Four Cities. (Paul Bates Gillen, *The Distribution of Occupations as a City Yardstick*, King's Crown, 1951, p. 24.)

Industry Affects the Total Land-Use Pattern

COMMON PATTERNS

Urban ecology reveals a pattern of spatial and other needs for retailing, wholesaling, and manufacturing. The central business district is the predominant center of retail and wholesale activities and ancillary establish-

ments that serve the needs of workers and shoppers and others who frequent the area. The large department stores are centered here as well as specialized retail shops, hotels, publishing firms, theaters and movie houses, concert halls, travel bureaus, and other establishments providing goods and services to the entire city and its tributary region. The warehouses are usually located close by.

Retail specialization may and does appear in various parts of the city. In the United States the proportion of retail service units outside central business districts tends to increase with size of city. In the larger cities there are areas or districts devoted exclusively to certain types of stores.

Manufacturing is often divided into heavy industry, which requires a great deal of space and turns out bulky products, and light industry, which includes products of small size and weight and generally requires a small ground area per worker. Heavy industry includes such products manufactured as automobiles, airplanes, petroleum products, farm machinery, flour, sugar, lumber, steel, cement, meat products, railroad cars, and locomotives. Until the late nineteenth century, heavy industry in Europe and the United States tended to locate in the central portions of the cities, near wharves, docks, and railroad sidings and close to the center of supply.

During the twentieth century heavy industry has developed along railroad lines, river valleys, and ocean or lake fronts, commonly on the outskirts of the city or even well beyond the city's boundaries. River valley developments have occurred in the Youngstown, Pittsburgh, and Kansas City areas, while the tendency to locate on water fronts may be noted in the Chicago and Philadelphia districts.

Light industry is commonly at the edge of the central business district near the center of the city. Sometimes wholesaling and light manufacturing establishments are located in the same general area.

Both heavy and light industry may seek locations farther away from the central business district to positions toward the outskirts of the city or across a city's boundaries into peripheral areas. Among the reasons for such decentralization may be a need for more space, access to ground water, lower rentals, lower labor costs, lower tax rates, and freedom from zoning restrictions. Developments in transportation, particularly motor transport trucks and belt railroad lines linked with the regular railway systems, have helped to free industry of its direct dependence on central freight terminals. A survey by Woodbury and his associates presents considerable evidence of decentralization in the United States.³² The yardstick used by Woodbury is the percentage change in production workers in central cities, satellite cities, and industrial peripheries (outside of the central city). From 1899 to 1947, there was a long-run decline from 39.5 percent to 32.2 percent of

³² Coleman Woodbury (ed.), *The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment*, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 253-255.

manufacturing workers found in the central city, with an increase of 14.6 percent to 19.8 percent in the periphery.

Residential areas are settled in accordance with the location of the industrial and commercial functions. While zoning restrictions may effectively bar the invasion of stores and factories, the prevalence of spot zoning and ribbon developments of business dispersion along streets, highways, and rail lines opens the residential district to invasion or the threat of invasion. Home owners, in a dynamic American city, are always on the move, seeking quiet and clean districts where residential property may be protected from the growth of business and industry.

THEORIES OF CITY GROWTH

A number of urban ecologists have attempted to go beyond mere description of land patterns to the formulation of a set of theories or hypotheses concerning the ecology of the city. E. W. Burgess has suggested the concentric zone theory, which postulates an inner zone comprising the central business district, a zone of transition, a zone of workingmen's homes, a zone of middle-class dwellers, and a commuters' zone. Homer Hoyt has formulated a sector theory of urban development which recognizes the distinctive patterns which follow radial transportation lines connecting the central business district with outlying areas. These extensions reaching out into the peripheral zones give the city its star-shaped configuration. Industrial areas develop along river valleys, water courses, and railroad lines. The high-rent residential areas tend to be located along established transportation routes, usually on high ground and away from the "flats." The major highways which radiate out from the central city are commonly lined with commercial establishments.

There have been many criticisms of these theories as not fitting conditions in certain cities which have been studied, but they remain as useful guides to the understanding of land use in the community. Each theory recognizes the importance of industrial functions in determining the location of residential and other nonindustrial functions of the community. Paul Meadows has expressed the correlation of industry with urban life in these words: "Urbanization is the indispensable partner of industrialization, the measure of its growth, the mirror of its complexities, the interpreter of its values, and the matrix of its expansion."³³

Industry Shapes the Power and Social Class Structure of the Community

POWER STRUCTURE

Formal power relations in industry are clearly specified by the supervisory ladder. Since the community is not as unilaterally organized as industry, its

³³ Paul Meadows, "The Industrial Way of Life," *Technology Review*, March, 1946.

power relations are not easily seen. One of the problems of the sociologist is to investigate the power situation existing between industry and the community. The range of power relations may extend from the almost complete dominance of industry as found in a company town to a minor power position for industry as, for example, in a government-dominated town. Although great variations in relative power exist, an historical trend may nonetheless be noted.

The power ladder in the industrial communities of the nineteenth century (and in many smaller industrial communities today) duplicated the supervisory hierarchy completely. No important organization could function contrary to the wishes of business. The officers of local organizations were either business managers or their approved substitutes. This situation was considered to be the normal state of affairs. Businessmen believed they were natural leaders; that they knew what was good for the community; that what was good for business was also good for the community. Most people today still believe this, and in most communities businessmen continue to dominate community organizations. In smaller communities, where both managers and workers participate in the same organizations, there can be no opposition to industry on any major issue. The power of the plant supervisors carries over into town affairs. Resistance to management can be easily located, and those who resist may be dismissed.

Warner and associates have documented this type of business class control as it exists today in a town of 6000 people. The leading industry in "Jonesville" is an appliance manufacturing concern. Seven hundred (700) of the city's 2000 urban employees work there.

The economic and social force of The Mill affects every part of the life of the community. Everyone recognizes its power. Politicians, hat in hand, wait upon Mr. Waddell, manager of The Mill, to find out what he thinks. Civic leaders seek out the manager of The Mill for the answers to such important questions as "Shall the tax rate be increased to improve the education our young people are getting?"—"Shall the new minister be Mr. Jones or Mr. Smith?"—"Should the city support various civic and moral enterprises?"—"Should new industries enter the town and possibly compete with The Mill for the town's available labor supply?" They want to know what Mr. Waddell thinks. Mr. Waddell usually lets them know.³⁴

This pattern is more difficult to maintain in large cities and may be accounted for historically. As communities grew, common participation of all members in the same organizations tended to decrease. Consequently the number of organizations that employers could control diminished, resulting in their partial withdrawal from active community participation and "responsibility." With expanding urbanization and the spread of the impersonal labor market, insecurity grew among the workers. They tried to meet

³⁴ W. Lloyd Warner and associates, *Democracy in Jonesville*, Harper, 1949, p. 101.

this problem partly by organizing labor unions and by challenging industry's leadership in the community. Their power has grown and businessmen have shown a growing concern lest they lose out in the struggle to retain community power.

Whitehead has made a sophisticated but conservative case for businessmen to reassert their leadership and assume major responsibility in community affairs.³⁵ He suggests that they use their "tremendous advantages" of natural dominance, organizational backing, legal knowledge, business skills, and physical resources to get sympathetic understanding of business problems by the local people.

No longer able to control local cliques and the multitude of new organizations, industry has launched a double-barreled program. One part consists of adding a public relations department to its own structure, the other part encompasses a broad community program including such things as student scholarships, athletic teams, youth organizations, community services, and many philanthropies. Both the public relations department and the community services are aimed largely at the manual and white-collar workers. Increasingly labor groups are supporting a parallel development in order to obtain acceptance and representation in community decision-making.

SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE

W. L. Warner identified six social class groupings in a New England city of 17,000 people.³⁶ These are:

1. Upper-Upper. This group is composed of the old family elite based on sufficient wealth to maintain a large house in the best neighborhood, but the wealth must have been in the family for more than one generation. Wealth and lineage become the characteristic marks of these "best" old families. The common occupations of male members include ownership and management of the largest locally owned enterprises.
2. Lower-Upper. This group is made up of "new families" slightly richer than the Upper-Uppers, but their money is newer, their sense of lineage and security less pronounced. These members usually are employed as major executives in the largest financial, commercial, mercantile, and merchandising enterprises.
3. Upper-Middle. This is a group of moderately successful business and professional men and their families, but less affluent than the Lower-Uppers. They are people who get things done and provide the active front in civic affairs for the classes above them. Some education is necessary for membership but lineage is unimportant.

³⁵ T. N. Whitehead, *Leadership in a Free Society*, Harvard University Press, 1936, p. 172.

³⁶ W. L. Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, Yale University Press, 1941.

4. Lower-Middle. This class is composed of small businessmen, white-collar workers, the school teachers, and the foremen in industry. They are distinguished by their high participation in church and lodge activities.
5. Upper-Lower. These are solid, respectable laboring people who keep their houses clean and stay out of trouble. As skilled and semiskilled workers, they belong to labor unions, especially in the crafts.
6. Lower-Lower. This grouping includes unskilled workers and laborers. They have the poorest education and lowest incomes. They seldom participate in community organizations, and they exhibit the highest crime and delinquency rates.

Warner and his associates devised an Index of Status Characteristics to identify classes, using occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area. All of these factors have been shown to be important in measuring social class differences.³⁷ However, most students of social classes agree that if one desires a single measure of the overall complex of class behavior underlying all the variables, a scale of occupations is clearly the most efficient instrument to use.³⁸

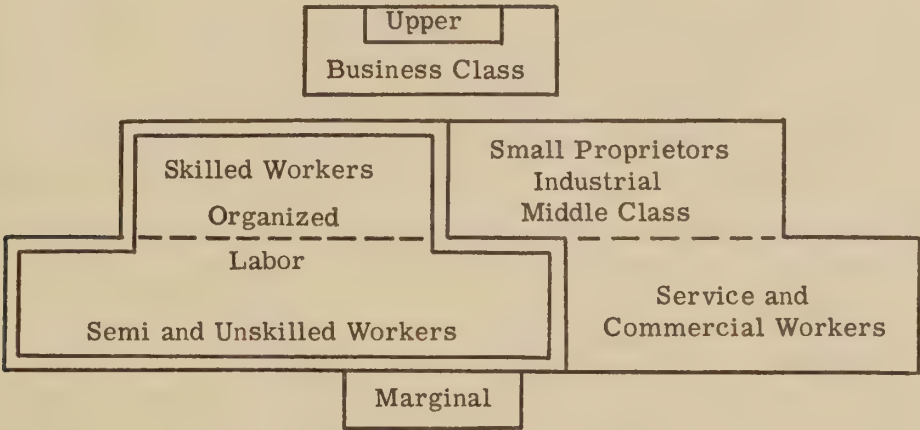


FIGURE 2.5. Illini City Social Structure. (Redrawn from Donald E. Wray, *The Community and Labor-Management Relations*, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1955, p. 47.)

Since industry contributes a large part of the occupational composition and differentiation to a community, its influence in shaping social classes is very great. Donald Wray has demonstrated how the occupational structure of a medium-sized Illinois city is translated into the social structure of the city. Figure 2.5 shows the social stratification of “Illini City,” a city of 66,269 population (1950). The top business class includes the owners and executives of the larger enterprises and most of the professional men. A small

³⁷ W. L. Warner, M. Meeker, and K. Eels, *Social Class in America*, Science Research Associates, 1949.

³⁸ Joseph A. Kahl and James A. Davis, “A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-Economic Status,” *American Sociological Review*, June, 1955, pp. 317–325.

clique within this dominant class consists of the old-line families, which are a subgroup rather than a distinct social stratum. The business class as a whole represents the locus of economic, social, and organizational control over the life of the city.

A fairly wide gap separated the business class from the rest of the common people. A middle-class segment was composed of skilled workers and small proprietors, white-collar workers, and minor professionals. A significant split within the middle class arose from the fact that the skilled workers were affiliated with unions, and were "wage earners" in contrast to the "salaried" middle class. The skilled workers were oriented toward organized labor, while the salaried white-collar workers identified their interests with the top business class. The line between a "middle" class and a "lower" class was indistinct and difficult to define and was likewise split into an employer-employee division of primary identification. The "lower" class (lower-paid wage earners) was therefore divided in terms of union affiliation, though the problem of membership was primarily a matter of place of employment.

Industry Influences Community Character

Industry has been shown to have been the major factor in determining the location, size, growth, occupational composition, and land-use pattern of a community. The influence of industry in shaping the status and power structures of the community has been demonstrated. It remains to show how industry may influence the appearance and the character of a city.

The physical appearance of a community to a large extent reflects its industrial composition. The drab, smoky mill towns along the Monongahela River of Pennsylvania derive their appearance from the steel industry. In contrast, Washington, D.C., with its concentration of white-collar government workers, presents the face of a city that is free of industrial grime and smoke. And in the largest metropolitan centers, the pace and variety of community life itself reflects the myriad behavior patterns which a complex of industry may endow.

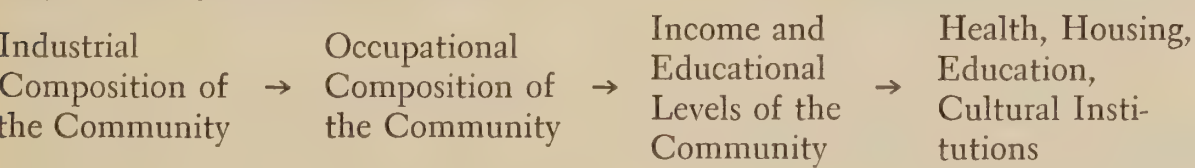
E. L. Thorndike has made a comprehensive attempt to measure the goodness of a city. He did this by assembling data for 37 characteristics of 310 American cities. These data were classified in several broad categories, including income, education, health, indicators of services and institutions organized for cultural purposes, and others. The data for each city were cumulated into a score which he termed the Goodness or G score. The base line for city comparison was derived by adopting the lowest score in each of the 37 items. For the operating administrator he prepared a 10-item city yardstick which calls for data that may be fairly easily obtained.³⁹ Instructions and sample scores may be found in Appendix F of this book (see pages 708-710).

³⁹ E. L. Thorndike, *Your City*, Harcourt, Brace, 1939, pp. 153-156.

Thorndike ascribed 60 percent of the variation among cities to personal qualities of the population, such as their education, customs, and ideals; 25 percent to differences in income; and the remaining 15 percent to all other factors. In summary, the principal factors that affect a city are the quality and financial ability of its people. These characteristics tend to move together, although the possession of money does not automatically and invariably produce individuals of high "quality."⁴⁰ The distribution of occupations includes both education and income of people and therefore is highly related to the relative quality of a city.⁴¹ Thus, the pattern of occupation may be used as the basis for deriving an index of the relative worth of cities.

This high relationship between occupational distribution and goodness of a city suggests that the industrial composition of the city is an economic base that conditions its social character. The occupational distribution influences many characteristics of community life, including income, health, education, and the like. All that a city does by way of government or through the encouragement of the work of voluntary agencies is based on the people and, most importantly, on how they earn their living. Gillen contends, "No consideration of any kind about a city can get very far away from the occupational distribution."⁴²

These findings suggest that there is a chain of causation which originates with the industrial composition of the community. Industrial composition shapes the occupational structure of the community. The occupational structure influences the income and educational levels of the community. When these levels are set, then many other community variables are affected, including health, education, housing, and cultural attainments. This chain might be diagrammed as follows:



TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE INDUCES ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE IN THE COMMUNITY

The Relation of Technological Change to Community Life

Technological changes bring about social repercussions within and without the work plant. Industry-community relations may be viewed as a con-

⁴⁰ Robert C. Angell reports in his study of the moral integration of cities that the correlation of moral integration with income was zero. See "The Moral Integration of American Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1951, p. 16.

⁴¹ Gillen reports coefficients of correlation between his occupational indices and Thorndike's G scores in three groups of cities as .82, .89, and .35. See Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 108.

tinuum of relationships running from the production line to family and community adjustment.⁴³ Work-plant organization is human organization. In the factory, hospital, and department store, workers are arranged in such a way as to encourage the greatest amount of coöperative effort. The positions that men occupy in work organization to a large extent fix their social position at work *and* in the community. When there is a change in a worker's status in his work plant this change tends to be quickly reflected in the community groups to which he belongs. Thus changes in work organization affect community organizations as well.

Before the Industrial Revolution, technical organization remained relatively stable. A balanced adjustment between work and community life was the rule. With the advent of industrialism, the chief characteristic of technical organization became change. Profit was derived not only by improving machinery but also by improving work organization. Indeed, technical and mechanical alterations in production forced changes in the organization of workers in the plant, and this in turn disturbed social patterns in the community.

The general social effects of invention and technological change have been catalogued by Ogburn, the Rosens, and others.⁴⁴ For example, the auto has made possible an increased growth of many established industries like steel as well as the rise of many new industries—refineries, filling stations, garages, auto parts, stores, and hot-dog stands. The whole pattern of rural life has been revolutionized by the tractor and auto. The line between rural and urban life grows less sharp with each passing year. Horace Miner has been exploring the specific effects of inventions on rural life to determine more precisely the manner in which rural organization has been influenced by technological change.⁴⁵

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY

Warner and Low have presented an historical account of how changes in the technology of the shoe industry altered social relations both in and outside the factory.⁴⁶ Figure 2.6 shows that during the early factory period, the skill hierarchy dominated workers' lives and largely fixed their status positions in the community. The hierarchy of crafts was at the same time an age-grade system through which young men expected to pass. The factories themselves were under the informal control of community traditions. Shoe manufacturers, who were accepted by all classes as leaders, felt a responsibility toward the community.

⁴³ Conrad Arensberg, "Industry and Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1942, p. 8.

⁴⁴ William F. Ogburn and S. C. Gilfillan, *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1938, chap. III; S. McKee Rosen and Laura Rosen, *Technology and Society*, Macmillan, 1941.

⁴⁵ Horace Miner, *Agriculture and Culture*, University of Michigan Press, 1949.

⁴⁶ Warner and Low, *op. cit.* Cf. Warner and associates, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-114.

IV The Present (1920-1945)	<i>Machine Tools</i> mass production, assembly line methods	Nearly all jobs low skilled; a very large num- ber of routinized jobs	<i>Outside owner- ship and control of the factory (tools leased)</i>	Very few retail outlets; factory merely one source of sup- ply for a chain of shoe stores	Rise of indus- trial unions, state super- vised . . . no (or weak) un- ions	Center of domi- nance New York. Very complex fi- nancial producer and retail struc- ture. Local fac- tory not impor- tant in it
	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
III Late Intermediate Period (Ap- proximately to World War I)	<i>Machine Tools</i> machines pre- dominate; begin- ning of mass pro- duction through use of the ma- chine (McKay)	A central factory with machines; still high degree of skill in many jobs	First small, and later, large <i>local</i> men of wealth own or lease the tools and ma- chines	National mar- ket and local capitalist; many outlets	Craft and ap- prenticeship (St. Crispin's Union)	Center of domi- nance local fac- tory; complex hierarchy in lo- cal factory sys- tem
	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
II Early Intermediate Period (Ap- proximately to the Civil War)	<i>Machine Tools</i> few machines first application (Elias Howe, etc.)	One man assigns highly skilled jobs to few men; highly skilled craftsmen ("let- ting-out" sys- tem)	Small, locally controlled man- ufacturers; tools still owned by workers, materi- als by capitalist, market con- trolled by owner	Owner and salesmen to the consumer re- gional market	Informal, ap- prenticeship and craft rela- tions	Simple economic no longer kin- ship; worker subordinate to manager
	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
	<i>Hand Tools</i> in- creasing speciali- zation and accu- mulation of hand tools	Specialization among several families; a few highly skilled jobs	<i>Local Control</i> not all shoemakers need own all tools; beginning of specialization	Local buyer from several producer fam- ilies sells prod- ucts (no central factory)	Kinship and neighbors among workers	Semi-economic but also kinship and neighborli- ness
	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
I The Beginning (Early 1600's)	<i>Hand Tools</i> few, basic, and simple	All productive skills in the fam- ily, including making of shoes; a few cobblers for the local market	<i>Local Control</i> skills, tools, and materials owned and controlled by each family; or by the local cob- bler	The family produces and consumes shoes and most other products	Largely kin- ship and family relations among workers	Very simple non- economic; the immediate family
	Technology	Form of Division of Labor	Form of Owner- ship and Control	Producer-Con- sumer Rela- tions	Worker Rela- tions	Structure of Eco- nomic Relations

FIGURE 2.6. The History of the Differentiation of the Yankee City Shoe Industry. (From W. L. Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, Yale University Press, 1947, p. 65.)

The mechanization of shoe production largely destroyed the skill hierarchy *and* the age-grade system that accompanied it. Skilled workers became semi-skilled, and semiskilled workers remained on that level. Young men could no longer anticipate an ascent into jobs requiring greater skills. They lost hope and security. The older people also lost security, status, as well as confidence in local leaders. Along with changes in production went a change in the structure of business ownership. Big city financiers assumed financial and directional control of local factories. Thus the changes in occupational structure and financial control shattered the network of personal relations, loyalties, and obligations.

This fact was not appreciated until a strike was called by the workers in a town that absentee managers considered union-proof and strike-proof. The managers were surprised at the amount of support that the strikers received from small businessmen, churchmen, the police, and others. The reason for this was that the captains of industry were no longer the community

leaders. They could not count on the support of local influentials. Consequently, the workers won the strike, and an industrial union became a part of the social fabric of Yankee City. Equally important, leadership in the factory, as far as the workers were concerned, passed from management to union leaders.

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CLASS

One of the most important attributes of a community is its class system. Ordinarily the composition of each class does not change rapidly. When changes do occur they usually arise from changes in social relations brought about by industrial change. Smith reports how shifts in the class system of a New England town were produced by the introduction of the stretch-out in a textile mill.⁴⁷ In this case the technical process of cloth-making was gradually altered, while the actual process of weaving remained essentially the same. Important changes were also introduced in the organization of workers, particularly by breaking down their jobs in the weaving process. In the early days a weaver had complete charge of the loom—cleaning it, loading shuttle bobbins in the creel, tying the ends of yarn together, picking out the flaws in the cloth, repairing the “smashes,” and so on. With mechanical, material, and process improvements, the weaver attended more and more looms and spent less time on skilled work. The time he spent on *unskilled* work, however, grew so great that mills began to hire unskilled workers to take over the weavers’ routine operations. Consequently weavers were expected to attend even more looms. Fewer weavers were needed with the result that many had to become unskilled hands.⁴⁸

Further, as mechanical improvements and labor rationalization expanded, the demand for technical college-trained specialists and supervisors also grew. Top managers were recruited increasingly from these college-trained technicians and decreasingly from mill operatives. The college-trained men had little or no contact with the workers, either in the plant or in the community. The net result of all these changes was an emphasis on the difference between labor and management. There was a decrease in common goals and common participation in the community. Formal education replaced work experience as the main avenue into management. In this case, then, *class distinctions in the community were almost entirely a product of changes in industrial organization*. Political and social issues in the town were directly related to the organizational structure and changes in the industry.

Other studies are needed to assess the effect of speed-up, transfer and promotion, seasonal lay-offs, mechanization, rationalization, quality controls, and other industrial changes on family and community relations. No doubt

⁴⁷ Elliott Dunlap Smith with Richmond Carter Nyman, *Technology and Labor*, Yale University Press, 1939.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-4.

such studies will further document the fact that modern industry has a tendency to shatter social relations both within itself and in the community. Each change creates more instability and insecurity, and the fractures spread throughout the entire society. This trend has not gone completely unchallenged. There have developed within the community and in the work plant formal and informal structures to resist innovations.⁴⁹

RESISTING EFFECTS OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

The rise of labor unions is often attributed to the unsettling effects of technological and organizational changes. Unions are fighting some industrial changes directly, attempting to soften the effects of others, and encouraging those which increase the security of the workers.

In such industries as building construction, which are by nature dynamic and unsettling, particularly strong unions have arisen. They have sought to minimize the effects of insecurity by controlling the recruitment of workers, setting the pace of work, resisting technological improvements, and establishing benefit funds.⁵⁰ These measures have fallen short of stabilizing the industry, because the industry is only part of a larger society which lacks integration. Increasingly, therefore, unions have been driven to participate in local and national affairs to widen their influence.

The social changes that technology brings to the community are not the result of purposeful and intentional behavior on the part of industrialists. However, the desire to introduce technological innovations springs largely from an attempt to cut costs and operate more efficiently. Businessmen say competition in a free enterprise system demands that more efficient methods be adopted and that social disruptions are a necessary price for progress. Any interference with the right to introduce technological improvements is strongly resisted by managements as a challenge to a sacred prerogative.

CONCLUSION

Industry has many wide and pervasive effects in molding the form and function of the community. The influence of economic institutions in a mass production society is more than a mere local phenomenon. Karl Polanyi traces out implications of this fact:

Ultimately that is why the control of the economic system by the market is of overwhelming consequence to the whole organization of society, it means no less than the running of society as an adjunct to the market. Instead of the economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system. The vital importance of the economic factor to the existence of society precludes any other result. For once the economic system is organ-

⁴⁹ See Benjamin M. Selekman, *Labor Relations and Human Relations*, McGraw-Hill, 1947, chap. VI.

⁵⁰ Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

ized in separate institutions, based on specific motives and conferring a special status, society must be shaped in such a manner as to allow that system to function according to its own laws. This is the meaning of the familiar assertion that a market economy can function only in a market society.⁵¹

Society and local community are parts of common social processes. The values by which and for which people live appear in any representative sample of their society. The community is a segment of the society differentiated only by its local individuality. A society in which economic institutions dominate produces communities which function as "economic mechanisms," and through them the life of a people unfolds.

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⁵¹ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, Rinehart, 1944, p. 57.

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FIELD PROJECTS

1. For a parallel program of reading and field study, see Appendix B (pages 688–694) for the field study guide outlining the steps for a complete community study of industry and labor and their influence in the community.
2. If the complete community study is not attempted students may supplement their reading by use of United States Census data to establish the economic and social base of a selected community.
 - a. Apply Harris Classification criteria to a selected community.
 - b. Prepare social base map showing age and sex composition of the selected community.
 - c. Prepare trend table of occupational and industrial changes for selected community over the last 50 years.
3. Land-use maps may be secured or prepared for study. Analyze the occupational distribution of those residing about factories, central business district, schools, etc.
4. The character of the community may be appraised by the rating guide in the field study guide of Appendix B (pages 693–694) or by using Thorndike's Ten-Item City Yardstick in Appendix F (pages 708–710).

Chapter 3

INTERDEPENDENCY OF BUSINESS, LABOR, AND THE COMMUNITY

INTERVIEW WITH THE MANAGER OF THE INDUSTRY IN A COMPANY TOWN

THEORY OF INTERDEPENDENCY

Role Relationships

Organizational Interdependence

Organizational Ties of Labor and Management in the Community

Management and Union Community Philosophy

THEORY OF CLEAVAGES

Role Conflict

Organizational Segmentation

Norms

Structure

Social Heterogeneity

BUSINESS OBJECTIVES FOR COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Plant Location

Operating Concerns of Established Industry Toward the Community

Efficient Local Services

Pool of Trained and Loyal Employees

Securing Representation in Community Agencies

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UNION OBJECTIVES FOR COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Consumer Welfare

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Loyalty of Future Union Members

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COMMUNITY DEMANDS ON UNIONS AND MANAGEMENT

*Economic Stability and Growth**Industrial Peace**Economic Responsibility**Participation Without Domination**Support for Adequate Institutional Services*CONVERGENCE AND SEGMENTATION IN GOALS OF UNIONS, MANAGEMENT,
AND THE COMMUNITYINTERVIEW WITH THE MANAGER OF THE
INDUSTRY IN A COMPANY TOWN

INTERVIEWER: I know that you have a busy schedule, so we'll proceed directly with the interview. We explained in our letter the nature of our study on industry-community relationships. Do you want me to tell you more about it?

MANAGER: No, you can go ahead with the interview. Just remember to keep this interview anonymous and do not identify the company or the town in any way. I've worked with the University before, and I am sure I can trust you.

INTERVIEWER: That's fine. First, a general question on company policy. Your company has plants in several cities. In this community you are the main employer. How do your policies differ in a company town than in multiindustry towns?

MANAGER: I don't like your labeling this a company town. I don't think a company town exists—at least not like in the books. No company can really run a town. We know that and we don't try. We don't own the houses, stores, services or anything here. We have a hands-off policy on town politics. I personally try to avoid being put on boards or committees, and when I can't avoid it, I try to act just like any other citizen.

INTERVIEWER: I didn't mean to imply anything negative in referring to the community as a company town. I meant it only in the sense that you are the main employer here. You say you have a hands-off policy toward the town. Is that really possible in a situation where there is only one main employer?

MANAGER: Certainly! As a matter of fact I believe this is the only way to operate. If you try to control things even indirectly you're going to get into trouble. With a hands-off policy, you protect yourself from becoming over-involved. Furthermore, you can get a more accurate picture of what is going on in town. We get involved only to get information about what is going on, so we can act accordingly. We don't try to manipulate anybody or run things.

INTERVIEWER: That's interesting. How has this policy worked? What kind of community relations does your company have here?

MANAGER: I'd say our relations here are very good. This is a good community. It's clean and well run. We've got a good reputation in town. Don't take my word for it. Go talk to anybody in town. Our wages are good; working conditions are good; we haven't had any labor trouble in years. Our position is based on mutual respect. We respect the town and the town respects the company.

INTERVIEWER: How about local government and politics; how are they run in your opinion?

MANAGER: I'd say it's run pretty good. There's never been any scandal. The mayor is an able person, and everybody has confidence in him. He's been returned to office six times! The taxes in town are about the same as anywhere else, maybe a little higher.

INTERVIEWER: How about the school system?

MANAGER: We've got an excellent school system here. I'd say for a town this size, it's as good as any place in the state. The school board is on its toes. They hire good teachers and provide good labs. Almost 70 percent of the high school graduates go on to college. And they have a good adult education program. I don't think there's a high school in the state that has a better program to fit the needs of our business. I should add that some of our employees teach in the adult education program, and this helps us in training our people. We've received quite a bit of publicity for our work here. You ought to see Mr. Sprugel about this. He could give you lots of information.

INTERVIEWER: Thanks for the suggestion. I will see him. Now how do you evaluate community services in town? I mean, such things as the Community Chest and so on.

MANAGER: Oh, yes. Well, we do our part. I suppose our workers provide over 80 percent of the funds. There's never been much unemployment here, so we have very few needy people. The industry is pretty stable. Most of the community chest funds are spent on recreation for the kids actually. It's a way of pooling our money to buy stuff for the young people and I suppose this is a good investment.

INTERVIEWER: Your general impressions of the community seem to be very favorable. What would you say are the main advantages of industries locating in a town like this?

MANAGER: My answer may surprise you. I really feel there are very few advantages from a business point of view, and lots of disadvantages.

INTERVIEWER: Well then, let's approach the problem the other way around. What are the disadvantages, if any?

MANAGER: Well, it's not like *Middletown*, that's certain. In the first place, as the main industry in town, we are taxed heavily for all the services. Other industries don't share it. I told you our taxes here are somewhat higher than in comparable communities. Furthermore, we are approached to contribute to all kinds of local drives. Just last week I gave \$100 to the support of the Catholic Youth Center. My father would turn over in his grave if he knew I was supporting a Catholic project. But I couldn't refuse. But more important than this is the attitude that many have—that we are responsible for anything that happens in town. For example, if the hospital is crowded, we are blamed for not providing more beds. If there's a bug going around, the fumes from our plant are pointed to as the cause. We cannot share responsibility with another business as you could elsewhere. And as a citizen I can't state my position publicly on anything because it becomes interpreted immediately as company policy—no matter how firmly I deny it. You have no privacy as a person or as a company. It's really a life in a fish bowl.

INTERVIEWER: That's a pretty grim picture. How independent are you in making decisions involving the community?

MANAGER: As a company, you are never independent. You're always dependent on the community for a lot of services, and how you behave affects the kind of services you get. Furthermore, you're constantly pressed to make more contributions than you can afford. And this means that you've got to make choices. Somebody is bound to be unhappy with any decision you make. And this leads to another point, you have to be able to live by any decision you make. There is no business community sharing the responsibility of a decision. If there's blame, you get all of it. . . . I was a plant manager in ———, and I'm telling you, it was easier there.

This interview demonstrates that even in the extreme case of a company town, the industry is not independent from the community. Rather, industry and community are two related and therefore interdependent systems or organizations.¹ It is possible, for analytic purposes, to examine how industry shapes the community (as in Chapter 2), or how the community influences the operation of industry (as in Chapter 4). In reality, industry and community comprise a single social organization. In Chapter 2, the broad structural basis of this interrelationship was indicated. This chapter highlights the importance of the values of business, unions, and community agencies in their interactions. These values, specified as norms, ends, and sentiments, are studied in the context of role and organizational theory.

THEORY OF INTERDEPENDENCY

Role Relationships

The social psychological basis of interdependence of management, unions, and the community rests on the basic fact that people play many roles which must be organized in some way to enable them to act. Thus people are at the same time workers, husbands, fathers, taxpayers, union members, consumers, worshippers, members of PTA's and other special- and general-interest organizations. It may be, as Hiller suggests, that in contemporary Western society the occupational role constitutes the key or general role which sets the pattern among other related roles.² Once the pattern is set, it cannot easily be changed, for role constellations take on a persistency which resist change. Role constellations persist because they represent accommodations worked out by the person with the members of groups to which he belongs. For example, when family members have accommodated to the work schedule of the breadwinner, they resist changes in his schedule.

¹ Conrad M. Arensberg, "Industry and the Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1942, pp. 1-12.

² See E. T. Hiller, *Social Relations and Social Structures*, Harper, 1947, chaps. 22, 30.

Roles which people play are themselves interrelated. They influence and support each other, and represent a temporary accommodation of forces. Thus the amount of energy which a worker devotes to company or union affairs is restricted by his obligations to his family. A manager of a corporation has to decide whether to resist a tax increase on corporate property or support it so that his children may have improved educational facilities. A union member must decide whether his union should push for an increase in wages or an increase in insurance benefits for his family. Both managers and workers must decide whether taxes or voluntary contributions should support community welfare activities. Illustrations of role interdependencies may be multiplied endlessly to demonstrate that economic roles cannot be performed effectively without adequate support from allegedly noneconomic roles. Since roles are not only interdependent but also interpenetrating, the division of roles into economic and noneconomic is purely arbitrary.³

Organized labor and management both recognize the basic social fact that workers cannot be considered only in terms of their occupational obligations. Kaiser Aluminum, in a public release, expressed a theme common to all work organizations.

HERE'S MAN WITH 9 LIVES!

Ever get curious about somebody you see on the street and ask yourself, "I wonder who he is?"

If that person happened to be a typical Kaiser Aluminum employee, you'd probably get more than one answer to your question.

Because in addition to his important job at Kaiser Aluminum he may have nine or a dozen other activities—such as citizens' committee member, church worker, reservist in the armed services, scout master, blood donor, volunteer fireman or charity worker, to name a few.

By participating in such activities as these Kaiser Aluminum employees are doing their part to help make this community a better place to live for us all.⁴

Participation of the executive in community affairs is part of his socialization as a businessman. He expects to become involved in a community life like his father or other business models. There "is a native urge for self-government, which bursts the bonds of official channels, as provided in the old days by town meetings or in modern times by political parties, and spills over into all kinds of schemes for the improvement of the community, of one's self, of one's fellow man."⁵ Of course, there is variation in the degree of community involvement among business and labor leaders. Nevertheless, most of them expect to become involved in community affairs to some degree. Schools of business administration tell aspiring executives that

³ See Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss, *Social Psychology*, Dryden, 1950, chaps. 6, 7 for a discussion of social roles.

⁴ *Seattle Times*, March 18, 1955.

⁵ "The Busy Citizen," *Fortune*, February, 1951, p. 97.

modern business expects them to participate in community life. They tell them that large corporations would rather hire campus leaders with average grades than students who have achieved only academic honors.⁶

Once a person begins to participate in community affairs he often derives an increasing sense of satisfaction and increasing recognition. If he contributes effectively he is subjected to increasing pressure to assume more and more community responsibilities. *Fortune* states: "The success of one organization creates the need for another; the local businessman finds he cannot give intelligent consideration to a third without concerning himself with the fourth; and there is constant pressure on him to round out his activities in an interrelated way, and to become, in the very broadest sense of the word, a citizen."⁷

While this quotation represents an idealized view of community involvement, it does suggest a basic tendency for people to integrate their various activities in some meaningful way. In modern society, with its multiple and sometimes conflicting loyalties, people attempt to integrate the roles they play. The central motivations for participation vary from one person to another. For one, community participation may be motivated by mobility aspirations within the corporation. Such a person learns that promotions derive not only from work efficiency, but also from effective community participation. Therefore, in the community he becomes a public relations representative for his company or the union. He can bring it prestige and recognition. Moreover, he can get valuable organizational training in community work which might be useful on the job. Other persons are motivated to participate to escape the routine and boredom in their jobs. Not only may work in the Community Chest be more interesting than the job, it may provide wider audiences and a broader status platform.

Whatever the original motivations for community participation, such participation usually engenders a genuine feeling of obligation, responsibility, and identification to others. These contacts are no less real than those developed in the plant. They cannot be lightly dismissed as secondary or instrumental to other relations. Of course, there is no assurance that community involvement will be smoothly integrated with the ends or goals of labor unions and management.⁸ This problem will be treated below in some detail.

Organizational Interdependence

Just as the person needs other people to play supportive roles to enable him to fulfill his own work role effectively, so do industrial organizations and

⁶ See William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man*, Simon and Schuster, 1956, chaps. 7, 8 especially.

⁷ "The Busy Citizen," *op. cit.*

⁸ See Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization*, Harper, 1957, chap. iv.

unions need organizational support from the community to function effectively. This interdependency occurs on several levels. The preceding chapter documented how modern industry is first of all functionally related to other industries. On the local community level this means that industries are dependent on local organizations for many supplies and services. While it is true that the "multiplication factor" for basic industries brings about an expanded employment base for the community, *this expansion represents services which industries and employees need to operate and survive*. To seek goods and services outside the community would increase operating costs. Without continuity in supply and services the operations of industry would be threatened. Thus the "contributions" of the company to the community may be viewed as a "dependency" of the industry. One such industry reported:

One of the most important roles the company plays is that of the customer. Last year it spent almost \$2,000,000 in the local area. Many of the things it bought are local products (paint, coal, manila rope and bricks); others are made outside but purchased locally (gasoline, tires, lubricating oil and fluorescent lights). It brought 700 tons of sawdust from the local sawmills to use in cleaning and polishing nails. It bought soap powder, scouring powder, furniture polish and 10,000 pounds of salt (for thawing ice on sidewalks and railroad tracks). From Kelly's seed store it bought grass seed and from a local nursery, tulip bulbs. Some of these purchases are small, but over a half a century they have a way of mounting up.⁹

The dependence of industry on the community for noneconomic services is equally important. One reason why the company town, almost of necessity, must dominate the community from the first is that it needs a number of services in order to operate. It needs roads, water, sewage systems, stores, and other services, both for itself and for its employees. In order to attract and hold workers, the community must have banks, schools, hospitals, stores, churches, newspapers, meeting halls, and transportation facilities. Either these facilities are provided by the community or the company must provide them. Either the school prepares the student for specialized jobs in the company, or the company must bear the entire cost of training employees. Either the community organizes a recreational program or the company must. Either welfare must be a community function or it becomes a management or union enterprise. Either a local press publishes information of local interest or it must be done by the company. In short, in one way or another both industry and community must share the costs of these supportive organizations. Without becoming jaundiced in our view of industrial philanthropy, it may be noted that many community "contributions" must be made if certain services are going to be locally available. Moreover, if companies provide such services they can easily dominate them.

⁹ *Steelways*, June, 1953, p. 2.

There is thus no neat distinction between services which must be provided by communities on the one hand or by individual companies or unions on the other. The important observation is that almost all companies and unions directly assume some of the functions which are frequently borne by communities, and vice versa. An industry-subsidized park, clinic, or hospital demonstrates the former case, and educating students for jobs suitable only for a specific industry demonstrates the latter.

There is no hard and fixed line between "legitimate" industrial and community functions. The typical pattern is for companies and unions to assume the burden of some "noneconomic" functions, and to support, stimulate, or supplement services provided by other community agencies. Thus, the Chamber of Commerce typifies an organization which has primary economic objectives and subsidiary community concerns. The so-called "service clubs" represent agencies dedicated to advance both community and business interests, while foundations represent agencies dedicated to advance community concerns primarily.

Labor unions also have organizational counterparts which run the gamut of strictly economic to almost exclusively community concerns. Union locals tend to be solely concerned with economic issues, while central bodies tend to have both economic and community concerns. In addition, unions support pet projects in the community from which they gain no economic benefits. Of course, both labor and management cooperate in supporting community agencies such as the Community Chest, welfare agencies, civic groups, and governmental committees.

For purposes of demonstration, this chapter will focus on unions and businesses which have a commitment to community participation. It is clear, however, that great variability is found in the philosophy of community involvement. Among labor organizations, the position of the UAW represents one extreme. In Walter Reuther's words, "The labor movement can only be effective if it becomes less an economic movement and more a social movement."¹⁰ For the Teamsters, unions are a business in which anything seems legitimate so long as the organization keeps delivering fatter pay envelopes and other benefits to its members.¹¹

Similar extremes are found in the business community. Theodore Levitt, writing in the *Harvard Business Review*, asserts that welfare and society are not the corporation's business. He says that the governing rule in industry should be that something is good only if it pays. Otherwise it is alien and impermissible. That is the rule of capitalism. "Welfare and society are not the corporation's business. Its business is making money, not sweet music."¹²

¹⁰ *The New Republic*, July 21, 1958, p. 14.

¹¹ A. H. Rankin, "Reuther vs. Hoffa: A Key Struggle," *New York Times*, September 22, 1957.

¹² *Newsweek*, September 22, 1948.

This quotation stands in bold contrast to the position of Marshall Field and Company. The brochure given to all new workers flatly asserts, "The welfare of a business concern and that of the community it serves are inseparable."¹³ It may well be that the position business takes is, in part at least, a position indicated by the nature of its role in the economy. Thus retail firms which serve large publics may need to take into account community obligations more than companies which have specialized markets outside of the community. The following sections attempt to specify further the nature of business and union ties in the community.

Organizational Ties of Labor and Management in the Community

The network of organizational relations which labor and management have in a typical urban community is very complex. Figure 3.1 presents an idealized picture of some of the ties commonly found. While omitting references to pet projects as well as the degree and direction of influence wielded by

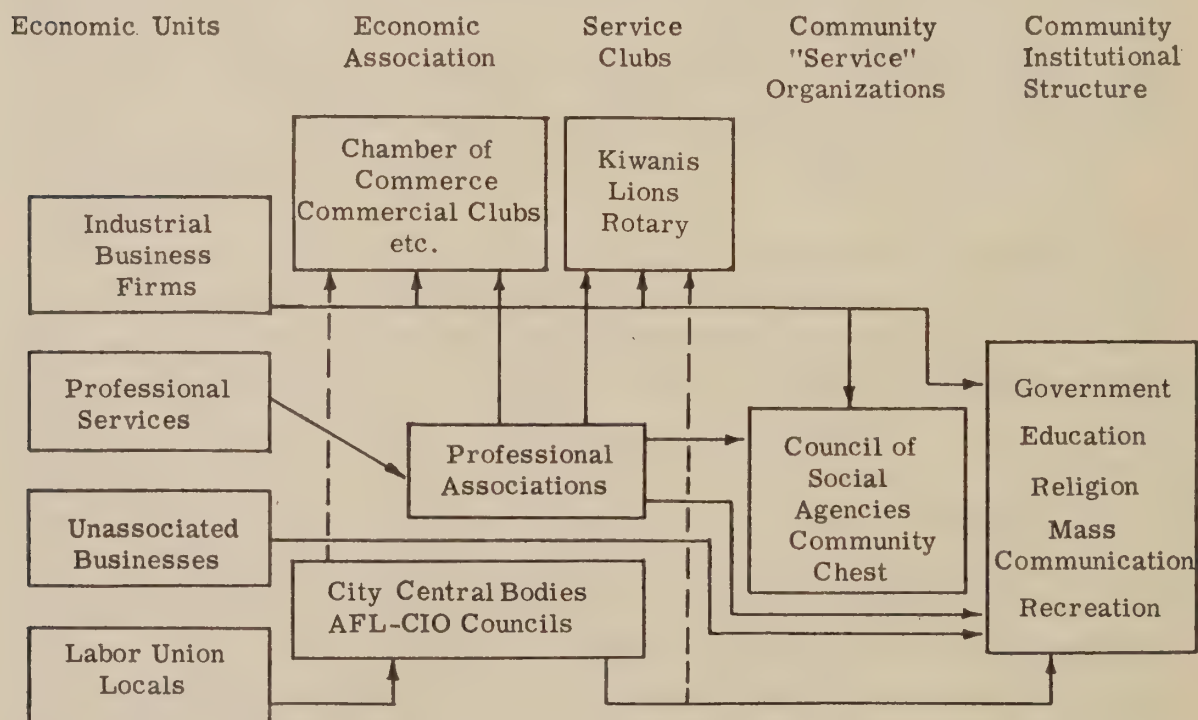


FIGURE 3.1. Idealized Relations of Economic Organizations in the Community. Dotted lines represent occasional ties.

various groups, the diagram suggests two important conclusions. First, individual business firms have direct access into many community agencies, while labor unions seem to have access largely *through* their own central bodies. Second, business seems to sponsor a larger number of community-

¹³ "Your Future at Frederick and Nelson," Frederick and Nelson Department Store, Seattle, Washington, 1954.

oriented associations. While it may appear that labor should have more community influence because it has a more integrated organizational structure, this apparent advantage is often counteracted by labor's necessity to obtain membership approval prior to action. Business groups, on the other hand, have access to important community agencies even when they do not agree on community goals. More important, such organizations as the Chamber of Commerce and service clubs have access to influential and sometimes powerful professional associations. Third, the association between businessmen and professional people is more direct and frequent since they may often meet together under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce, the service clubs, and community agencies. Fourth, while labor unions are sometimes represented in these business-dominated agencies, such representation gives management still another opportunity to influence them. This gives the public an impression that business is speaking for the entire community. Fifth, the main arenas of common participation for management, unions, and professional groups are the control of social welfare agencies, government, and education. In some instances the professionals may constitute a mediating group between management and labor. A more detailed analysis of the dynamics of labor-management relations is found in Part II. As background, it may be useful to examine briefly the philosophy of community involvement of labor and management.

Management and Union Community Philosophy

Both labor and management in the last few decades have tended to adopt official policies on their community obligations. This trend may be accounted for by the belief that adverse public opinion may arouse adverse political action. Good will of the public may represent an investment in survival.

Obviously, most business leaders are not consciously aware of the historical forces which have forced them to alter their policies. They are usually sincere in their feelings of responsibility toward the community. They may interpret this responsibility as a moral obligation to use their talents in community as well as in factory life. They sometimes feel that their talent, training, and experience in organizing men in industry can be directly transferred to the community.¹⁴

Wilbert Moore suggests that this line of reasoning needs to be examined carefully. He proposes that the following questions be posed in order to analyze the problem of business' community responsibility: To whom are businessmen responsible? Is it possible for them to act responsibly without

¹⁴ See T. N. Whitehead, *Leadership in a Free Society*, Harvard University Press, 1936, chap. XII, especially pp. 169-176, and Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order*, Macmillan, 1951, chap. 22, especially pp. 548-553.

being accountable to a person or an agency? Are there effective guarantees that the business leadership in the community will be disinterested? In a conflict between specific business and community goals, would there be doubt about how businessmen would resolve the conflict?¹⁵

The problem of labor's community responsibility is equally complex. As in the case of business, labor feels that it should participate more in local affairs. Historically, organized labor has been vulnerable to the vicissitudes of political climates. Its present survival in the United States is largely due to the legal protection provided by federal legislation. A threat of withdrawing that legal protection is ubiquitous. To insure its present status, unions engage in political and social action.

Access to local community organizations has been historically denied to organized labor. With newly acquired legal and political protection the possibility for active community involvement has increased. Acceptability and respectability have accompanied increased community participation. In the long run this has meant increased social power and diminished chances of losing the gains so lately won.

The question remains whether labor can assume a disinterested pattern of community involvement. It would appear that this would be somewhat easier for it than for management. While wages cannot be easily affected by community action, business profits can be quickly affected by changes in property taxes, zoning, and other matters vital to management. Moreover, workers are not as directly accountable for their community activities to union officials as foremen and managers are to their immediate superiors. Last, union goals in the community tend to be more diffuse than those of management, for labor tends to identify with the "average citizen," the consumer, or the workingman.

In cases where conflict of interest arises between union and community goals, there is no reason to assume more disinterestedness on the part of labor than on the part of businessmen. The former may be expected to fight pay-roll taxes, revision of building codes, and similar issues with as much concern for self-interest as businessmen would have in issues which affect their self-interest.

Union-management collaboration in community affairs has tended to increase since 1940. While some coöperation may represent a residue of war-time collaboration, other reasons may be noted. For one, community needs tend to remain constant and do not necessarily call for conflict. Whereas a Community Chest drive calls for collaboration, grievance and collective bargaining often are conflictful. Yet the two arenas are not unrelated. When industrial conflict is imminent and public support for a position may be vital, antagonists may be able to draw on a fund of good will—their social capital in the community. Although community participation may be a part

¹⁵ Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-176.

of a public relations program, both management and labor generally prefer to restrict economic conflict to the work plant.

THEORY OF CLEAVAGE

We have pointed out that labor and management are developing policies of community involvement and yet are living in a tradition of self-interest. The concurrent phenomena of increased interdependence, a tradition of self-interest, and a philosophy of community responsibility are bound to create many anomalous situations. The following sections are devoted to a description of the conditions which stimulate conflict on the personal and organizational levels.

*Role Conflict*¹⁶

The modern executive has to make decisions constantly, not only on the kind of community activities in which he shall engage, but on the amount of energy he will expend on those activities. He must mediate time demands made on him by the family, church, business, and other associations. Each of these obligations represents a role, and every role can conceivably become a source of pressure in at least two respects: (1) each role can make excessive demands at the expense of the other, and (2) roles can build up contradictory expectations within the person.

Modern society is so constructed that it is virtually impossible for all role demands to be mediated in an integrated manner. Thus, while it is true that roles are interdependent, it is also true that some cleavage or segmentation among them is inevitable. Fortunately, most people can tolerate a considerable amount of segmentation in their lives without breakdown. However, the tensions generated by multiple role demands and by role conflicts have high psychic risks and costs. The anguish of a businessman attempting to mediate community and business demands is borne out by Wheeler:

Trying to see me are three conscientious executives, who would like to remind me, if they dared, that we're in business, to make a profit, and that I must spend some time on the problem of sales, manufacturing, and development. There is a Community Chest meeting in five minutes, and a directors' meeting tomorrow morning, neither of which I am prepared for. I am supposed to make a talk before the American Management Association in two days, and I haven't started to think of what I shall say . . . At times like this I dream of establishing a Society for the Advancement of Irresponsible Businessmen . . . and yet, as if to

¹⁶ See Lindesmith and Strauss, *op. cit.*, for a suitable frame of reference to interpret role conflict.

personally prove the obstinate nature of man, I go on telling about our new responsibilities whenever I get the opportunity.¹⁷

Community involvement is not without risks both for the person and for the organization which he represents. What originally may be a desire to serve and build good will toward the company or union may turn out to damage both the person and the organization. A professor of Latin reported experiences which backfired for him and the institution:

It all started innocently enough. We had been told that community participation was to be counted in our promotions and we all did our share. One night I was invited to give a talk to a P.T.A. in Glendale on "Problems of Modern Education." You know those subjects are so broad you can say anything. So I talked to them on the theme of the importance of a classic education in contemporary society. I know this isn't popular among progressive educators, but I gave them a moderate talk. The next day the superintendent of the school phoned the dean and the president protesting my talk. Then he came to the campus and talked to my department head about my "reactionary ideas." Later my boss called me in and gave me hell for alienating the public and advised me to clear with him before I made any more talks. I got so mad I thought I'd take my case before the AAUP but then gave up on the idea. It would only make matters worse.

In some cases the beliefs of the person may not coincide with those of his work organization. Thus, as a member of the PTA he may want an increase in taxes to support educational expansion, but as a representative of industry, he may have to take an opposing stand. Sometimes industry delays taking a stand on a community issue. Employees, acting as citizens, may commit themselves to a position which may turn out to be contrary to that later taken by the industry. In such situations they experience a sense of conflict in being exposed to criticism from the company and the public.

Not infrequently a family member who participates in a community organization takes a position contrary to that taken by the company of the breadwinner. Although sanctions may not be applied to the worker directly, he may nonetheless feel a sense of uneasiness, for an employee is usually expected to keep his family in line with company or union policy. An inability to do so may not only cast doubt on his loyalty, but may create ambivalent feelings both toward his company and family. A clerical employee of a company on strike embarrassed herself and her husband who was doing duty on the picket line. A bridge engineer reported he lost contracts because his "notorious" wife embraced "liberal" causes. A college professor was refused advancement because his son allegedly had "communist sympathies." Thus, conflicts between the work and the nonwork roles of the employee and his family may generate a sense of conflict, an incompatibility of desires, and an inability to resolve conflicting demands.

¹⁷ Walter H. Wheeler, Jr., speech quoted in Russell W. Davenport, U.S.A.: *The Permanent Revolution*, Prentice-Hall, 1951, p. 128.

In an attempt to document the nature of conflict between work and community roles, the impression may have been created that conflicts are frequent and that they are difficult to resolve. This is not usually the case, because the dominance of economic norms in American society is so strong as to take precedence over community norms. When conflicts do arise, the accepted resolution is usually in favor of the economic demands. Although conflict may be accompanied by embarrassment, tension, and anxiety, economic self-interest is rarely condemned.

Organizational Segmentation

No matter how well employees resolve role conflicts which develop out of their community contacts, some degree of segmentation between work and community norms appears to be inevitable, even in company towns. Segmentation or cleavage is defined as an absence of integration, a lack of fit or adjustment among organizations which must interact to achieve given ends.¹⁸ The basic sources of organizational segmentation among management, unions, and the community organizations derive from (1) different norm orientations, (2) differences in basic structures or organization, and (3) social differences in personnel. At a later point the specific differences of these three dimensions for business, unions, and community agencies will be described. At this point, the nature of the sources of cleavage will be examined.

NORMS

The primary norms of business are clearly pecuniary. Economic norms are easily recognizable, easily measured, and clearly communicable. In their work and community contacts, businessmen constantly appraise their activities and those of others as hindering or facilitating their economic interests. Other people and organizations do not share these economic norms. Thus the norms of an educational system tend to be multiple, diffuse, and non-pecuniary. They may stress building well-rounded personalities, training for responsible citizenship in a democratic society, development of avocational interests, as well as job training. Yet businessmen often have different orientations toward education. They want education to be as inexpensive as possible; they evaluate educational efforts in terms of their success in training people for economically useful skills. Other educational goals are of secondary importance and often regarded as "frills." Thus some degree of antagonism, antipathy, conflict, or segmentation between business and educational norms appears inevitable. To assume otherwise may be a social

¹⁸ For further elaboration of the concept of segmentation, see Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, Harper, 1951, Part II.

and a sociological error. In changing heterogeneous communities, it is more realistic to assume that a degree of cleavage is inevitable, and then determine the conditions which aggravate or decrease the segmentation.

STRUCTURE

When representatives from different local institutions come together to act on matters regarding organizational structure and procedures, some degree of social cleavage is likely to emerge. This is so because the type of organizational structure considered most effective varies somewhat from one institution to another; and institutional representatives are likely to act on the bases of the organizational norms they believe are appropriate for their own agencies. As an illustration, the organizational models of a business and a social service agency may be contrasted. The ideal organization for a business is a bureaucracy; an organization which is hierarchically arranged, with given spans of control, with operational routines, exact cost accounting procedures, and related characteristics. Not infrequently businessmen who sit on welfare boards urge these agencies to become more "businesslike," streamline their procedures, institute cost-accounting methods and related "reforms."

While such recommendations undoubtedly have some relevance, social service agencies necessarily have different structures. They tend to be rather loosely organized; their procedures tend to be flexible; their work atmospheres tend to be more permissive; and their "unit costs" vary widely. Moreover, they are usually staffed with professionals who plan their own work. They are not closely supervised, for they must use their own judgment on how much time and energy to spend on a given client. To insist that social service agencies acquire businesslike structures and methods may lead to organizational disruption.

SOCIAL HETEROGENEITY

The third source of cleavage derives from the fact that institutional representatives do not constitute a socially uniform population. Representatives from unions, business, the professions, and lay groups include a wide range of social types. Different age, sex, ethnic, and status groups hold a wide variety of norms, customs, and aspirations. Different allegiances, identifications, and antagonisms are often brought into the community arena by such socially heterogeneous groups. Moreover, these groups have different conceptions of what is "good" for the community. It is a well-established sociological principle that social cleavages tend to be aggravated when socially heterogeneous populations interact.

In addition to the above sources of segmentation among unions, business, and community agencies, there are internal cleavages within groups. A common failing is to assume that business, unions, and other community organ-

izations are internally homogeneous relative to norms, social organization, and personnel. There may well be as much internal variation within each segment as there is between the segments. The institutional norms which find expression in the community arena are often not representative of the institutions as a whole, but only of those agencies which have greatest material resources and greatest access to power centers and communication facilities. With all these possible sources of cleavage in the community relations of management and labor, it is not surprising that any given equilibrium is bound to be short-lived.

BUSINESS OBJECTIVES FOR COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The different social backgrounds, norms, and organizational milieux of management and labor mean that they will try to achieve different community objectives and use different devices to achieve those objectives. The remainder of the chapter describes the community relations objectives of various economic groups and the kinds of activities which may be expected from them when they act independently or together.

The community objectives of management may be studied for two areas: (1) locating a plant in a new community, and (2) operating an established industry in an established community.

Plant Location

In the beginning of the industrial era, plants arose in communities which were favorably located with reference to local resources, labor, and markets. As markets grew the tendency was to increase the size of the local plant and the labor force. With the depletion of local resources, the discovery of new resources, the growth of national markets, and the rise in educational levels, the relocation of plants to new areas became economically desirable. The shift from individual to corporate ownership helped overcome the force of tradition in keeping production centralized and locally controlled. Early relocation efforts represented crude guesses of the probable costs of production and distribution. Hasty decisions to move plants often resulted in serious financial losses.

Today, site selection for new plants calls for a careful scientific appraisal of a complex of economic, technological, and social factors.¹⁹ For the DuPont corporation the collective judgments of 17 departmental representa-

¹⁹ Edgar M. Hoover, *The Location of Economic Activity*, McGraw-Hill, 1948; Leonard C. Yassen, "Plant Location," *Business Reports*, August, 1952; A. Losch, *The Economics of Location*, Yale University Press, 1954.

tives is necessary to determine the location of plants. These representatives are experts in:

Site surveying	Process design
Air pollution and weather	Land costs
Water and waste	Tax liability
Site development	Economic analysis
Raw material sources	Transportation costs
Construction	Manpower and community
Power availability	Industrial analysis
Soil mechanics	Legal counsel
Plant operation	

Before a community is finally selected it is carefully compared with other candidates for 83 factors, some of which are provided in Figure 3.2. As many as 100 communities may be surveyed before a choice is made, and the process of gathering data and arriving at a decision may take a year or more. Rarely does a community satisfy all of the ideal requirements for location. Although the final decision is basically an economic one, certain sociological variables must be taken into account. Thus as Figure 3.2 suggests, plant requirements, raw materials, power, and transportation are technical criteria which need to be satisfied, while production, labor, and community are criteria involving human coöperation. Among the most important community factors involved in plant location are the available institutional facilities needed to handle an increased population and work force. Stores, churches, hospitals, and schools should be able to meet the needs of an expanded work force without undue strain. A surplus of qualified labor usually means that no large increase in institutional facilities is needed immediately.

The quality of institutional services is also important. Some industries which moved to the South found a high turnover among plant managers, technical employees, and staff. These people refused to rear their children in inferior school systems and in communities with an atmosphere of racial bigotry. Moreover, they found the churches, stores, and related services insensitive to the requirements of their style of living. Another industrial requisite is the presence of other industries which at the same time facilitate the production of the new company and do not offer serious competition for labor. The labor force itself must be not only accessible but "reliable" according to the company's definition of reliability. Government not only must be favorable to new industry, but it must have low indebtedness, so it will not be tempted to tax new industry heavily.

Above all the local community must want the new industry and perhaps be willing to subsidize it by offering free land, providing road accesses, reducing taxes, or offering a building rent-free or at a low purchase price.

TECHNICAL ORDER

PLANT REQUIREMENTS	RAW MATERIALS	POWER UTILITIES	TRANSPORTATION
<i>Acreage</i> Initial Ultimate	<i>Consumption</i> Quantity Source Cost of source Freight	<i>Electricity</i> Availability Dependability Costs	<i>Rail</i> Schedules, access to spur yards and switching
<i>Soil</i> Drainage Foundations	<i>Inventory</i> Working capital Storage facilities	<i>Gas</i> Availability Dependability Costs	<i>Water</i> Channels Docks Carriers
<i>Natural Features</i> Topography Climate Flood	<i>Other Industries</i>	<i>Steam</i> Purchase cost Purchase availability Fuel cost	<i>Highways</i> Access to regional bus lines, freight lines
<i>Water Disposal</i> Minimum stream flow Regulations		<i>Water</i> Quantity Quality	<i>Air</i> Airports Air lines

SOCIAL ORDER

FINISHED PRODUCTS	LABOR	COMMUNITY
<i>Production</i> Sales forecast Pattern of distribution Freight	<i>Supply</i> Availability Capability <i>Wages</i> Construction Operations	<i>Housing</i> Availability Sanitation <i>Institutions</i> Stores Schools Churches Recreation Hospitals
<i>Inventory</i> Working capital Storage facilities		<i>Labor</i> Industrial relations history <i>Government</i> State and local taxes Building codes Public debt

FIGURE 3.2. List of Factors Used in Locating a New Plant. (Adapted from *Better Living*, employee magazine of E. I. DuPont Company, September–October, 1952.)

Ordinarily, community attitudes are favorable to new industries. When local employers see new industry threaten their wage scale, threaten their traditional values, and threaten the local power structure, serious opposition may arise. More commonly, communities are willing to subsidize industry to get a steady pay-roll source. Retail merchants are especially interested in attracting new industry, since their sales will go up without a corresponding increase in their investments.²⁰

Small communities with no major employers or even rural communities near large cities are increasingly attracting new plants. A number of factors converge to make this development possible. The improvement of *transportation* makes it unnecessary for people to live within walking distance or a short streetcar ride to a factory. Increasing spread of *electric power* enables plants to move farther away from urban centers. The creation of *mass markets for consumer goods* in all sections of the country also facilitates industrial decentralization, as does *industrial mechanization* which can operate with supplies of unskilled and transient workers.

When needed, it is increasingly easier to find a moderately well-educated body of entry workers. Most young people today have received a high school education and many have some college training. In rural areas these young people represent surplus labor which must find local employment or leave. They are available to industries as far as 50 miles away, or within one hour's auto drive. A stable body of employees anchored to their families and communities represents a genuine asset to plants seeking a new location. A dispersed labor force also represents a smaller risk to the company, especially if it decides to move.

Industry generally is not concerned with what happens to a community when it decides to leave. As a matter of fact, industry sometimes *threatens to leave the community in order to obtain favorable tax rates, lower wages, or other advantages*. The growing public relations consciousness of larger corporations has made some of them feel a sense of responsibility for the future welfare of the communities they leave. Only a few cases are known to the authors of departing companies which provided inducements to other companies to replace their economic role in the community. Westinghouse reportedly offered its nine-acre plant rent-free for 19 months to any company which would employ 1000 workers or more. Further, it hired a factory relocation service to survey Sunbury's (Pennsylvania) industrial resources for any firm that might want to replace Westinghouse in the city.²¹

²⁰ Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 545.

²¹ *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 25, 1954. International Harvester allegedly sold its Auburn, New York, plant for one dollar to a committee representing the community to facilitate bringing new industries into the area. See Leonard P. Adams and Robert L. Aronson, *Workers and Industrial Change*, Cornell University Press, 1957, p. 59.

Operating Concerns of Established Industry Toward the Community

Many of the factors that are important in selecting plant sites are also important in industrial operations. However, once a site is selected, the relative importance of the factors may change. This section considers some of management's considerations in maintaining its community objectives.

Five general interrelated community objectives may be indicated in rough order of their importance:

1. Obtaining and maintaining services which are essential for the economic operation of the company.
2. Obtaining and retaining a group of employees who are technically competent and loyal toward the company.
3. Securing representation in community agencies so that the company can participate in determining future community action toward it.
4. Maintaining community good will or acceptance.
5. Encouraging the growth of local facilities harmonious with company and employee aspirations.²²

EFFICIENT LOCAL SERVICES

The primary concern of business, of course, is to make high profits and maintain a profitable competitive position. A contribution to these ends is possible by securing low overhead costs for the services provided by government. Industry is dependent on local government for efficient services such as water, sewage, roads, lights, and other essentials. It contacts agencies on matters such as zoning, control of smoke, disposal of poisons, and maintaining health standards. Ideally, industry wants services to be provided with the lowest taxes possible, and wants as little interference as possible in the conduct of its operations.

Municipalities can influence the economic and social position of business directly through tax policies. Local governmental policies may range from the one extreme of subsidy to the other extreme of burdensome taxes. The kind of policy which emerges depends upon the relations between industry and government, and the attitudes which community leaders develop toward certain businesses. To insure favorable policies, businessmen must be interested in government and engage in politics. They must take an active role in government, back candidates who will protect their interests, and be in a position to block unfavorable legislation.

²² These might be compared with those given by Leonard R. Boulware, "Big Industry in the Community—General Electric Assesses Community Relations," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December, 1953, pp. 152-160.

It is not an accident that some businesses fail to carry their share of local taxes. When home owners and other citizens pay disproportionately high taxes, they do not control the tax machinery. Vivid illustrations of this situation are found in cases where large industries move to fringe areas of the city to escape paying higher taxes for the schools, roads, and transit systems their workers must have. At the same time, they often make demands for local governmental services all out of proportion to the taxes they pay.

When business pays exorbitantly high taxes, the reasons for the antagonistic attitudes of local government must be located. A discriminatory tax policy arises when business has not only lost local influence but has antagonized those who control municipal government. This was the case in the Gogebic and Mesabi iron range communities in Wisconsin and in the upper peninsula of Michigan.

In these towns the surface rights belong to the public and the underground rights to iron-mining companies. The Range towns, although they contain only one major industry, are not company towns. Since 1921 they lacked nothing in the way of ordinary public facilities and utilities. Not infrequently over 90 percent of the funds needed to pay for these facilities come from taxing mining properties. Wakefield, Michigan (4000 population) has an elaborate, well-lighted boulevard, modern schools, and other major facilities. Like other towns it has taxed the mines while they were running full blast. No surplus money was allowed to accumulate in the city treasury, so as not to give the companies justification to ask for tax reduction.

Many people believe that every cent possible should be collected from the companies while they are still operating and that the town should retain a share of the wealth which, once removed, would never return. Although town governments try to collect all taxes possible, they overlook violations of the mining codes.

The great corporations which took possession of the Mesabi around 1900 had only one aim—profits for stockholders. They introduced a predatory pattern in dealing with employees and with the State's heritage in ore . . . The public gradually sided with labor in their sympathies, and the two groups together, through controlling government, gradually adopted the same predatory pattern of the mining companies. Their only weapon was taxation. Through taxation they could acquire not only poor relief for labor but subsidies for struggling business enterprises; not only the necessary conveniences for the public good, but luxuries. They found, through taxation, a way to reinstate beauty where industry had marred it, a way to bring culture and refinement in a locality where many nations had been mixed in a struggle for bread, a way to bring recreation and play to both unemployed youth and adults.²³

²³ Paul H. Landis, *Three Iron Mining Towns*, Edwards, 1938, p. 112.

This situation is certainly not typical in the United States. It does, however, demonstrate the position which business finds itself in when it is unable to secure one of its operating concerns: efficient local services.

POOL OF TRAINED AND LOYAL EMPLOYEES

In order to assure itself a pool of skilled and loyal employees, employers are dependent on an effectively operating educational system. Since education is largely a governmental function paid through taxes, employers are constantly interested in it. This interest is easily understandable. Apart from learning skills which will be useful at work, students also learn in the classroom attitudes toward business and unions. School administrators usually play the kind of roles which business wants them to play, and are ready to teach students the skills and attitudes which will enable them as future workers to "adjust" to the world of work.

Industry's involvement in the local educational system takes many forms.²⁴ Just a few may be mentioned here. In many school systems business donates medals to students for highest achievement in science, scholarship, or citizenship. Sometimes scholarships are offered to deserving pupils to enable them to continue their education. Schools are also supplied with literature on the operation of American business. The National Association of Manufacturers has prepared a number of pamphlets, slides, charts, and films for use in the schools. Some of the pamphlets are entitled:

- The American Triangle of Plenty
- America's Vocational Schools
- Free Enterprise—Its Past and Future
- Guide to the Evaluation of Education
- Experiences in the Armed Services
- Preparing for Industrial Work
- Industry Report to Veterans on Jobs

These publications reveal the business norms for the educational system. Business above all else wants the schools to tell the story of "free enterprise," the "Triangle of Plenty," and "The American Way." In the NAM booklet, "Free Enterprise—Its Past and Future," management dedicates itself to "serve veterans and youth—the enterprises of tomorrow—by keeping open the avenues of opportunity and assuring full competition in and ready access to every economic field." American industry is pictured as producing the highest standard of living in the world, as providing consumers with constantly improved and lower-priced products, and as making the nation the bulwark of democracy.

Businessmen are sometimes disturbed when they feel that schools are failing to tell the "free enterprise" story. Their associations urge them to act

²⁴ In Chapter 7, industry-education relations are examined in detail.

as sentinals of democracy by making sure that schools provide the "right kind" of education. Local business groups form committees to check on the loyalty of teachers, the Americanism of their textbooks, and the conduct of their classes.

Businessmen have a second concern about school operations. They become disturbed when schools do not offer a "practical" program of education. They want students to learn skills that will aid them in making a living. Other things, such as good citizenship (loyalty to prevailing sentiments), may be taught, but not too much of the taxpayers' money should be spent on nonuseful frills.

Whenever possible, industry wants the public to assume the expense and burden of training for specific skills. Commercial, vocational, and business courses are constantly being added to the curricula from grade school through college. Education assumes more and more of the burden of teaching young people how to care for golf greens, test cloth, make cheese, and write business letters.

A college senior reports on the relations between industry and education in a western Massachusetts city:

The development of a machinist training program and extensive plans for enlarging the high school machine shop has been pushed by councilmen who are Company employees. In 1935 an enlarged commercial course for stenography and secretarial work was begun and has progressively grown. College preparatory courses stress pre-engineering courses such as math, chemistry, and physics (foreign languages, literature and English are only self-perpetuating). After graduation, students are encouraged to enroll in the apprenticeship training course offered by the company. In 1940 a cooperative program was developed between the company and high school for training draftsmen. An adult machinist night school established during the war has been continued. The chairman of the City Board of Education since 1935 has been a high company official.

When education fails to meet the practical goals of business, employers form citizen committees to put pressure on school boards. An interesting illustration of this kind of pressure occurred in Detroit, where a committee of businessmen attacked the performance of the Detroit public school system. The newspapers took up the hue and cry:

SCHOOLS FAILING EMPLOYERS CHARGE

Detroit schools are grinding out another "lost generation." Ignorant of the three R's children are "sloughed off" upon a business world which rejects many of them as "unacceptable" and "unemployable."

Employment managers told the Free Press that up to 40 per cent of the boys and girls leave school without mastering simple arithmetic.

One personnel executive said their handwriting is atrocious.

Employers charge that youngsters are turned out with "poor work attitudes," lacking in responsibility toward the job and the employer.

Blame for this is placed on the modern school of education in which emphasis is placed on stimulating the child's imagination, his wish to learn, power of analysis and sense of inquiry.

"Children have flitted through school like a game," said one personnel expert. "School is work, like a job. Pupils should be taught that they must produce . . ."

More than one-third of Detroit public school students take the college preparatory course. They graduate with a smattering of cultural knowledge, but no "saleable" training.²⁵

Educators recognize the need to integrate industry and education. They send children on field trips into the factories and offices to expose them to the world of work. Generally, business executives are happy to provide school children with this type of "educational experience." Rarely, however, are labor leaders called to address the students on the role that unions play in work organizations.

Recently some educators have been urging more intimate reciprocal relations between industry and education. Business-Industry-Education Days have been sponsored, wherein all teachers visit plants in the city and businessmen observe the schools in action. The thought is that each may learn the problems of the other. In this exchange, executives apparently have more self-confidence than the teachers. Many teachers are hard pressed to give their classroom activities a "practical slant," for they tend to place greater emphasis on the total growth of personality.

SECURING REPRESENTATION IN COMMUNITY AGENCIES

Management's desire for representation in community agencies is motivated by two concerns. The first is a genuine interest in contributing to the general welfare. The second is the ubiquitous concern that business might be adversely affected by unanticipated events in some community arenas. Thus, business wants representation on a wide variety of such agencies as the mayor's commissions, the Community Chest, the board of education, welfare agencies, recreation commissions, planning boards, and youth agencies. Such representation guarantees business access to information it needs, and assures it a continued place in the community power structure.

COMMUNITY ACCEPTANCE

An effective way to build local good will is to participate in a broad range of community affairs. Sometimes industry has problems of gaining community acceptance despite its large-scale participation. This may result from the fact that business cannot directly contact many local associations. One of the goals of service clubs may be to contact these kinds of groups. More often, larger industries develop a special community relations program to assure general community acceptance.

²⁵ *Detroit Free Press*, fourth in a series of articles by John Griffith, February 2, 1949.

General Motors, in a public relations pamphlet, outlines its program of building better community relations in Kokomo. Essentially, there are seven points to the program:

a. GM is a *Local Story*. See that a local picture of GM is built by strengthening local business ties and participating in a wide range of community activities. The plant manager should attempt to play a leadership role in the community.

b. It's the Job Done. Participation is not enough. All members of the organization should be involved in an active community project which has tangible results, such as sponsoring Little League baseball, a Boy Scout troop, making the auditorium available for the Red Cross.

c. Building Good Press Relations. A constant flow of news stories keeps the division and GM continually identified with individuals who live next door or belong to the same organization as the newspaper reader. Such stories contribute much toward making the plant division and GM an *integral part* of the local community.

d. Tell the GM Story. A speaker's ready-made kit containing seven presentations is provided for speakers and others to tell the community the true picture on GM's financial story, its labor relations, employee relations, the organization of GM, opportunities in GM for young people, facts about the traffic problem, and the GM suggestion plan.

e. Take GM to the Public: by news stories, radio, TV, displays, exhibits, lectures about the plant, community meetings, distribution of corporation motion pictures.

f. Bring the Public to GM: by plant tours, lunch in the plant cafeteria, display of information rack booklets, Business-Industry-Education days, Clergy Days, etc.

g. A Plan for Action. A community relations advisory group should be established to determine the image which the company has and to plan steps to implement the company's community relations objective.²⁶

ENCOURAGING THE GROWTH OF LOCAL FACILITIES

While a particular community may have adequate institutional resources at a given time, they may be inadequate to meet future needs. Resources are of two types—those necessary to make the community a satisfactory place in which to live, and those necessary for the economic growth of the company (such as related business and industries). The former are especially important for managers who have been reared in large cosmopolitan cities. When sent to small, provincial rural areas, they may find institutional resources incapable of making their extraplant life a satisfying one. Therefore they try to encourage, if not subsidize, the development of local social and cultural resources.

Attaining the above management objectives involves great expenditures of time, energy, and money. A decision must be made as to which objectives

²⁶ *GM Lives Here*, Department of Public Relations, General Motors, 1953, p. 4.

deserve higher priority in specific situations. Elements in this decision are (1) the competing community concerns of labor unions, (2) the community's own objectives for management and labor, and (3) the available resources. Generally speaking, few groups can match management's economic resources, although other groups do have other kinds of strengths.

UNION OBJECTIVES FOR COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Five general interrelated community objects for organized labor are:

1. Improvement of the consumer's or the "general public" welfare.
2. Equitable distribution of community services.
3. Union acceptance.
4. Loyalty of future union members.
5. Union representation on important local agencies.

Consumer Welfare

The primary concern of the union is to secure stable employment with relatively high wages. Although this goal can be indirectly affected by community action, the level of wages is primarily the result of collective bargaining with employers. To make wages go as far as possible, it is often in the interest of labor to have the community (including business) pay for a larger share of the local services. This suggests that labor regards itself not so much as a specific economic interest group in the community, but rather as a representative or spokesman of the lower-middle and lower classes. This orientation is reflected in the AFL-CIO Community Service Council's Statement of Principles:

- a. The union member is first and foremost a citizen of his community.
- b. The union member has a responsibility to his community. He must cooperate with his fellow citizens in making his community a good place in which to live, to work and to raise children. He must be concerned about the availability of adequate health, welfare and recreational services for the whole community.
- c. Unions have a responsibility for the health and welfare of their members and their families which extends beyond the place of employment. This responsibility includes not only the emergencies caused by strike, unemployment, or disaster, but extends to helping the employed member meet his personal or family problems.
- d. The community has a responsibility to its citizens. It must be prepared to meet those social needs which individuals or families cannot meet or meet adequately with their own resources.
- e. Generally speaking, unions have elected to support and participate in existing community social service agencies rather than to establish direct social serv-

ices of their own. To the degree that the personnel and facilities of social agencies serve all the people, they serve the men and women of organized labor.

f. Government has the basic responsibility for meeting the broad health and welfare needs of the people.

g. Voluntary or privately sponsored social agencies and facilities occupy an important position in meeting the social welfare needs of the community. Major responsibilities falling within the scope of voluntary social work are the fields of character formation, child guidance, family counseling and youth activities, as well as in the area of experimentation and pioneering research.

h. It is the responsibility of organized labor to cooperate with other community groups in improving the quantity and quality of social services, while at the same time educating union members about available health and welfare services and how to use them.

i. Assistance in whatever form should be given on the basis of need, regardless of the cause of the need and without regard to race, color, or national origin.

j. Prevention of social problems is preferred to the best treatment of social ills.²⁷

Equitable Distribution

As protagonists of "the bottom half," union representatives want to make sure that taxes are determined according to the ability to pay. They want business and upper-income groups to pay relatively higher taxes than wage earners and lower-income groups. In return for their own taxes, unions want government and other agencies to provide services equitably. Thus they insist that working-class neighborhoods be given the same type of fire protection given to "better parts of town," that the streets in poorer sections of town be as well maintained as those in economically superior areas, that all schools be equally adequate, that the courts give equal treatment to poorer citizens, and that the newspapers be impartial in presenting news about workers and minority groups.

Union Acceptance

Union acceptance is a demand for status equality with management and other groups. While acceptance is undoubtedly affected by local participation, unions are slowly realizing that a public relations program is also necessary to build a positive public image. International and even local unions now are beginning to create public relations departments and hire public relations experts. This is a far cry from the traditional program that "any publicity is good publicity." As a matter of fact, labor now feels that it is suffering from exaggerated publicity of its actual strength. Slowly a

²⁷ James Myers and Harry W. Laidler, *What Do You Know About Labor?* John Day, 1956, pp. 192-193.

public program is being worked out which has the following main principles:

1. Know your editors on an interpersonal basis.
2. Be careful not to alienate other groups in the community.
3. Avoid labeling other groups as antiunion, especially newspapers.
4. Engage in public service activities whenever possible and let newspapers know about these activities.²⁸

As in the case of the business groups, labor unions have developed films and pamphlets which tell their story to the broader community. Unions have produced about 30 sound films, the most popular of which are:

The Brotherhood of Man
Building Industrial Democracy
Union Action
Saga of 666
Svenson's Seniority
Workers' Security Through Collective Bargaining²⁹

In what ways will public acceptance help the unions? An analysis of union literature suggests that three goals are behind the drive for public acceptance: (1) prevention of antilabor legislation, (2) obtainment of community support in case of a prolonged strike, and (3) recruitment of workers who are not antiunion or who are willing to join unions when they enter the labor market. The first two objectives can be reached through a broad public relations and community participation program, while the third involves influencing the educational system of the community.

Loyalty of Future Union Members

Organized labor has long felt that school systems are dominated by middle-class teachers who have been antilabor and probusiness. Before the enactment of the Wagner Labor Act, school administrators felt almost no pressure to present an objective account of the role of unions in the economic and social development of the country. Since that time school systems in larger cities have been pressed to deal fairly with union problems and to refrain from instilling antiunion sentiments in students. Colleges and universities

²⁸ See Gordon H. Cole, "The Union's Public Relations Program," in J. B. S. Hardman and Maurice F. Neufeld (eds.), *The House of Labor*, Prentice-Hall, 1951, pp. 205-209; Arnold Mayer, "Effective Public Relations for Local Unions," *The Butcher Workman*, August, 1955, pp. 24-25.

²⁹ Herbert B. Jackman, "The Union Educational Film," in Hardman and Neufeld (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 471-473.

have been urged to develop courses on labor problems and industrial relations both for union members and for the public.³⁰

The union challenge to the business control of educational systems has, of course, been resisted by many businessmen and educational administrators. However, labor unions have persisted in their efforts to seek representation on school boards and to influence educational policies. The editorial from the *Michigan CIO News* in Chapter 6 reflects the indignation of labor to charges of plotting to control the educational system of Detroit.³¹

When faced with such an unfavorable social climate in the community, unions have understandably placed greater emphasis on their internal educational programs to teach new and old members the history, practices, organization, and sentiments of organized labor. Public schools have not been willing or able to do for labor what they have done for business and industry.

Union Representation

During and following World War II American labor launched a policy of widespread community participation. It systematically sought to gain representation and influence in almost every arena of community life: government, education, religion, welfare, recreation, and the family. It reasoned that business had penetrated into every facet of the community, and that if labor wanted to have equal influence, it had to do likewise. The goal was to have status and power equality with business.

By gaining representation on many local boards, committees, or agencies, labor felt it could demonstrate to others that its members were good citizens and were willing to contribute to community life. Such participation might weaken the status barriers which traditionally separated labor from other groups in the community, and give unions formal equality with business. It would also help attain the goals of becoming an important part of the local power structure. The community program of labor is thus seen as supplementing its political program.³² Both have the purpose of improving the power position of labor in the community.

Both the community and the political programs of labor will be examined in detail in succeeding chapters. The purpose here is to indicate that these programs can only be understood in terms of labor's community and collective bargaining objectives. The general position of labor can be summarized as follows: The gains that are won in collective bargaining can be lost in the legislatures and in the community arena. A political program is needed to

³⁰ Myers and Laidler, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-229, present an extensive account of educational activities of organized labor.

³¹ Chapter 6, pp. 234-235.

³² See especially Fay Calkins, *The CIO and the Democratic Party*, University of Chicago Press, 1952.

retain legal support for union activities. A community service program is needed to make sure that citizens (as voters) will remain sympathetic to labor. Lastly, interest in the community is important for its own sake, for what is good for the community is also good for labor.

COMMUNITY DEMANDS ON UNIONS AND MANAGEMENT

The above sections have outlined the community objectives of management and labor and some of the actions they undertake to realize their objectives. Yet labor, management, and the community are interdependent and have objectives which concern each other. The community is not entirely a passive instrument to be manipulated by various economic associations, for it too makes demands on them. This section endeavors to indicate what some of these community demands are and the resources available to realize them.

There is a danger of reifying the community, of assuming that it represents an integrated entity. It may be convenient then to think of the community in two senses: (1) local residents who are not acting primarily in their economic roles but as citizens, and (2) "noneconomic" institutions such as government, education, and welfare. Citizens and noneconomic agencies have five general objectives toward economic associations. They are (1) economic stability and growth, (2) industrial peace, (3) economic responsibility, (4) participation without domination, and (5) stimulation and support of adequate institutional services.

Economic Stability and Growth

Community organizations and leaders rarely ask themselves whether the community deserves to survive. Despite strong contrary pressure, workers want jobs in their home communities, and want their children to find jobs there. Thus they pressure industries to provide stable employment, adequate wage levels, and increasing employment opportunities. Single-industry communities sometimes feel that the future of the community rests too precariously on the ability of the company to survive economic competition. They want a broader industrial base to insure stability. Marginal industries are avoided because they represent risks to city growth and development, and perhaps a source of labor unrest.

There are a number of things communities can do to assure improved economic security. They may reduce taxes and subsidize services to plants; they may attract different kinds of industries and attempt to build balanced industrial structures; they may tax plants heavily to build up welfare funds to be used in periods of economic depression; they may train young people

for skills which can be used in local industries; they may create committees to plan the future economic growth of the community.

A detailed account of how a community reacted to the threatened loss of its main industry may be found in *Steeltown*.³³ Walker describes the formation of an industrial development corporation and its attempt to create a more diversified industrial base for the community. The unusual activities of the union to convince absentee owners to keep the mill operating are also analyzed. Also, the reactions of a cross section of the citizens to the prospective loss of the mill are presented. Detailed analyses of such ventures will be presented in later chapters dealing with applied problems of industry-community relations.

Industrial Peace

An important goal of the community is industrial peace, because everyone suffers from prolonged conflict. Tax revenues are reduced, welfare loads are increased, retail trade drops, church contributions decrease, teachers' salaries are reduced, recreational budgets are cut, and community agencies are factionalized.

Many kinds of pressure are put on labor and industrial leaders to insure industrial peace. The most common is to appoint a representative board of citizens to get unions and management to resolve their conflicts. This board may also use its good offices to mediate the conflict. During stable periods labor leaders and businessmen are placed in responsible community positions (such as the city council, planning commission, and other related agencies), to give them a perspective on the community needs which must be met in times of stress. By assuming these roles, they may consider community needs in times of industrial conflict. A detailed picture of how community pressures are exerted on conflicting parties during a strike is presented in the next chapter.³⁴

Economic Responsibility

While communities are often willing to make some sacrifices for economic stability, they also exert pressure on industry to pay its own way for municipal services. If industry does not pay equitably for water, light, fuel, fire and police protection, street maintenance, and sewage, others must pay higher residential taxes. Determining the "fair share" of taxes is often difficult, and involves considerable bargaining between community and indus-

³³ Charles R. Walker, *Steeltown*, Harper, 1950.

³⁴ See Neil W. Chamberlain, *Social Responsibility and Strikes*, Harper, 1953, and W. L. Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, Yale University Press, 1947.

trial leaders. In order to avoid overtaxation business must convince community leaders that it is contributing equitably.

Participation Without Domination

The skills of business and labor officials are needed to operate such community agencies as the planning commission, city council, council of social agencies, youth agencies, and the churches. These agencies must solicit financial support from industry and labor and yet must not become submissive to them. Since local agencies can do little to contain the power of industry directly, they sometimes give professional groups larger representation on local boards to counterbalance the power of labor or management. In addition, the professional employees of the agencies themselves are often adept at broadening the horizons of the lay board members.

Support for Adequate Institutional Services

All citizens have some ideas of what constitutes a good community. Cities are commonly evaluated as being healthy or unhealthy, good or bad places to raise children, and as having good or poor institutional facilities.³⁵ Middle-class groups tend to rank the physical, educational, religious, welfare, recreational, and cultural facilities of the city in decreasing order of importance, while manual workers rank stability of employment and wage levels as most important.³⁶

Industry is expected to support the achievement of these community goals. The money to support a physically attractive community, a good school system, fine churches, well-equipped playgrounds, and broad cultural activities is usually achieved by convincing industrialists to make heavy contributions in the form of gifts or taxes. Various techniques are available to put pressure on industry. While direct taxation is always possible, it is so impersonal as to deprive the large taxpayer of special recognition. By inducing business and union leaders to make organizational gifts and by giving them honorific jobs, community services may be improved.

Convergence and Segmentation in Goals of Unions, Management, and the Community

It is easy to get consensus on broad community goals. All organizations assert they want a beautiful city, industrial peace, and institutional services.

³⁵ Robert C. Angell, "The Moral Integration of American Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1951, pp. 27-32.

³⁶ See Joel Smith and William H. Form, *Urban Identification and Disidentification*, unpublished manuscript, 1958.

However, problems arise in deciding on the priority of specific community goals and the selection of the means to achieve them. Close inspection of how priorities are determined and how the means are selected reveals the factions, rivalries, and coalitions which emerge between and within institutional sectors.

While labor and management abstractly want industrial peace, individual businesses may try to pirate workers during periods of labor shortages. When various related industries fail to agree on wage policies, individual unions may make excessive demands on the most vulnerable employer. Again, all parties may want a good educational system to train future workers. Yet the educational requirements of some industries may require large educational investments, while those of another may demand smaller investments. For example, some businesses may resist increasing school taxes to meet the particular training needs of another business. The resolution of such an issue affects the decision of a business as to whether to raise or lower its internal training budgets. If increased, there will be less disposition to pay higher school taxes. Thus community objectives are related to decisions on internal operations. Another illustration which involves labor unions is the apprentice-training programs of schools. Depending on the supply of skilled labor, unions may or may not want to coöperate with school programs to train apprentices.

These possibilities are mentioned only to demonstrate the dynamic character of labor, management, and community relations in the institutional sector of education. An attempt will be made to examine the pattern of relations which characterize *each* institutional sector of the community in Part II of this book. In Part III, the interdependence of *all* institutions is examined by analyzing their involvement in community projects and the process of resolving local issues. In each area the role of industry and unions in fostering or breaking community solidarity will be examined.

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FIELD PROJECTS

1. Make a content analysis of an employee magazine and a local union newspaper to get ideas of the degree of community involvement of members and officers of the organizations. See Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, Free Press, 1952.
2. Interview business and union officers to ascertain the nature of pressures upon them to participate in the community and the role conflicts they experience, if any.
3. Identify the most important local service clubs to discover the following: What is the occupational and business identity of the membership? What programs have they inaugurated which involve the community?
4. Interview the executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce. Determine to what extent different types of business and professions have membership in the Chamber. What percentage of business is represented? Find out what programs the Chamber has which involve the community and how these programs operate.
5. Interview the president of the AFL-CIO council. Identify the main international unions and local bodies in the community. What is the nature of their community involvement? How active are COPE and community services organizations? What are the areas of coöperation and conflict with business?
6. Make inquiries concerning which professional associations are most actively involved in community affairs. Under what conditions do the organizations of doctors, lawyers, personnel managers, teachers, and others become involved in community issues?
7. Study some of the supervisory and executive personnel of work plants in the community. What business, professional, and community associations do members of different supervisory levels belong to?
8. Interview the secretary of the council of social agencies. How does he appraise the participation of business and unions in community affairs? What areas of conflict and coöperation does he see? What are his expectations for business and union participation? Validate his responses by interviewing a knowledgeable educator and clergyman.

Chapter 4

THE COMMUNITY IN UNION-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

- Traditionalistic Norms in Hiring, Transfer, and Promotion*
- Pressure Toward Universalistic Norms*
- Working Conditions*
- Disputes*

THE COMMUNITY AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

- Industrial Relations, the Public, and Sentiments*
 - Is There a Compromising Community Morality?*
- Community Attitudes Toward Local Industrial Relations*
 - Illini City*
 - Attitudes Toward Local Companies and Unions*

THE COMMUNITY AND THE STRIKE

- Strike Impact on the Community*
 - Strike and Community Inconvenience*
 - Strikes Threaten Community Equilibrium*
- Theory of Community Involvement in Industrial Relations*
 - The Equilibrium Premise*
 - Level of Community Involvement*
 - Other Variables Affecting Community Involvement*
 - Common Factors for Labor and Management*
 - Internal and External Characteristics of Labor and Management*
 - Community Factors*
- Community Sanctions on Industrial Relations*
 - Family Pressures*
 - Unorganized Public Pressure*
 - The Newspaper*

Government Intervention

Mayor's Office

Church Intervention

Education

Organized Community Pressure

Contestants Organize the Community

Management's Citizen Committees

Other Citizen Committees

SANCTIONS AT WORK: A CASE STUDY, by Neil W. Chamberlain

INTRODUCTION

The operation of community values toward industry will be documented in this chapter as sources of control of industrial relations, broadly interpreted. It is difficult to observe the community's impact on daily plant operations because the latter usually are confined within the boundaries of community acceptability. Since these boundaries arise in response to broad societal changes they are rarely defined precisely. Yet very few aspects of labor-management relations are completely exempt from community influences. Hiring, transferring, and firing of workers can, under certain conditions, involve outside groups. Working conditions, industrial operations, grievance processing, contract negotiations, and the strike may all be subject to some community influences. Arbitration, sympathetic strikes, boycotts, and industrial legislation are concrete manifestations of the community's involvement in the economic relations of unions and business.

To be sure, business and the unions are not entirely passive, for they insist on their right to determine some of their relations, but seek community involvement in others. This chapter analyzes some areas of labor-management relations in which the community becomes involved and some of the conditions for this involvement. It focuses primarily on the norms, ends, and sentiments which local groups develop toward unions and business, and the kinds of controls which these groups can exert. The reader must constantly remind himself that the community is not a homogeneous entity which consistently applies a set of agreed-upon values.

Traditionalistic Norms in Hiring, Transfer, and Promotion

A few instances of community penetration into different areas of labor-management relations may be briefly described. Traditionally, hiring has been the prerogative of the employer. He selected people whom he considered qualified for the job, determined their conditions of work, and guided their careers. When labor unions became strong, certain restrictions

were imposed on the employer. The worker had to be given the opportunity to join the union, his wages had to be at an agreed-upon level, and transfer and promotion had to take into account experience and seniority. In some cases the recruitment, training, and upgrading of the worker was transferred entirely from the employer to the union.

Warner and Low have demonstrated that in the shoe factories of Yankee City the distributions of jobs roughly approximated ethnic stratification in the community.¹ Workers from higher ethnic status groups had better jobs and higher wages. This situation, of course, reflected the hiring policies of

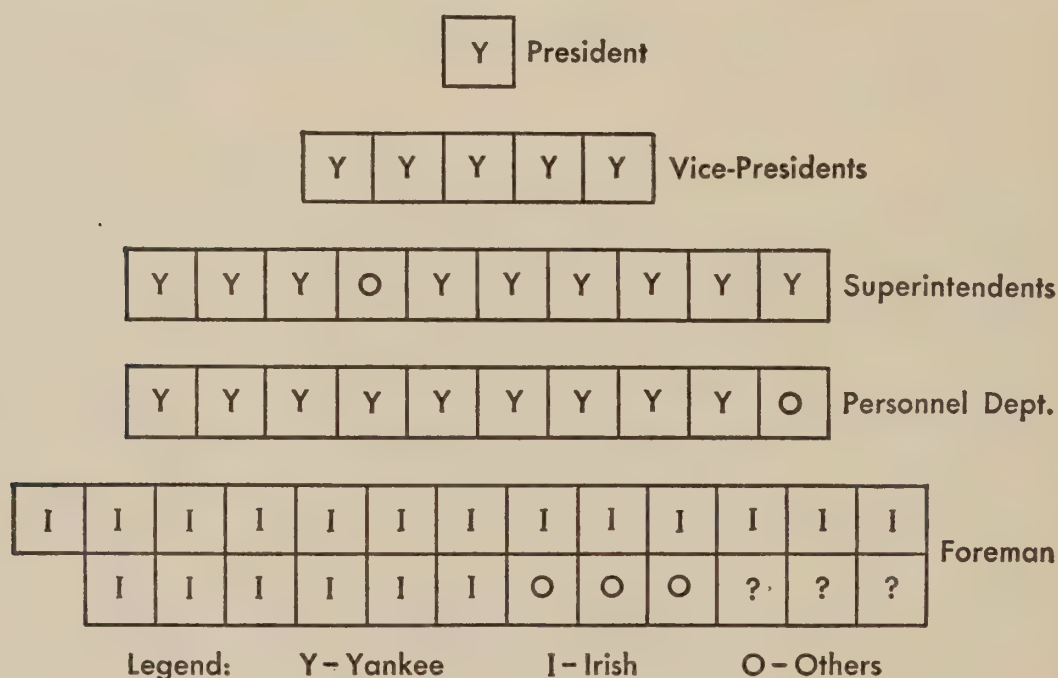


FIGURE 4.1. Job-Ethnic Hierarchy in a New England Factory. The non-Yankee at the superintendent level is a testing engineer. The non-Yankee member of the personnel group is a young Italian who does safety cartoons and acts as a general errand boy. (Adapted from Orvis Collins, "Ethnic Behavior in Industry: Sponsorship and Rejection in a New England Factory," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1946, p. 294.)

the Yankee management, who gave higher-paying jobs to Yankee residents and lower-status jobs to various ethnic groups according to their status in the community. The same thing has been observed in many other communities. Cayton and Drake have shown that there is a job ceiling for Negroes, in the sense that Negroes are disproportionately underrepresented in certain high-prestige jobs.² Orvis Collins spent six months working and observing a New England factory, where he found an informal ethnic system of job occupancy and promotion. Figure 4.1 depicts the ethnic job hierarchy for this factory.

¹ W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, Yale University Press, 1947, chap. VI.

² St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, Harcourt, Brace, 1945.

The figure shows two sharply defined areas: the management area dominated by Yankees, and the supervisory area by the Irish. This division has led over the years to the expectation that Yankees will be hired by management and that newly appointed foremen will be Irish. Although all new foremen need not be Irish, the appointment of a non-Irish foreman must be done with the consent of the workers and the other foremen. When Peters, a Yankee, was promoted to be a subforeman to replace Sullivan, who had been "old country" Irish, all hell broke loose. A walkout materialized and a formal grievance was lodged with management. Several days later Peters, the Yankee, failed to come to work. It was announced he was ill and that his job would be filled by a man named MURPHY!

In this case promotion was decided on the basis of ethnic evaluations in the community. Organized labor as well as management adhered to these norms. Undoubtedly other groups in the community, perhaps other minorities, objected to the monopoly of supervision by the Irish. In other communities these groups are challenging with legal and other means the application of traditional ethnic norms in job placement, and are endeavoring to institute a promotion system based on more universalistic principles. Thus neither management nor labor are completely free, individually or collectively, to make or change hiring and promotion policies. They cannot ignore completely the sentiments of other groups outside the plant.

Community norms operating in industry may become manifest when workers are transferred from one department or from one business to another. The distribution of the sexes, social classes, ethnic and age groups in different departments leads to a social as well as a functional division of labor which many people seek to preserve. Thus a department, factory, or industry gets to be known as a place where women, Italians, or older people work at given wage levels. Violations of these traditions in placement or transfer may induce repercussions both from within the plant and from the community.

Table 5 presents the class-ethnic-residence-age-wage composition of the labor force of shoe factories in a New England city. A wide variation is reported in the social composition and the wage levels of the departments. The sole leather departments had 70 percent of their workers in the lower middle class, while 65 percent of the "making" departments were people in the lowest social class. Almost three-quarters of those in "wood heeling" were Yankee, while almost seven-tenths of those in "packing" were ethnics. Eight-tenths of the "stitchers" lived in the city, while only half of the "makers" resided in town. Those in "leather heeling" were oldest while those in sole leather were the youngest. Highest wages were earned by workers in "sole leather" and lowest wages by the packers. These differences cannot be accounted for by the application of rational norms such as skill, education, or ability. They represent compromises worked out by labor, manage-

TABLE 5. Social Characteristics of the Technological Workers in Different Departments of Shoe Factories

	(Percentages in Departments)									
	Sole Leather	Cutting	Stitching	Assembling	Making	Wood Healing	Leather Healing	Finishing	Packing	Total
Social classes										
Low middle	70	15	11	10	4	20	37	17	11	10
Upper lower	30	61	47	30	31	40	36	55	45	44
Lower lower	—	24	42	60	65	40	36	28	44	46
Ethnicity										
Yankee	36	54	34	60	50	73	45	63	32	44
Ethnics	64	46	66	40	50	27	55	37	68	56
Place of residence										
In Yankee City	64	81	82	53	50	37	50	60	82	68
Outside Yankee City	36	19	18	47	50	62	50	40	18	32
Age										
Men (median years)	32.5	40.4	36.3	28.5	43.7	37.7	49.6	33.8	44.1	43.0
Wages—cents per hr. (approx.)	75.0	58.3	62.5	58.4	57.8	72.3	55.8	60.4	53.6	56.1

SOURCE: Adapted from W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, Yale University Press, 1947, pp. 232-233, 90-107, *passim*.

ment, and the community. Warner and Low sought to find the various bases upon which workers, managers, and the community evaluated the jobs and their occupants. They concluded that the degree of job skill bore no predictable relation to rate of pay, and that the evaluations of management, workers, and the community of various jobs were in conflict.³

The values of the community are based on broad social considerations and viewpoints. The aim of management is to make shoes as profitably as possible. . . . *Whenever it can do so* management ignores conflicting interests and resists control by the community or the workers. . . . But successful business leaders are guided to a great extent by expediency; as long as business is making a profit, it is better to avoid the danger of rousing worker antagonisms to the point where production would be disrupted. Therefore, leaders in some cases compromise strict observance of the dictates of business logic in favor of worker and community evaluations to avoid friction which might endanger production.⁴

Pressure Toward Universalistic Norms

Some traditional norms in hiring, promotion, and transfer of workers in local plants can be seen to change under the diffusion of universalistic norms originating outside the community. Recently there has been pressure on business and unions to deal with workers without discrimination as to sex, religion, nationality, race, or political affiliation. In some communities and states the establishment of a fair employment practices commission has altered the traditional hiring practices. What was once a management prerogative has slowly become shared by organized labor and now by the wider community itself. These changes are illustrated by the impact of union seniority provisions for the job distribution of Negroes as observed by Wray for Illini City (population about 70,000). He pointed out that while race relations in the community were static, job opportunities for Negroes improved steadily since 1900. At that time Negroes were hired by foundaries and segregated into the most undesirable jobs. During World War I, the soybean mill hired Negroes who were also segregated on the job. During the depression the company wanted to keep its better Negro workers and forced integration at the unskilled level. Meanwhile Negroes began to train for skilled jobs, such as machinist and electrician.

Negroes themselves were not inclined to join unions before World War II because the unions discriminated against them. However, during and after the war, union acceptance became general. Wray says:

This acceptance rested on the following conditions: a Negro organizer was used when the union was first getting established; Negroes who did join were

³ For a theoretical discussion of this idea see Sigmund Nosow, "Labor Distribution and the Normative System," *Social Forces*, October, 1956, pp. 25-33.

⁴ Warner and Low, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

given full membership rights and could exercise the same powers given to white workers in union decision-making; Negroes found they could become officers and take part in the bargaining sessions; and most important of all, they became convinced that the union provided them with fair treatment in grievance settlements, and equal opportunity in upgrading where seniority was involved. Most Negroes felt that the *greatest gain the union had brought them was plant-wide or departmental seniority as a basis for upgrading and expressed the conviction that it was seniority rules which had made possible their entry into semi-skilled and skilled job levels.*⁵

In this case universalistic norms were first introduced by management by integrating Negroes into the unskilled ranks of labor and later enforced by the union policy of applying seniority rules fairly. By applying such devices job ceilings may be expected slowly to disappear.

However, not all companies are unionized and not all unions ignore the social background of the worker in upgrading him. Outside pressure to end discrimination has resulted in the creation of local and state agencies to force labor and management to conform to more objective norms in their internal operations. Recent studies of fair employment practices commissions suggest that the proportion of workers from "minority" groups invading jobs previously denied them or assigned on a "quota basis" has increased. They also indicate slow invasion into higher occupations previously denied them. In this way the ethnic occupational and industrial structure may gradually begin to change.

Working Conditions

Students of industrial health are aware of the significant strides made in the improvement of working conditions over the years. There is so much *self-regulation* in this area that one may forget that it was realized only after a long campaign in the broader community insisting that industry protect the well-being of the worker. Child labor laws; laws governing working women; laws regulating the use of poisons and other occupational hazards; laws dealing with compensation for injury and death on the job; laws dealing with ventilation, eating arrangements, and many other aspects of work life, reflect successful efforts by the community to obtain good working conditions in the plant. This does not mean that all problems of working conditions have been solved. It does suggest that current regulations are products of social movements generated *outside* of industry directed at solving problems *within* industry.⁶ Working conditions have been and continue to be a community

⁵ Donald E. Wray, "The Community and Labor-Management Relations," *Labor Management Relations in Illini City*, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1953, p. 58.

⁶ These were also labor union objectives which could not have been achieved without the aid of other community groups.

concern. Employers who violate community conceptions of decent working conditions must live with poor reputations. Poor reputations not only influence labor recruitment, they may eventually arouse community agencies to intervene in internal plant operations.

Disputes

Management and organized labor have evolved the grievance procedure to resolve daily problems. Occasionally problems may arise which cannot be resolved by traditional mechanisms, and disinterested parties are sought to resolve the disputes. An arbitrator may be regularly employed to settle all such disputes, or he may be sought whenever needed. Both devices demonstrate the "invited intervention" of outside agencies in the internal affairs of labor and management. Sometimes the conflicting parties do not want outside help. Yet, if the dispute has adverse consequences for community life, intervention is almost inevitable.

An extreme case of community intervention occurs in strikes or threatened strikes of industries dealing with power, transportation, communication, or the distribution of food and fuel. Intervention is also likely in strikes of long duration in "nonessential" services and in situations where industries threaten to leave the community and relocate elsewhere. Under certain circumstances full-blown community intervention may occur over relatively "minor" industrial issues. For purposes of analyzing the nature and conditions of community intervention in industrial relations, observation will be limited to such broader issues as the strike and the threatened removal of an industry.

THE COMMUNITY AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Before analyzing the role of the "community" in industrial relations, it may be well to indicate that, in this chapter, the "community" will refer to the organized groups which have become involved in a dispute either neutrally or in support of management or labor, by act or by declaration. Unless specifically indicated, other labor unions in the city are understood as sympathetic to the labor side and other businesses as sympathetic to the management side.

Industrial Relations, the Public, and Sentiments

Management and unions want the public to be sympathetic to their point of view. If either party can get "public support" for its position, the other party becomes defined as the "minority" which is attempting to impose its

will on the community. In a society which responds to democratic slogans, the "minority" label tends to weaken bargaining positions.⁷

As Hiller and Chamberlain have indicated, most urban residents are inclined to be indifferent toward most strikes.⁸ This is so because they are usually not informed about the issues at stake, or if informed, have no interest in them. Thus, they are, properly speaking, a "mass" which can be acti-

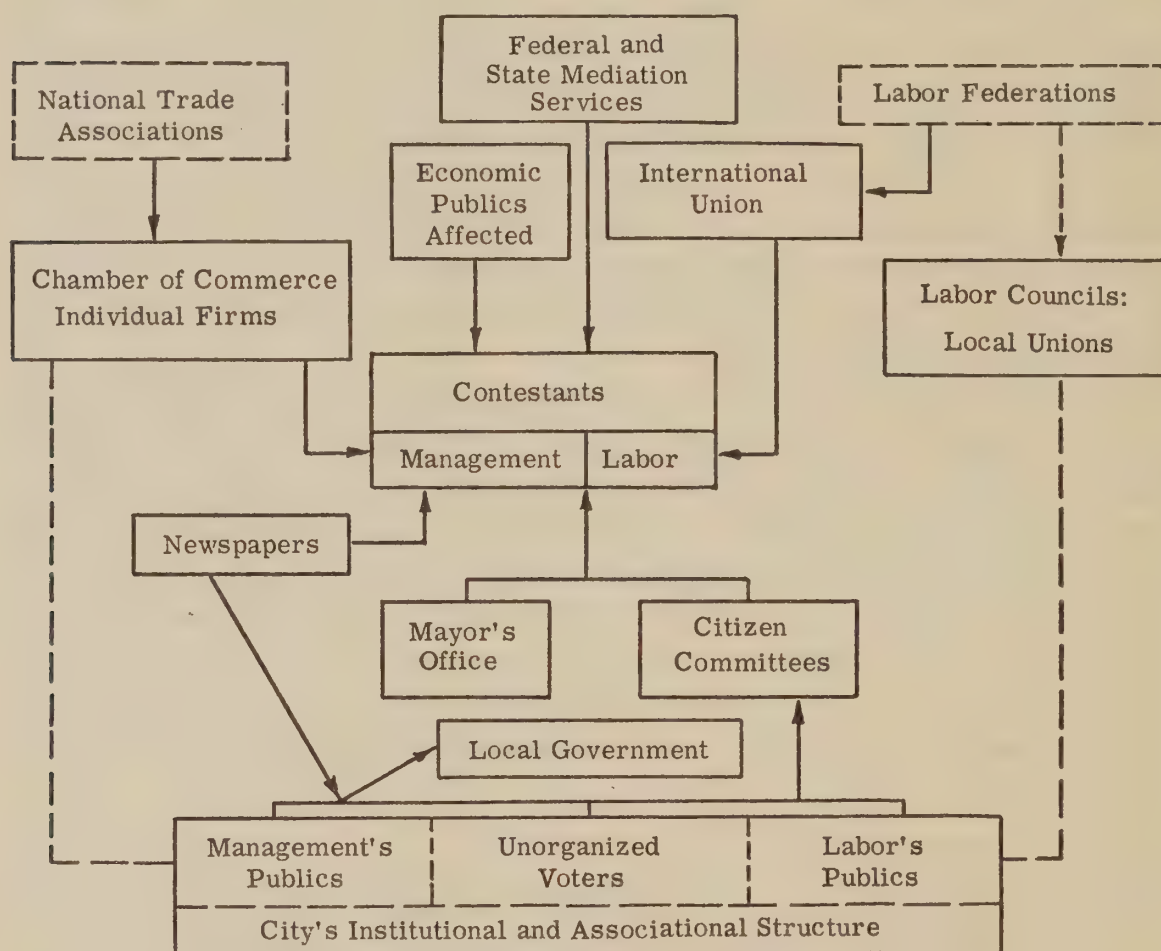


FIGURE 4.2. Organized and Unorganized Groups Which Exert Pressure in Labor-Management Conflict. Dotted lines represent indirect ties.

vated into becoming a public under given circumstances. A public "consists of those who are not parties to a specific relationship but who are conscious of being affected by that relationship."⁹ Turning the mass into a public is a task of making people aware that their interests are affected by an industrial dispute (see Figure 4.2).

Most labor and management officials are persistent publics in industrial disputes. Other associations (such as political parties and voters' leagues)

⁷ See the extensive discussion of community publics in Chapter 6.

⁸ E. T. Hiller, *The Strike*, University of Chicago Press, 1928, Part VII; Neil W. Chamberlain, *Social Responsibility and Strikes*, Harper, 1953.

⁹ Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

and some occupations (such as lawyers, government officials, certain professionals, and community leaders) quickly become aroused when labor and management issues are not settled early. Unorganized labor and the mass of the citizens need to be stimulated by newspapers and pressure groups to become concerned. This does not mean that the citizen is completely unaware or unconcerned with problems in labor-management relations. He generally assumes that labor and management are operating within certain socially prescribed norms. When made aware of a dispute he tends to evaluate it in terms of the norms which he believes should apply. He tends to have ideas about what kinds of employers and unions are found in the community. When disputes arise he tends to appraise the parties in terms of their general reputations.

Of course all residents do not necessarily agree on the norms that should regulate labor-management relations, and neither do they exhibit consensus concerning the reputations which major employers and labor unions have established locally. In specific industrial disputes various occupational groups tend to embrace different norms concerning the rights of property, the rights of labor, and the rights of the public, which tend to correspond to their degree of identification with business, unions, and the "public." There is sufficient research to suggest that these *norms are in part conditioned by the community's industrial structure and its history of labor-management relations*. Some communities are characterized by strong management identifications and weak labor support (Middletown); others by strong labor support and antibusiness sentiments (mining villages); still others by strong labor and management support (Lorain, Ohio).¹⁰

IS THERE A COMPROMISING COMMUNITY MORALITY?

A. W. Jones made a study of the attitudes of the population of Akron, Ohio, in 1938 soon after the sit-down strikes in the rubber industry.¹¹ He was concerned with the problem of how different groups in the community compromised the corporate property rights and "human rights" in concrete industrial conflicts. While the study is dated and sit-downs are not common today, Jones did study a fundamental problem; viz., what are the basic values concerning property and human rights which form the backdrop for evaluating local union-management relations in the community?

In order to discover these basic values, Jones administered a scale dealing with attitudes toward corporate property to selected economic groups and to a cross-section sample of adults in the city. The scale was actually made up of eight true accounts of then current situations which involved conflicts of corporate and labor interests. Respondents were asked to react to situa-

¹⁰ For other illustrations, see Joel Seidman *et al.*, *The Worker Views His Union*, University of Chicago Press, 1958.

¹¹ Alfred Winslow Jones, *Life, Liberty and Property*, Lippincott, 1941.

tions in the "stories," and thus reveal their economic sentiments and loyalties. An illustrative story is reproduced below:

The B. F. Goodrich Company in early 1938 asked the workers in its plant in Akron, Ohio, to accept a wage cut and a longer work-week. The company maintained that if the workers refused, some departments would have to be moved away from Akron, involving the removal of some four or five thousand jobs. They held that only in this way could they compete against other rubber companies which already had a smaller proportion of their operations in Akron, where a strong union exists and maintains high wages. Assume that the Goodrich Company can stay in business and continue to pay the old wages. They will not make much money, if any, but will at least not be driven into bankruptcy. Assume also that if they move out of Akron, they will be able to hire workers cheaper, make more money, and pay more dividends, at least at first.

The workers at a meeting held by the union refused to accept the wage cut.

Question: The company has the next move. What would you think of its actions if the company should move these jobs away from Akron?

- Answers:
- a. I would disapprove
 - b. I would disapprove but with qualifications
 - c. I cannot decide
 - d. I would approve but with qualifications
 - e. I would approve ¹²

Seven similar situations were presented, and the scores for each story were added for each respondent, ranging from 0 to 32. Low scores revealed low concern for corporate property rights, and high scores indicated high concern.

As expected there was a tendency for various occupational groups to have scores which conformed to their economic interests. Thus, as Figure 4.3A reveals, industrial executives and business leaders had scores at the upper end of the scale, while CIO rubber workers' scores were concentrated at the lower end. The scores of other manual and white-collar workers revealed a much wider range, with the latter group indicating a moderating attitude toward the rights of corporate property.

Scores of a random sample of city residents as portrayed in Figure 4.3B revealed two marked trends: (1) a sharp cleavage at either extreme, and (2) an "intermediate conformity with a compromising morality, in which the attitudes are considerably left of center."¹³ The latter trend was very significant under the circumstances. With almost everything in Akron encouraging cleavage, the trend toward conformity and compromise seemed stronger than the trend toward cleavage. By way of interpretation it should be indicated that Akronites did not distinguish between property rights of corporations and individuals, but rather between the rights of wealthy "big

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

interests” such as banks and those of small property holders. Those whose scores fell in the middle range accepted some violation of corporate property rights in the interest of human welfare, and their position exerted a powerful pull on the attitudes of the workers.¹⁴ Thus, however the “public” is defined

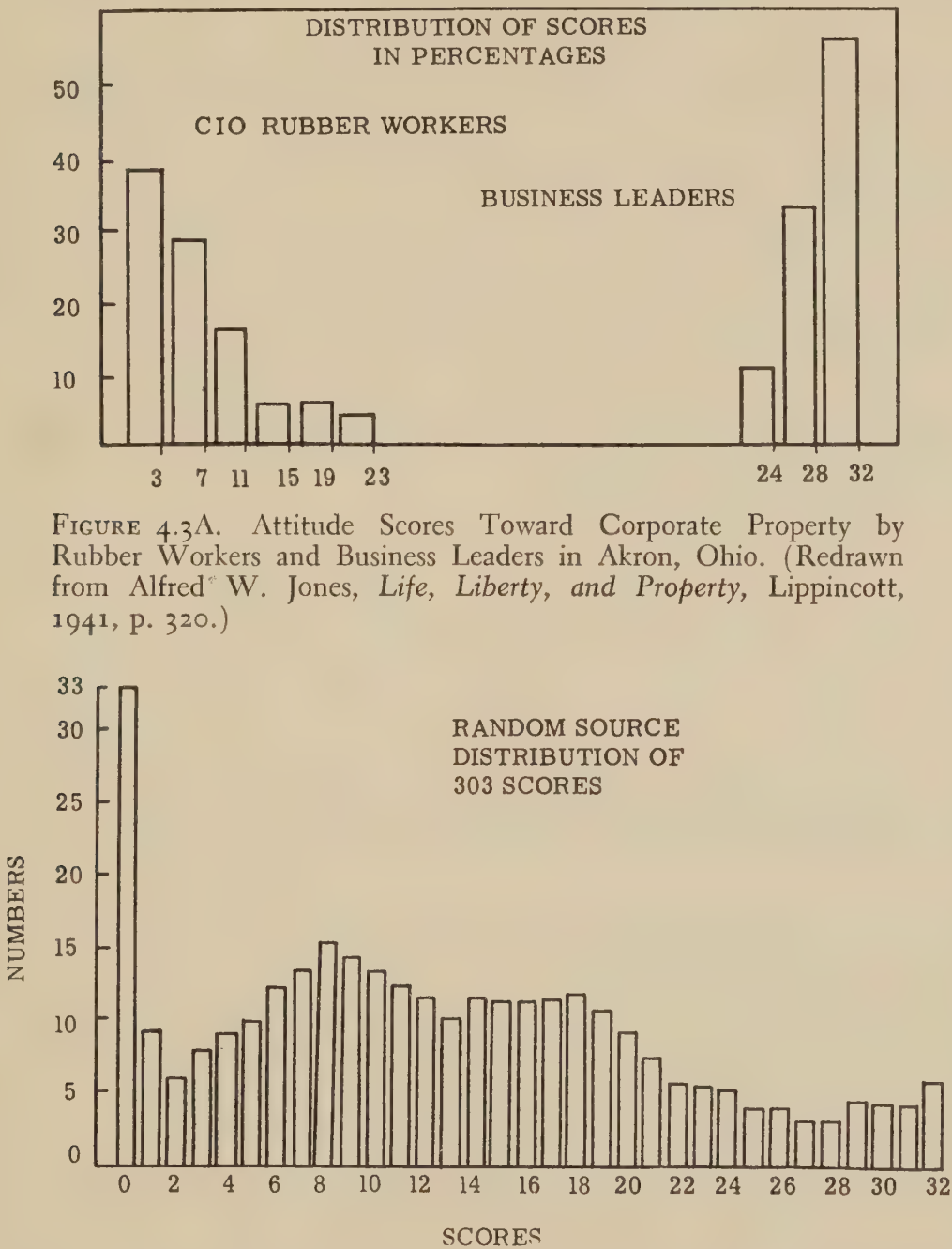


FIGURE 4.3A. Attitude Scores Toward Corporate Property by Rubber Workers and Business Leaders in Akron, Ohio. (Redrawn from Alfred W. Jones, *Life, Liberty, and Property*, Lippincott, 1941, p. 320.)

FIGURE 4.3B. Distribution of Scores of the Random Sample of Population of Akron. (Redrawn from Alfred W. Jones, *Life, Liberty, and Property*, Lippincott, 1941, p. 324.)

in industrial relations, the middle group constitutes a majority and tends to be disposed toward compromise.

Data for Akron probably do not represent all communities. The proportion of people having high, middle, and low corporate property scores

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 330–336, *passim*.

doubtlessly varies with communities and with changes in economic and political issues. There are reasons to believe, however, that for large urban communities with diverse industrial structures, profile scores exist similar to those described for Akron. Out of these general property attitudes more specific attitudes toward management and labor tend to be forged.

Community Attitudes Toward Local Industrial Relations

While attitudes toward property reflect attitudes toward business and labor unions generally, citizens also have specific attitudes toward local representatives of labor and management. In most American communities, the legitimacy of business itself is not questioned. This is not the case for organized labor. Both in the past and at present there are many communities in the nation where the right of organized labor to exist and the "rights" of labor unions are seriously questioned by some local groups. The researcher must know the "attitudinal climate" toward management and unions in the communities he wants to study.

Before turning to this problem, it may be well to indicate the general evaluation of organized labor in the country today. Neil Chamberlain examined many public opinion polls taken over a period of years on the subject of union acceptability. He concluded that the central issue in people's minds deals with "*union security*"; that is, with the closed shop (requiring union membership as a condition of hiring), the union shop (requiring union membership as a condition of continuing employment), and maintenance of membership (requiring union members to maintain membership unless they formally resign during a specified "escape" period at the expiration of the contract). Examination of poll results showed that while the public had low concern for the issue, it consistently opposed any form of compulsory union membership.¹⁵ When the public was formally asked to reveal its attitudes toward union security, it was opposed to it. Yet when asked for its criticisms of unions, union security was rarely mentioned. "Opposition to union security provisions is no more marked on the part of nonunion workers than in the public at large . . . [Nonunion workers] are no more strongly opposed than the public . . . in the so-called 'union authorization elections' conducted by the National Labor Relations Board."¹⁶

ILLINI CITY

Wray conducted public opinion polls covering samples of union members, employers, and the public for their attitudes toward local industrial relations. He found that all three groups felt strongly that both parties in indus-

¹⁵ Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

try were making efforts to live peaceably with one another. Union members and management had slightly more favorable evaluations of themselves (but not of each other) than did the public.¹⁷ When asked whether the coming of unions to Illini City had affected their standards of living, the majority of responses were “no effect” or “an improvement.” Less than one-tenth of any group thought that unions had lowered their standard of living. Again, a greater percentage of union members felt that unions raised their standard of living. Almost a majority of all three groups felt that the coming of unions helped local business conditions, and more than a majority felt that unions took an active part in community affairs for the good of the city. Over three-quarters also felt that management leaders took an active part in local affairs for the good of the community. While union members ranked union and management contributions as equal, the public ranked management’s community contributions as higher.¹⁸

TABLE 6. Summary of Evaluations of Local Labor-Management Relations

Samples	Strongly Prolabor	Moder- ately Prolabor	Neutral	Moderately Proman- agement	Strongly Proman- agement	Total
Public	8%	24%	44%	18%	6%	100%
Union members	14	43	38	4	1	100
Management	1	10	64	20	5	100

SOURCE: Donald E. Wray, “The Community and Labor-Management Relations,” *Labor-Management Relations in Illini City*, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1953, p. 112.

Table 6 presents a summary of evaluations of labor-management relations in Illini City. As expected, union members were more prolabor than the public or management, and the public was slightly more prolabor than management. It is important to stress the relatively large proportion of neutral members found in all groups, ranging from almost two-fifths of the union members to almost two-thirds of the managers. Again, the evidence shows a strong middle group which can, in a crisis, exercise a moderating force or a balance of power. Wray’s application of a ten-question scale to tap pro-management or pronunion leanings revealed that all three samples were somewhat more prolabor, although management was most heavily represented in the “neutral” category.

ATTITUDES TOWARD LOCAL COMPANIES AND UNIONS

In cases of industrial conflict, when the public has to tolerate inconveniences, the tendency to allocate blame rests in part on the kind of

¹⁷ Wray, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 110–112, *passim*.

reputation which local firms and unions have built up in the past. Very few attempts have been made to study systematically the community reputations of unions and employers. In Illini City, Wray asked samples of the public, union members, and employers six general questions concerning the reputations of six major companies and unions. They were:

1. Do you think that the managements of these companies have played fair in their dealings with labor?
2. Have the managements of these companies been interested in the workers' welfare and problems?
3. Have the managements of these companies been concerned only with business affairs, or have they proved themselves interested in community activities for the good of the community?
4. Do you think the unions have played fair in their dealings with management?
5. Have the unions been interested in the rights of the individual member—given him a voice in running the unions and looked after his personal welfare?
6. Have the unions been concerned only with the interests of their members, or have they proved themselves interested in the good of the community as well? ¹⁹

As might be expected there were large and important variations in the extent to which companies and unions were known and in the evaluations made of them. Generally, respondents tended to have clearest attitudes toward the largest companies and the unions associated with those companies. As little as 12 percent of the respondents had opinions concerning some of these organizations, while as many as 80 percent had opinions of other organizations. Favorable attitudes toward organizations ranged from 11 to 84 percent; and unfavorable from 0 to 17 percent.²⁰

Respondents tended to have positive attitudes toward organizations about which they knew the most. Thus, the large grain-processing mill in Illini City stood out as the best-known and the most highly esteemed plant among all three samples. The railroads and the metal products companies were evaluated somewhat more negatively than other companies, probably because they had been more antiunion in the past. The unions associated with these industries tended to be about as well known and evaluated in about the same manner. Wray concluded that the attitudes toward the unions were probably determined by the reputation of the company rather than by the independent reputation of the union. "Unions had not reached the point where they were evaluated separately from management on the basis of their own institutional behavior."²¹

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123. See also Wayne Hodges, *Company and Community*, Harper, 1958, Appendix E.

²⁰ Wray, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124. See Chapter 17 for community surveys of plant reputation.

THE COMMUNITY AND THE STRIKE

Community attitudes toward property, business, and labor are important factors which may influence industrial relations. After examining a large number of public opinion polls, Neil W. Chamberlain concluded, "Of all aspects of the union-management relationship, strikes are the *only* issue which has been designated not only as a major problem of that relationship itself, but as a major national problem."²² He further observed that substantial majorities of the citizens favor rigorous control of strikes during wartime and during emergency conditions in peacetime. Furthermore, large minorities would outlaw all peacetime strikes, while majorities would subject all peacetime strikes to restraints, especially in "essential" industries. In addition, there is a majority sentiment opposed to sympathetic, jurisdictional, general strikes, and strikes in the civil service.²³ The public tends to condemn not the bargaining issue which is involved, but the strike itself. This opposition tends to derive from the feeling that the public's "rights" are being unnecessarily disregarded by the management and/or the union.

Strike Impact on the Community

Why is there such a strong rejection of the strike and the lockout on the part of the public or community? Two general answers may be suggested. The first is that strikes and lockouts are perceived as negatively affecting the community or the public in concrete and material ways. That is, the consequences of strikes are seen as extending beyond the partisans, and violating community rights. Put differently, large sectors of the community feel that labor and management should have a sense of responsibility toward the community of which they are a part, and exercise restraint.

The second objection is that strikes violate the norms of labor-management relations. Since strikes or lockouts always have an overcast of violence, their existence amounts to a failure of community procedures to settle internal differences. Moreover, strikes or lockouts constitute a threat to the on-going *pattern* of relations not only between management and labor, but between industry as an institution and the rest of the community. Labor and business officials may protest that strikes or lockouts are the traditional weapons used to resolve issues, and they may point to statistics that violence is rare and real losses to the community are exaggerated. Nonetheless, there remains among the large unorganized middle-status groups of the community the belief that strikes represent a moral breakdown of community norms which should be avoided.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

STRIKES AND COMMUNITY INCONVENIENCE

We shall examine both issues: the impact of the strike on the locality, and the threat of the strike to community norms and sentiments. It should be apparent that all strikes do not cause equal inconvenience to the community. A strike in a small specialty products shop in a large metropolis usually passes unnoticed. However, when the main industry in a small community is struck, there is widespread alarm. A strike in a public utility also tends to evoke concern more quickly than a strike in a chair factory. What social scientists need is a measure of the impact of a strike. Chamberlain has attempted to do just this. He suggests constructing a scale of strike impact which takes into account the strike's impact on all of the main economic

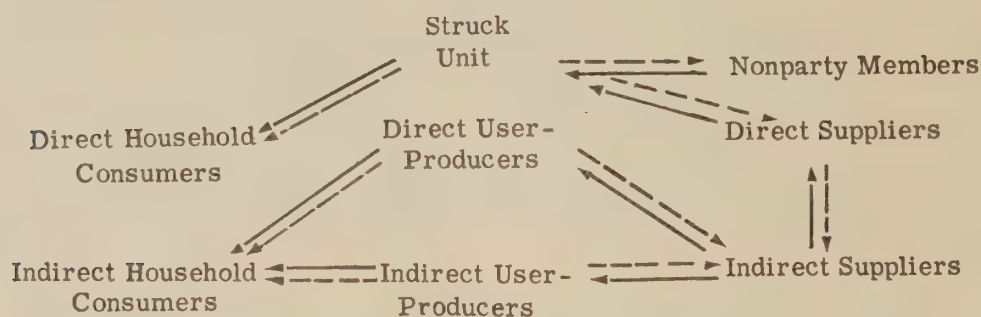


FIGURE 4.4. Economic Publics Affected in a Strike. Solid arrows show the direction of flow of goods and services between the related groups, while broken arrows show the direction in which strike effects are transmitted. (Adapted from Neil W. Chamberlain, *Social Responsibility and Strikes*, Harper, 1953, p. 107.)

publics, which include: "(1) household consumers of the struck product; (2) the direct producers, by which is meant (a) nonparty members and families of all members of the struck unit, (b) commercial users of the struck product, and (c) suppliers of the struck unit and its members; (3) the 'indirect' producers, who are (a) the suppliers of the commercial users of the struck product and suppliers of the supplier of this struck firm, and (b) commercial users of the products of the commercial users of the struck product; and (4) household consumers patronizing any of the 'indirect' producers, whom we shall refer to as 'indirect consumers.'" ²⁴

Figure 4.4 diagrams the publics' relationships to the struck unit. The solid arrows indicate the direction of flow of services and/or goods among the related groups, and the broken arrows show the direction of strike effects. It must be emphasized that this diagram presents only the economic publics affected by a strike. Other publics which may be affected on the basis of sympathy or antagonism with the objectives of the participants, or which may be involved in the dispute settlement, are indicated in Figure 4.2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Chamberlain pursues the study of strike impacts on consumers and producers. The impact on household consumers is measured by taking into account the accumulative effect of three considerations. First, the cultural necessity of the product, or how important it (or any satisfactory substitute) is in the lives of the community. Thus milk, tobacco, electric service have high cultural necessity. Second is the stock effect of the item, or the amount of stockpiling which can serve future needs. Third is the substitutability effect, or the extent to which consumers can find a satisfactory suitable substitute.

In the case of producer-users three factors must be taken into account. The first is the production necessity of the item, or the importance of the struck item to the production process. Stock effect and substitutability are much the same as for consumer products discussed above. While some index of urgency is available by considering the impact on consumers and producers, the real basis for public opinion derives from the length or duration of the strike and the numbers of people actually affected by it.²⁵ Chamberlain and Schilling have taken into account all of these factors in a single overall scale and have measured the relative impact of various strikes in the United States.²⁶

While the above variable takes into account the objective factors *indicating the probable strike* impact, they do not consider some of the social psychological variables which may arouse the community in an actual strike situation. One such consideration is the recent community experiences with strikes. If a number of strikes occur in rapid succession, the various affected publics become increasingly impatient with each succeeding strike. Thus there is a "cumulative annoyance factor" which must be taken into account. In addition, there is the "sympathy factor." Various publics may be aroused by a strike, not because it affects them directly, but because they identify strongly with those who may be more directly affected. A strike that affects the milk supply arouses strong empathy for mothers who have small children. Some unions may feel sympathetic toward precarious unions involved in strikes.²⁷ The annoyance factor may be community-wide or may be limited to special economic publics which may or may not be in the community of the struck unit. Similarly, sympathetic publics may or may not be in the community of the struck unit. The locale of the direct publics, indirect publics, and sympathetic publics is important because different types of sanctions may be applied on the conflicting parties by publics inside or outside of the community.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-112, *passim*.

²⁶ Neil W. Chamberlain and Jane Metzger Schilling, *The Impact of Strikes*, Harper, 1954.

²⁷ Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

STRIKES THREATEN COMMUNITY EQUILIBRIUM

The above discussion dealt with various economic publics affected by a strike. These publics may be expected to apply pressure on the contestants because their economic interests are negatively affected. If most of these publics are in the community of the struck unit, they may be able to apply direct pressure for a quick settlement. An analysis of the sanctions available to various publics and how they apply them will be examined later. At this point we wish to examine why "noneconomic" local publics are drawn into industrial conflict. It has been commonly observed that under certain conditions a wide range of community groups (political, educational, religious, welfare, and others) becomes directly or indirectly involved in industrial warfare or in the settlement of industrial disputes. A theory of local community involvement in industrial relations may be proposed as a background to examining specific instances of involvement. This theory is considered as supplementing the theory of economic involvement presented above, not as replacing or including it.

*Theory of Community Involvement in Industrial Relations*²⁸

THE EQUILIBRIUM PREMISE

The basic proposition in community study is that all major institutions are interrelated and interdependent. Although the relationships among all parts are not equally strong, equally enduring, or equally direct, they are ubiquitous. While most community segments are constantly changing and while disruptive forces are persistent, these changes and disruptive forces are usually contained within broad boundaries. In short, social scientists assume that the community or any social system is characterized by a greater degree of equilibrium than disequilibrium, that integrating forces tend to dominate disruptive tendencies, and that changes usually occur within previously existing patterns.

Applying this broad proposition to the area of industrial relations, it may be first observed that a dominant pattern governs the relations among management, labor, customers, suppliers, and other units of the economic institution. The persistence of this pattern is maintained *not only* by the economic agencies themselves *but also* by other segments of the community. That is, the economic and other institutions in the community have worked out more or less stable patterns and expectations. As long as the relations among economic groups follow more or less traditional channels, interference or direct involvement in economic relations by representatives of other

²⁸ Many of the ideas in this section have been stimulated by the work of Christopher Sower, John Holland, Kenneth Tiedke, and Walter Freeman, *Community Involvement*, Free Press, 1957.

institutions will remain minimal. On the other hand, if industrial relations depart from traditional expectations, other segments of the community may be expected to become involved in direct proportion to the degree of innovation and the sector of innovation. The greater the innovation, the greater likelihood of conflict between the parties and the greater the probability that other segments of the community will become involved in the conflict. For example, it may be expected that labor and management will more likely fight over a four-day week than over a wage issue and that other segments of the community will become more involved in the work week issue than in the conflict over wages, for the four-day week will not only alter the power relations between labor and management but also many other community relationships.

Community involvement occurs when changes in labor-management relations threaten the adjustments of other groups to industry and their supporting norms. Thus struggles between local independent unions and international unions, conflicts between local managers and state and federal officials, and issues involving local and absentee owners tend to stimulate a great amount of community involvement. Changes in external controls, of course, provoke changes in internal community relations. For this reason, changes in external relations are often the most bitterly resisted.

LEVEL OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The amount of community involvement, or the number of community associations which will become involved in industrial conflict, tends to be a function of the level of the issue. Low-level issues are concerned with traditional bargaining areas such as wages, hours, and working conditions. They tend to involve few local agencies. To be sure, the family is usually involved in any issue because the breadwinners have closest ties with this group. Affected economic publics also become quickly involved. Similarly, other agencies such as the local newspapers, the firms commonly represented in the Chamber of Commerce, and other labor unions become involved early in low level issues. If these issues persist unresolved for long periods they may involve a broader range of community organizations.

Medium-level issues tend to challenge the traditional prerogatives of management and labor, by introducing novel elements into their general relationships. Examples of these may be a union's insistence that it codetermine work rates, that new occupational groups be covered by collective bargaining agreements, that costs for new types of pensions or unemployment benefits be borne by management. For management, such issues may be: greater flexibility in the application of seniority rules, changes in grievance procedures, introducing flexible wage rates, and similar measures. All of these issues tend to modify stable relations not only between the immediate parties but among others as well. Medium-level issues provoke the involve-

ments commonly associated with boycotts, sympathetic strikes, and sympathetic strike resistance. Governmental agencies such as the courts, the mayor's office, and state mediation and arbitration agencies tend to become involved in middle-level issues. The entrance of governmental agencies is a significant phase of the involvement process because government is the only agency which has more power than either of the participants, and can alter their power relations.

High-level issues are concerned with the very foundations of labor and management "rights." Illustrations are an attempt to oust an established union, a sit-down strike, the threatened withdrawal of an industry from the community, introducing new racial groups in industry, and the closed shop. These issues are usually not resolved quickly. Not only do they involve the "medium-level publics" described above, they also involve welfare agencies (to care for people impoverished by the strike), church personnel (who see a threat to the social and moral fabric of the community), educators (to use their "unbiased" pressure), and citizen groups (formed spontaneously to represent the "unorganized" community). Also more extracommunity agencies (state and federal agencies, state and national labor and business associations) become involved in high-level issues.

The order of involvement of nonparticipants tends to be something as follows: the family, newspapers, economic publics, related economic associations of unions and management, local government, state government, local welfare agencies, state and federal governmental agencies, local religious bodies and representatives, and spontaneously organized citizen groups. This is only a crude sequence, for the specific order may change with different kinds of issues. Typically, agencies disagree on how they want the conflict to end and the means to use in ending or perpetuating it. Obviously, the more community agencies which contending parties can positively involve, the greater the probability of their eventual success.²⁹ Since management has more local associational ties than labor, it is usually more successful in protracted struggles.

OTHER VARIABLES AFFECTING COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Communities vary in the degree to which local associations become involved in the industrial conflicts. Although relatively little research has been done on this, it seems reasonable to assume that some characteristics of labor and management relations may elicit more community involvement than others. Characteristics may be classified as those common to (1) labor and management, (2) management, (3) union, and (4) community.

Common Factors for Labor and Management. The industrial structure of the community is the first important feature conditioning collective

²⁹ See Delbert C. Miller, "The Prediction of Issue Outcome in Community Decision Making," *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society*, June, 1957, pp. 137-147.

bargaining and related community involvement. The basic structural features of a community are whether it is large or small, whether it has a single industry or a balanced industrial structure, and whether the ownership is local or absentee. One would hypothesize that greater community involvement in industrial disputes would appear in small towns with one dominant industry which is absentee-owned. The second factor is the "tradition" of community involvement in industrial relations. While it is often difficult to account for tradition, one might assume that a community which contains a technologically dynamic industry would stimulate more local instabilities and thus provoke greater general concern about industrial relations. Third, some industries and unions seem to play a pattern-setting role for the wider economy. Thus it has been observed that some firms and unions in the steel and automobile industry tend to set wage rates and industrial patterns which are followed by other industries.³⁰ Since pattern-making, by definition, is a form of innovation, community involvement should be higher in localities containing pattern-making companies and unions. Finally, the community participation of labor and management condition their behavior during disputes. It may be hypothesized that the greater their participation in local agencies, the greater the likelihood that community agencies will become involved in their disputes.

Internal and External Characteristics of Labor and Management. The probability of management and labor conflict is a function of their respective internal strength, their ideologies, and their solidarity with related associations. The basic internal factor is economic strength and the ability to withstand protracted conflict. Almost as important is the ideological orientation of the parties. Some labor unions are aggressively antimanagement because their ideology calls for conflict rather than accommodation. Similarly, some companies see themselves as the *avant garde* of business, dedicated to destroy or diminish the power of labor unions. Relations between such groups will tend to be dynamic and arouse community intervention more readily than in cases where "mature" labor relations have been developed. The third internal factor is the degree of solidarity which each group has with related local associations; that is, the degree of solidarity which management has with local business groups and the degree of solidarity among local labor unions. One would hypothesize that the greater the solidarity within groups the greater the restraining community influences during strikes. A solid front tends to contain industrial conflict.

Two important external factors need to be taken into account with reference to community involvement in industrial relations. The first is the nature of the community ties of the antagonists. Generally speaking, the social strength of the parties (as opposed to their economic strength) is a

³⁰ See Frederick H. Harbison and Robert Dubin, *Pattern of Union-Management Relations*, Science Research Associates, 1947.

function of the number of ties they have established in the community. Labor or management groups which are represented in many community associations have ready access to important communication channels in emergencies. At the same time these channels can be used to learn the sentiments which other community groups have concerning industrial relations conflicts.³¹ It may be hypothesized that the larger the number of external ties, the greater the probability of community involvement in industrial relations.

Community Factors. Perhaps the most obvious community factor is the tradition concerning involvement. Once a strike has provoked community agencies to intervene, it is easier for renewed conflict to elicit intervention again. This tradition can, in turn, probably be accounted for by other basic community features such as the degree of normative and social integration. Localities which are characterized by a high degree of internal solidarity, common sentiments and ideals will exhibit industrial conflict infrequently. Such communities tend to have integrated social structures capable of resolving internal tensions before they reach an explosive stage. If industrial conflict does occur, high community involvement may be expected.³²

Contrariwise, large, socially heterogeneous metropolises have many sub-communities and a bewildering variety of groups which lack normative and social integration. Yet such communities may have a high degree of functional integration. The social stratification system of the metropolis is not a simple hierarchy of social classes, but an amorphous arrangement of interest and power groups. Decision-making in the city results from a complex network of organizations coming together on specific issues. These characteristics account for the delay of "community" involvement in industrial relations. However, once the involvement process has begun, a large number of organizations may be expected to participate in the complex struggle for power and influence.

Community Sanctions on Industrial Relations

It has been suggested that local residents have norms concerning "human" rights, property rights, behavior of business and unions, and the conduct of industrial relations. It is now necessary to describe how (1) general and specific publics apply sanctions to get disputing parties to arrive at agreement, and (2) how support is given to one party or another.

We shall omit a discussion of how consumer and producer publics become activated by crises and how they apply sanctions on the contestants. Businessmen are extremely conscious of economic necessity to service their clients and continue operations. They hesitate to antagonize these groups.

³¹ See B. M. Selekmán, *Labor Relations and Human Relations*, McGraw-Hill, 1947.

³² See James S. Coleman, *Community Conflict*, Free Press, 1957.

In like manner, labor union officials are highly conscious of the economic pressures which build up during work stoppages. They fear the bad publicity which strikes may give the labor movement. This is especially the case in jurisdictional disputes and in public utility disputes. We shall omit a discussion of how nonparticipant labor or management associations intervene in industrial disputes because such intervention is largely "a family affair." For similar reasons, no analysis will be made of formal arbitration processes, sympathetic strikes, and lockouts. These are *internal* processes and are of interest only when they are activated by outside parties.

FAMILY PRESSURES

Family members are usually the first to hear of the breakdown of industrial relations, and they are first to be affected. Both labor and management feel pressure from family members to get disputes settled. To be sure, the economic pressures of a strike are felt more keenly by working-class families. The food budget is restricted, the kinds of food purchased change, unpaid bills pile up, credit is difficult to obtain, and satisfaction of children's wants is postponed. As the plane of living is depressed, the wife pressures the husband to go back to work. Union officials are aware of this pressure and try to acquaint wives both before and during disputes with the ideals of the labor union movement, the specific issues in a dispute, techniques of stretching the budget, and other things. Management of course is also aware of the limited financial resources of working-class families and the pressure which wives exert on their husbands to end strikes. "Back-to-work" movements commonly associated with prolonged strikes are often initiated by employers.

Businessmen are not exempt from family pressures during industrial disputes. Their wives, who participate in various community activities, become aware that other local groups are not always sympathetic with employer objectives. During prolonged strikes other businesses may suffer; newspaper advertisements decrease, retail and wholesale sales drop, and doctor bills are not paid. Sensing the urgency of the situation, wives urge their husbands to settle the mess. "The nature of the sanctions involved scarcely requires any specification. The employee (or employer) who loses the support of his wife, who is subjected to reproachful glances, to continued nagging, or—even worse—the silent treatment, is being subjected to penalties which are real indeed and pressures which are sometimes difficult to resist."³³

UNORGANIZED PUBLIC PRESSURE

Can the *unorganized* public exert influence on industrial relations? Do management and labor officials believe that the public can influence the outcome of industrial disputes? We are not aware of public opinion polls which have gathered systematic evidence on this point. However, the experiences of

³³ Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

many labor and business leaders³⁴ suggest that public opinion can, under certain circumstances, affect conduct in industrial disputes. There are several reasons for this.

In the first place, many business and labor officials believe in public opinion. Businessmen who have spent many years in building a favorable community image of their industry are convinced that the good labor they recruit, brand loyalty, and consumer loyalty result from their efforts. Likewise, many labor leaders feel that the reputation of a responsible union which looks after the economic interests of workers and the welfare of the community is worth building. The fact that both groups have nurtured good community relations is evidence that they believe in the power of public opinion, and that they will act on this belief during industrial conflict. Second, experience has shown many labor and management officials that public opinion can stimulate the formation of crisis agencies which, once organized, are often difficult to control. Such a threat may be sufficient to induce officials to act "before it is too late." As a matter of fact, mediation officials often use the threat of public exposure to force parties to resolve their differences. Third, businessmen and labor officials have had experience in either introducing publics into industrial relations disputes or attempting to forestall "public intervention."

Several conditions almost invariably provoke public clamor to do something about industrial disputes. The use or threat of violence commonly elicits strong protests of moral indignation. Violence immediately results in newspaper publicity, as well as police and governmental investigation. Violations of standards of decency and morality likewise provoke public indignation. Two other conditions stimulate public demand for intervention: first, interruption of vital consumer services, such as milk delivery, electricity, gas, and public transportation; second, a threat to the economic survival of the community, such as the loss of an industry.

Clearly the threat of undesirable public opinion may be more effective than the resultant intervention. When labor and management practice restraint for fear of bad publicity, they do not fear the publicity, but its possible repercussions. To be sure, the public has no sanctions which it can directly apply on the contesting parties. It is the threat of sanctions, the threat that adverse public opinion might stimulate the formation of agencies which could exert sanction, which makes the contestants concerned about bad publicity. Moreover, an aroused public may stimulate already existent groups to act.

THE NEWSPAPER

The newspaper is the first agency other than the family which acts in critical industrial disputes. Since publicity is usually a precondition of intervention

³⁴ See the collection of such opinions, *ibid.*, pp. 113-136.

by local agencies, newspapers are indirectly responsible for sanctions being applied. Rarely is the newspaper an active intervening party. At most, it provokes other parties, such as government, trade associations, and labor officials, to act in a given direction by fostering the necessary climate of opinion. Many observers exaggerate the power of the press to help the business side of an industrial dispute by pointing to its promanagement and antilabor bias. It would be more realistic to examine the conditions under which the city newspaper takes a given position in an industrial dispute.

If newspapers were not subjected to certain restraints, they would openly favor management in most disputes. After all, newspapers are business enterprises dedicated to making a profit. Publishers are recruited from business segments of the community and have close business and social ties with local business interests.³⁵ It would be strange for them not to be loyal to business when circumstances permit it. Thus, prior to and soon after the enactment of the National Labor Relations Act, which gave unions legal recognition and rights to organize, newspapers were often openly antilabor. However, as unions gained strength, newspapers were unable to maintain this *open* antilabor position. Journalistic ethics to present news objectively were now buttressed by other organizations which demanded the same thing. Organized labor now represented a large body of readers who “justified” the advertising rates of the papers. Alienation of these readers could reduce advertising revenues. Retail businessmen, who supply most of the advertising revenues, now became more sympathetic with the workers who might be on strike. Since retailers wanted customers with high steady wages they now began to redefine their position toward unions and strikes.

Newspapers are therefore beginning to take a reconciliation position during strikes. Generally their editorials reveal a stronger promanagement bias than their news columns. The “slant” of the news generally continues to favor management, but union news is also reported. At best, the paper serves as a platform for the opposing parties. Since industrial disputes, in a sense, put publishers in an awkward position, they try to exert pressure on both parties to come to terms. Publishers persistently point to the needless loss of income to both sides and the “senselessness” of prolonged struggles. Not infrequently they urge arbitration or mediation.

Certain conditions modify this general description. They are the use of violence, prolonged suffering among nonparticipants, uncompromising positions, unwillingness to negotiate, and a violation of property rights. In such cases, the papers take a stand *for the public*, condemning one or both sides, urging compromise, or urging the use of arbitration machinery. Soon after the settlement, almost irrespective of the history of relations, both sides are congratulated and charged to carry on with statesmanlike methods.

³⁵ See Chapter 6. For a depiction of antilabor presses, see Harold L. Ickes, *America's House of Lords*, Harcourt, Brace, 1939.

Warner and Low characterized the position taken by the newspaper in Yankee City upon the first successful attempt to organize the city's major industry as follows: "Each side used the *Herald* and tried to control it. The paper realized that the small merchants, who were the source of much of its advertising income, were largely on the side of the strikers; therefore, it could not take a position against the workers without running the risk of losing revenue. At the same time, the paper feared the union and also feared the effects of the removal of the absentee-controlled factories. Hence, it tried to play both sides of the conflict, sometimes swinging one way, sometimes the other."³⁶

An impression of the behavior of the newspaper during strikes may be gained by indicating the position of the *Herald* at critical points.

1. Previous to the strike, unionization was never mentioned in the paper. The economic depression which hit the shoe industry hard was seen as a temporary situation. With industry, the *Herald* felt that prosperity was looming just ahead.
2. On the first day of the strike there was a neutral announcement that all the shoeshops were closed, and that the workers presented a united front against management in an orderly mass meeting.
3. Managers called a meeting to which the mayor was invited. He refused to take a position against the strikers and remained neutral. *This meeting was not reported by the newspaper.*
4. The paper reported that all but a few of the workers had joined the Shoe Workers' Protective Union.
5. *The paper published letters from manufacturers and workers on strike issues. It served as platform of opinion of the two groups.*
6. The paper made efforts to settle strike on *any* terms. It published news that merchants were hard hit by the strike, hoping to get merchants to pressure strikers to take whatever terms they could get and conclude the strike.
7. It announced after a bargaining session that settlement appeared remotest at any time since the walkout.
8. It hailed strike settlement two days later and the use of arbitration to settle the wage dispute.³⁷

A brief analysis of the behavior of the press in several strikes supports the above pattern. During the successful sit-down strikes which occurred in Detroit, Flint, Akron, and other communities, newspapers remained remarkably neutral, despite the occupancy of the properties on the part of the strikers. The crucial test appeared to be whether the strikers damaged the plants, whether they refrained from acts of physical violence, and whether they were willing to bargain or arbitrate.³⁸

Of course, larger cities which support two or more newspapers are char-

³⁶ Warner and Low, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-148, *passim*.

³⁸ See Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 128, 135. Also see Ruth McKenny, *Industrial Valley*, Harcourt, Brace, 1939.

acterized by a more variable pattern. Depending on their readership, some newspapers may lean more in one direction or another.³⁹ An example of the extreme bias possible in a large city is the front page editorial in *Detroit News* for November 2, 1952.

WANT A BLOODY STRIKE?

Threats by the CIO of the "bloodiest strike in the history of Detroit" were cited by the struck Detroit Edison Co. today as it obtained a Circuit Court order restraining further violence and sabotage in the strike.

The company moved into the courts for protection after saboteurs shot up two Oakland County substations, cutting off power to several hundred customers in the Commerce Lake area for two hours. From the *Detroit News*.

The CIO which threatens this bloody strike is the same CIO which owns Gov. Williams, Democratic nominee for election, body, soul, and britches.

It is the CIO-PAC which has contributed so heavily to the campaign fund of Senator Moody, Democratic nominee for election, and to which Senator Moody owes so much for so many favors done. Williams appointed Moody to his present Senate seat.

It is the CIO which is supporting Gov. Stevenson, Democratic nominee for President.

And so, this vicious threat, made on the eve of election day, presents a sharp issue to Michigan Voters: All in favor of having "the bloodiest strike in the history of Detroit" will vote for Williams, Moody and Stevenson, for if the three are elected the CIO'ers will regard the people's verdict as permission to start the flow of citizens' blood!

The general pattern for newspaper treatments of strikes is closer to that shown for Yankee City. In smaller, one-industry communities, the press may be the property of the industry. If not owned outright, it may be so beholden to the company that it cannot afford even the façade of neutrality. This tends to be the case, especially when a union is being organized against the employer's wishes, as happened in Johnstown during the organization drive in the steel industry.⁴⁰ In some instances, when the only industry in town is absentee-owned and the newspaper is independent, the policy may be actually anticompany. In addition, newspapers tend to be antimanagement in extreme cases when a company threatens to move out of the community.

GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

Undoubtedly, the most effective source of intervention in industrial conflict is the government; local, state, or federal. Governments have created many agencies and laws to arbitrate and mediate disputes which threaten the public welfare. In addition, they have the most effective sanctions to use

³⁹ For an excellent analysis of several sources of public opinion during the Detroit sit-down strike, see Dwight W. Chapman, "Industrial Conflict in Detroit," in George W. Hartmann and Theodore Newcomb (eds.), *Industrial Conflict*, Cordon, 1939, pp. 63-67.

⁴⁰ Keith Sward, "The Johnstown Strike of 1937; A Case Study of a Large Scale Conflict," in Hartmann & Newcomb (eds.), *Industrial Conflict*, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-95.

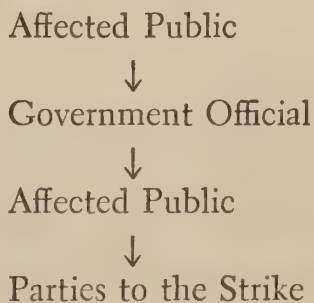
against recalcitrant parties: force and threat of force. It is not necessary to review the elaborate state and federal governmental machinery available to settle industrial disputes.⁴¹ It may be useful to describe the municipal facilities which can be used in strikes. These are the mayor, his executive departments (such as the police), and the courts. Since the power of local courts in industrial disputes has been seriously curtailed by state and federal legislation, it may be well to focus on the mayor's office.

THE MAYOR'S OFFICE

In cities with strong unions, the office of the mayor is expected to function in a more or less neutral manner during industrial disputes. Although the mayor does not have an official role in strikes, he may be pressured to assume certain functions. He may anticipate public reaction and exert the influence of his office at will, or he may wait until there is clamor for "something to be done." In either event he usually takes pains to appear neutral or to condemn both parties for ignoring the welfare of the total community.

In cases where public health, welfare, or safety is threatened, the mayor cannot refrain from becoming involved in industrial relations. When public utilities, food deliveries, and pay rolls are severed the public demands action. Since the mayor is an elected officer, he cannot openly appear to be anti-labor because he may be defeated in the subsequent election. Since the prosperity of the city is built on pay rolls, he cannot appear antibusiness. Moreover, it is difficult for him to maintain a posture of neutrality in a situation where each side is quick to misinterpret his behavior.

The primary sanction available to the mayor is his ability to focus adverse public opinion on either management or the union.⁴² Chamberlain suggests four main types of actions available to the mayor and other public officials. The first is persuasion, not because the mayor is well versed with the techniques, but because he represents authority. If persuasion does not work, he can threaten to issue a public statement identifying the responsible party or parties. This may be followed by an active campaign to mobilize public opinion against the recalcitrant disputants. The line of pressure is diagrammed below.



⁴¹ See, for example, articles in Arthur Kornhauser, Robert Dubin, and Arthur M. Ross (eds.), *Industrial Conflict*, McGraw-Hill, 1954.

⁴² The following section is based on Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-180.

During the strike police action may be taken, court injunctions may be pressed, discriminatory legislation may be passed, past legal violations may be publicized, and other devices may be used to exert pressure. Punitive action is also possible after strike settlement, especially against management. Municipal contracts may be awarded to other companies; building, fire, and other inspectors may become overly conscientious while examining business premises; and licenses may be revoked.

The actions of the mayor in an industrial relations crisis, the pressures on him, and the sanctions at his disposal are well documented in the case of a strike of the Independent Association of Employees against the Duquesne Light Company in Pittsburgh, 1946. This case is summarized at the end of this chapter.

CHURCH INTERVENTION

Generally speaking, church leaders in the United States hesitate to become directly involved in an industrial dispute. Churchmen tend to preach the doctrine of responsibility and stewardship, but do not themselves become involved in disputes unless invited by one or both parties.⁴³ To be sure, some churchmen manifest a strong interest in labor relations and others have dedicated their lives to the improvement of labor-management relations. However, the institutional pattern is to avoid involvement or to become involved under restricted conditions.⁴⁴ This is understandable because the church has a relatively poor arsenal of sanctions to apply on disputing parties.

Clerical sympathies tend to follow those of their congregations. Thus, the clergy in management-dominated congregations tend to be promanagement, and the clergy of working-class churches tend to be prolabor. When long strikes and widespread suffering occur some clergymen are constrained to ask the parties to settle their differences. This is likely to be most effective when all parties represent the same religious faith. If the mayor or someone else is attempting to select a citizen's committee to intervene in a dispute, clergymen who represent the main faiths will be among those appointed.

Clergymen become involved in industrial disputes under two conditions. First, they intervene when they feel a vital religious or moral issue is involved. Thus, Catholic priests have urged workers to abandon unions dominated by communist leaders, or to settle with employers when in-

⁴³ See, for example, Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers*, Yale University Press, 1942, p. 173. "Most ministers in the country deny that the proper role of religious institutions in relation to the social and economic order is indifference. On the other hand, they assert that the church as an institution must not become embroiled in economic and political affairs, but must save the world through 'changed individuals' and the extension of the church."

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163. "Ministers in the country have seldom inveighed against any practice of the mills. Dozens of interviews with clergymen of all denominations elicited only three specific criticisms of economic policies."

stigated to fight by communists. Second, intervention may occur when the labor-management division in the community is paralleled by a religious cleavage. Each antagonist may get active support of his clergy. The more frequent situation is one in which union officials ask the clergy to persuade managers to show compassion for suffering workers and give in to their demands. When faced with the prospects of a long strike and possible adverse publicity, both labor and management groups may organize "citizens' committees" in which the clergy are represented. In so doing, their purpose is to legitimize their actions by associating them with religious symbols.

Many churchmen have been concerned by the ineffectiveness of the modern church to temper labor-management struggles. For generations, some clergymen have urged industry to organize on the basis of coöperation rather than on the basis of competition and conflict. In addition, they have insisted that industrial conflict cannot be resolved by *ad hoc* measures. They have proposed permanent industrial councils to deal with all economic problems, including conflicts of interests among management, unions, and the consumers.

The most elaborate schemes have been proposed by the Roman Catholic church. The industrial councils it recommends would have representatives from unions, business, and the public, to consider the social as well as the economic interests of *all parties related to a particular industry*. Several similar plans have been proposed by Protestant churches and by leaders in business and labor.⁴⁵ These plans will not be reviewed here for several reasons. First, they represent industry-wide rather than community-wide organizations. Second, only a few councils are operating and the prospect of creating many of them is dim. Third, the plans, as now constituted, have no effective sanctions. At best, they represent schemes which may be voluntarily joined and voluntarily broken. Fourth, many business and union leaders are ideologically committed to the idea that in a free economy, the right to disagree, compete, and fight provides the best prospect for maintaining healthy industrial relations.

EDUCATION

Educators become involved in industrial relations in much the same way as the clergy. They are supposed to be either neutral or at least not opposed to the existing economic order. Since most of them teach in publicly supported institutions, they are vulnerable to pressures which outside interests can bring to bear on school systems. Therefore, they generally avoid conflict.

Under certain conditions, however, educators may be sought to serve on citizens' committees to represent the public in industrial disputes. They may be asked to moderate or arbitrate conflicts in the capacity of neutral experts

⁴⁵ For a brief review of these plans see Howard R. Bowen, *Social Responsibilities of the Businessman*, Harper, 1953, chap. XIV.

in industrial relations. In such cases their obligations tend to be narrowly defined and not concerned with major policy goals. This places them in anachronistic positions because, unlike the clergy, educators have often extensive contacts and knowledge about business and labor. In some situations they are the only people who have complete and impartial knowledge of the total system of industrial relations. However, knowledge does not always result in power, and this seems to be the case for educators.⁴⁶ Some recognition is provided by the appointment of a tripartite committee of the public, employer, and union in the 1959-1961 contract between Kaiser Steel and the Steel Workers of America. This committee will seek proposals for the long-run solution of labor-management problems. The public members include Dr. George W. Taylor, Dr. David L. Cole, and Dr. John Dunlop, all university professors.

ORGANIZED COMMUNITY PRESSURE

It is very difficult to organize "the community" directly to exert pressure on contestants to an industrial relations dispute. Most communities do not have suitable organizational facilities to intervene. More commonly, associations which serve other purposes can more readily "intrude themselves" into the dispute. The frequent intervenors are governmental bureaus, other labor and management groups, and other local commissions and boards. Since these agencies are sometimes resisted because they are partisan or ineffective, on rare occasions attempts are made to organize a representative community body *de nouveau*. In such cases teachers, lawyers, clergy, housewives, governmental, labor, and business officials are given representation with no group having numerical dominance. Speaking for "the community," this body attempts to exert "mass public censure" on the parties, defines them as minorities which are obstructing the general welfare, and urges them to accept whatever actions they deem as appropriate.

Chamberlain describes the rise of the Civic-Community Group a week after a strike began in an electric utility in Pittsburgh.⁴⁷ Its first act was to announce that it represented civic, community, business, and labor organizations having a total membership of 300,000, and that a public mass meeting would be held at Carnegie Music Hall. Forty clergy responded to the request to announce this meeting from their pulpits, children brought home notes from school advertising the meeting, veterans' organizations urged their members to attend, firms affected by the strike urged people to attend. About 1500 people actually appeared at the meeting, at which two resolutions were passed; one requested a new union vote, under supervision, on the question of arbitration, and the other advocated new legislation to protect the public

⁴⁶ C. Wright Mills, "The Powerless People: The Role of the Intellectual in Society," *Politics*, April, 1944.

⁴⁷ Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216.

in such emergencies if present laws were ineffective. The union president refused the request for arbitration. One week later the group met again and voted to urge the union to call a new meeting to submit the arbitration question directly to the membership. Other resolutions were also passed. While a meeting of the union membership was held, it had no legal status. The probable effect of the group was to impress the union president that he did not have the complete loyalty of the membership.

This case is probably typical of many spontaneously organized citizen committees which are not dominated by one of the disputing parties. Such groups have had little experience with industrial relations; they have no sanctions save that of focused moral pressure; their funds are inadequate; and they are suspected as cover groups for one of the parties. If such citizen groups were permanent, and had offices and functions, they might be more effective.

Contestants Organize the Community

Understandably, contestants to an industrial-relations dispute suspect citizens' committees. Organized labor especially has found that many committees have turned out to be management devices to break a strike and get employees back to work.

MANAGEMENT'S CITIZEN COMMITTEES

The Mohawk Valley formula, which is now illegal, represented a well-worked-out technique to challenge union control over the workers. It worked successfully many times before and soon after the passage of the National Labor Relations Act. The Johnstown Citizen's Committee which was formed during the Bethlehem Steel strike in 1937 and the Flint Alliance created during the Chevrolet sit-down strike in 1937 are representative types.⁴⁸ Such citizens' committees are illegal because they are financed by management to break a union of the workers' own choosing. Since it is sometimes difficult to identify the source of financial support for such "citizens' committees" and since there are loopholes in the present law, it is still possible for labor and management groups to organize pseudocitizen groups. While these groups cannot easily crush a union, they may be successful in affecting strike tactics and strategy. For this reason, the main elements of the Mohawk Valley formula are outlined below.

1. When a strike is threatened, discredit union leaders as agitators; disseminate propaganda by all channels, making it appear that strikers are making arbitrary demands. Align influential community members as a citizens' committee to oppose the strike.
2. When a strike is called, demand law and order against threatened or imagined violence by all legal and police weapons available.

⁴⁸ See Sward, *op. cit.*, p. 87, and Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

3. Call a mass meeting of citizens to strengthen the power of this citizens' committee to aid employers exert pressure on local authorities.
4. Bring about the formation of a large armed police force to intimidate strikers and produce a psychological effect on the citizenry.
5. Start a "back to work" movement by a puppet association of "loyal" employees secretly organized by the employer. Such a movement causes the public to believe the union represents a minority, enables the employer to hire strikebreakers, and gives him a clue on the number of dissenting union members.
6. Fix a date for the opening of the plant at the "request" of the "back to work" association. Guarantee workers police protection, etc.
7. Dramatize opening of plant by massing workers flanked by squads of armed police.
8. Continue show of police force and activity of citizen committee to demoralize strikers. Guarantee work and protection to those who have "returned." If trouble arises, get a declaration of a state of emergency tantamount to martial law to protect the plant.
9. Close the publicity barrage with the theme that the plant is in full operation and that strikers were a minority who were attempting to interfere with the "right to work." With this step the campaign is over and the strike is broken.⁴⁹

OTHER CITIZEN COMMITTEES

The Mohawk Valley formula which was perfected during the Remington Rand strike in 1936 is rarely used today in its original form. This does not mean that management and labor do not try to organize the community during periods of industrial unrest. Undoubtedly many groups which "intervene" in a strike result from behind-the-scenes requests for intervention. The secret character of such activity is very difficult to study.

A less secret arrangement is the formation of a citizen committee to aid one of the parties during an industrial crisis. Both management and labor, often in anticipation of conflict, organize groups of citizens (clergy, educators, small businessmen, professionals, and housewives) to do various things. They may, for example, (1) publish "impartial" letters in the press informing the citizens of the "real" issues, (2) call for intervention of state and federal agencies, (3) collect funds to publish the "true facts," (4) collect funds to support strikers, and (5) urge passage of "beneficial" legislation.

The purpose of representative citizen committees is to identify a partisan cause with a community cause. This is known as the process of legitimation, or gaining symbolic acceptability by endorsement of a cause by a cross section of community leaders.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Condensed from David J. Saposs and Elizabeth T. Bliss, *Anti-Labor Activities in the United States*, League for Industrial Democracy, June, 1938, pp. 19-21; R. R. R. Brooks, *When Labor Organizes*, Yale University Press, 1937.

⁵⁰ Sower *et al.*, *op. cit.*

The case below is presented to document the above analysis of how community organizations become involved in an industrial relations dispute.

SANCTIONS AT WORK: A CASE STUDY

By Neil W. Chamberlain⁵¹

. . . The longest utility strike of record appears to be that conducted by the Independent Association of Employees of the Duquesne Light Company in the fall of 1946. This strike lasted for 27 days and was directed against a company which supplies electricity to the greater Pittsburgh community. . . .

Following a breakdown in negotiations, a strike was called, suddenly, at 4 A.M., February 12, 1946. It lasted for 12½ hours and was then called off, at the insistence of the city administration, to allow for further negotiations. A new strike deadline of midnight February 26 was set. Twenty-six minutes before that deadline the union agreed to a further postponement of one week. On March 1 the strike call was canceled when the union agreed to submit its case to a board of arbitration, which on April 12 awarded a wage increase of 18 cents an hour. Although this amount was subsequently found by the Wage Stabilization Board to exceed the still-existing wage ceilings, the full award could be and was lawfully paid, the company simply being unable to use the amount in excess of wage ceiling as a basis for price relief or as an element of recoverable cost in any contracts with the federal government. On July 28 the union announced more than fifty new demands, including a further wage increase of 20 percent, a master contract to replace nine separate contracts, and a union shop. The next day it filed its notice of intention to strike at any time after the expiration of thirty days.

The city administration did not delay long in intervening. Following the "off-again, on-again" strike threat of the spring; it was in no mood to dally with a new threat. In this resolve it was bolstered by a considerable receipt of letters from angry and worried citizens, asking assurances of "complete and absolute protection" (a phrase taken from one of such letters) during the spring difficulty. Consequently, on August 7, Mayor David Lawrence released a public statement to both parties [indicating that]:

"This city is in no mood to be victimized in another war of nerves such as we endured in February. . . . Negotiations and arbitration are now voluntary. They will remain voluntary only if they are used to prevent stoppages. Otherwise, the people will impose compulsory arbitration."

Failing agreement between the parties, the mayor stepped in as mediator on August 30. There is considerable evidence that his public statement that he would "put the pressure" on both company and union was borne out in fact. He flayed the parties for their disregard of community welfare and sought the intervention of other unions and managements. Department store owners and industrialists, large consumers of electric power, were urged to try to persuade the company to make an offer that the union might entertain . . .

⁵¹ Quoted from *Social Responsibility and Strikes*, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-228, *passim*.

Events began to move rapidly. On August 31 the union threatened to break off negotiations that night unless agreement had been reached, but Mayor Lawrence gained the promise of both parties to continue their bargaining. Finally, on September 3, in response to the pressures on it, the company made its first and long-awaited offer to the union. The company's proposal was so meager and trivial that the *Pittsburgh Press* editorially condemned it as insulting. At a membership meeting, which was broadcast by radio, Mueller [the union president] presented the company's offer with sarcastic comment . . . [The membership] approved a motion "that a strike be called," 1,008 to 568, and empowered their general policy committee to set the date of the strike . . . The mayor was reported now ready to put some "real" pressure on the company.

The result of Mayor Lawrence's efforts was the company's consent to arbitrate all issues in dispute, but subject to Wage Stabilization Board policy. This concession represented a substantial achievement for the mayor and marked one of the several turning points of the dispute. While the city administration's pressure had been largely concentrated on the company, up to this point, from [this] time . . . the pressures became almost exclusively concentrated on the union.

The union's strike committee rejected the company's arbitration offer. The basis for rejection was not made entirely clear. It was said that the objection was to the limitation that arbitration must conform to Stabilization policies, that arbitration was too expensive, and—by Mueller—that "we are refusing to arbitrate because we know the company has something up its sleeve." According to one newspaper, "Mayor Lawrence was reported to have handled the union rather roughly because of their refusal to arbitrate."

The next move was the union's. In a radio address the night of September 7, Mueller set the strike for 12:01 A.M. September 10.

The following day the mayor asked that the union membership be allowed to vote on the arbitration offer. Mueller refused but consented to poll the general policy committee, which had been given full strike authority by the membership. In an effort to make his influence more effective, Lawrence requested that the 51 members of the policy committee meet with him in his office at noon, September 9, assuming personal responsibility for any loss of earnings they might suffer. Only four appeared. To them the mayor said, "Last week after your meeting, the strike was declared, and then and only then did [the management] come in with an offer of arbitration, and I want to say to you and I want you to carry back to the other members that the plan of arbitration was my plan." Subsequently the full committee voted, 42 to 9, to reject the company's offer of arbitration. The objection given was that Stabilization policy would prevent arbitration on the merits of the dispute.

As if anticipating this result, the mayor had given a fighting speech on the radio the previous evening. Asserting that the community was the victim of a "psychologically incompetent management and a poorly led, ill-advised union," he added, with respect to the latter, "It belongs neither to the CIO nor the AFL. It has no international officers, no men like William Green or Philip Murray to give it wise and competent counsel." (Lawrence's intent here became apparent. The independent union was to be isolated from the Pittsburgh labor movement and deprived of its support, if possible . . . Mayor Lawrence's position as a

liberal Democrat, who in the state legislature had supported bills amenable to the unions, favored the success of this maneuver. It had already been reported that, unofficially, the AFL Central Labor Union and the CIO Industrial Labor Council were opposed to the strike) . . . "I am asking you to join me in applying every pressure to prevent the paralysis of Pittsburgh. No small group of men—union or employer—can withstand the full impact of 1,400,000 people. Use every means you know to reach out in your community to let the men of the Duquesne Light Company—workers and officials alike—to let them know that you will not allow them to strangle this city."

The strike was now imminent. If it was to be averted, whatever action could be taken must be taken without delay.

The city was now confronted with a similar situation [to that in the spring] and similar steps were taken to meet it. A fresh bill of complaint was prepared. Conversations were held between the mayor and his advisors. Miss Alpern [city solicitor], although warning the mayor that his request for an injunction would endanger his political standing with the unions, urged this as the only remaining course to avert what promised to be a disaster to the community. Without committing himself, the mayor consented to an arrangement whereby, on word from his office, papers would be immediately served upon both union and management, with the court notified in advance so that it would be prepared to sit. Multiple copies of the bill of complaint and notice to defendants were drafted, needing only insertion of the hour of day at which the court would entertain the motion. The stage was set for trigger action as the day of September 9 wore on. The strike had been set for that midnight.

Hoping to avoid the stigma of asking for an injunction, which had become a symbol of antiunion activity, Lawrence sought to have the company itself enter the petition. The company was indeed then considering such an action, but preferred to avoid it if possible. It had information, or at least suspicion, of the city's tentative plans to seek a writ. The situation developed into a kind of cat-and-mouse game, in which the city delayed action, hoping that the company would move, while the company marked time, anticipating that the city would act if it did not. By personal connections the company had arranged to be notified the moment the city solicitor applied to the court.

The hours passed. The suspense increased. Finally, at 11 P.M., word was flashed from the mayor's office to the city solicitor to proceed with service of the papers. The waiting deputies were on their way within the minute. . . . There is no doubt that [this] action placed the mayor in a difficult position. The union group, among his most militant political supporters, was firmly set against use of the injunction . . .

The scene of action now shifted to the courtroom. The director of the Department of Public Health entered the bill of complaint on behalf of the City of Pittsburgh. He was represented by Miss Alpern, the city solicitor. The hour was fast approaching midnight. The situation was electric . . . The bill of complaint elaborated [twenty] expected [negative] consequences [of the strike] . . . The estimate of the impending calamities was supported by affidavits from the director of the Department of Public Health, the president and secretary of the Allegheny County Medical Society, the director of the Department of Public Works, and

the director of the Department of Public Safety. The city's complaint was directed against both company and union . . .

The relief asked was an order restraining the officers and members of the Independent Association from calling any strike against the Duquesne Light Company and enjoining the officers and directors of the parent companies to come to Pittsburgh to participate in bona fide negotiations to reach an agreement with the union . . . The court forthwith granted the order substantially as requested, and set a hearing for September 13 on whether the order should be made permanent. The strike was now off.

The injunction proceedings marked a second turning point in the long-drawn-out dispute. Sentiment which had begun to firm against the union because of its intransigence in refusing arbitration now became divided. Unionists and some liberal elements in the community rallied to the support of the Independent Association out of opposition to that hated legal instrument, the injunction. For something more than two weeks George Mueller, IA president, enjoyed a burst in popularity as he became a symbol of union martyrdom. The CIO and AFL, previously tending strongly toward condemnation of the strike, now became defenders of the union faith by attacking the city's action, while still not approving the union's. Officials of the AFL Central Labor Union dispatched telegrams to all Democratic candidates for the state legislature, then campaigning for the fall election asking their stand on the injunction. All but one stood by Mayor Lawrence, reminding the unionists of his prolabor record and arguing that "this is no ordinary labor dispute." Central Labor Union officials were reported to be alarmed that this use of the injunction might become a precedent which would be extended to other strike situations.

If the injunction aroused labor's opposition, there were many members of the general public in whose eyes the mayor had increased in stature by his actions. Some who had suspiciously regarded him as a "labor mayor" now conceded that in a time of crisis he was the people's representative, who could disregard political ties to special-interest groups. If there were those who regarded the injunction as a great mistake, there were probably many more who applauded the mayor for his courageous use of it.

Meanwhile, the injunction appeared to be having its effect. Leo T. Crowley, president of the Standard Gas and Electric Company, parent of Duquesne Light, arrived in Pittsburgh. Here was a man high in Democratic party circles, whose language Lawrence, himself a Democratic national committeeman, could speak . . . From the Federal Conciliation Service assurance was now obtained, in writing, that Stabilization policy need not apply where both parties voluntarily entered into unconditional arbitration. (This policy was indeed already known to the union, since it was on such a basis that it had received the above-ceiling wage increase of April 12.) The mayor prevailed upon Crowley to make such an unconditional offer. He then called in the union negotiating committee and its attorney, asking them to consent to arbitration under the new offer. Mueller and Crowley met and discussed terms. The result was an agreement between the two, signed September 12, submitting to arbitration all issues in dispute, with no conditions attached. . . .

Mueller hailed the arbitration agreement as a "victory" for the union. To

allow time for membership ratification of the agreement, the hearing on the injunction was postponed until September 24. The great crisis appeared to be over. In fact, however, it had hardly begun.

The evening of September 20 the union membership met to consider the arbitration offer. Mueller was in charge of the meeting. Instead of speaking on behalf of the agreement which he had himself signed . . . Mueller charged that the company had "reneged" on the manner in which the arbitration was to be conducted. He entertained a motion that the membership reject arbitration . . . The vote was 1,035 to 329 for rejection. Mueller then advised the membership that hearings on the injunction had been set for 9:30 A.M., September 24, and that since the entire membership had been named in the initial restraining order, they should all appear at the courtroom. This would, of course, result in the company's being shut down.

From the membership meeting Mueller went to a radio station. In a fighting speech he attacked the city administration for seeking an injunction and asserted that the union would resist . . .

The next morning Mueller was confronted by reporters with the company's denial that it had gone back on its arbitration agreement. He admitted that the articles of arbitration, drafted by the company's attorney, had been approved by him. "But the members are just fed up on arbitration," he said. "They don't want any more of it." To a reporter, too, he declared that the strike had been set for 9:30 A.M., September 24 . . . "We are challenging [the injunction] not only as to its validity but as to its legality and enforcement."

What led to Mueller's repudiation of the Crowley agreement? There is no ready answer . . . [Many] believed that Mueller had been enjoying his notoriety. The picture of himself as controlling the fate of a metropolis, with which he had been repeatedly confronted, had given him a sense of power; some said that he was becoming intoxicated with that heady feeling . . .

On the 22nd Crowley returned to the city and announced that he was willing to meet anyone at any time to avert the strike. He met with Mueller, but the latter was adamant in refusing to discuss terms until the injunction had been withdrawn. Scores of telegrams and hundreds of phone calls poured in on City Hall, virtually all condemning the union . . . On September 23, Mayor Lawrence in a radio address urged the powerhouse and distribution men to stay on their jobs, saying they would thereby obtain public support for the demands they were making on the company . . .

The court hearing on whether the injunction should be continued began the morning of September 24, with an estimated 800 persons seeking admittance, among them many of the Duquesne employees. The Central Labor Union and the District Council of the Brotherhood of Teamsters asked leave of the court to intervene. The labor movement, as a whole, felt it had much at stake in the outcome of this proceeding. City Solicitor Alpern tried to calm their fears with her opening statement to the court: . . . "We know only too well how often the injunction process has been used to oppress labor . . . We are anxious to have labor in these proceedings so that they too can watch this litigation and make certain that the Order that is issued here will be confined to the facts that prompted it and will not be enlarged by the foes of labor to situations where it

has no applicability whatsoever." . . . Witnesses were presented and cross-examined. The Court's decision was to continue the preliminary injunction in full force and effect.

Then came a sequence of events which the city administration had not anticipated. The court pressed Mueller for explicit answer as to whether he had called a strike in violation of the court's order and as to whether he intended to obey the injunction. The union president's evasive answers were swept aside as the court prodded him for an unequivocal reply. The union attorney, now sensing the court's purpose, sought to intervene on behalf of his client but was told to let Mueller speak for himself. It was apparent that the three judges on the bench had been more than irritated by what observers described as the arrogant manner in which Mueller had conducted himself throughout the proceedings. When Mueller finally answered that he had ordered the strike and would not abide by the injunction, the court summarily found him guilty of contempt and sentenced him to one year in jail. Trial by jury and bail were both refused, because "it is contempt in open court." The remaining members of the strike committee were ordered to appear the following morning to determine what action should be taken with respect to them.

It was the city administration, not the union, which was most stunned by this action. The mayor was reported as "sick" over the court's decision. His presentiment of future consequences was fully borne out. Quickly the word spread throughout the city that "Mueller has been jailed for a year for striking." . . . By the next day it was estimated that up to 20,000 workers in the area had left their jobs in protest. Crowds of angry unionists milled around the City-County Building. Communist agitators moved in to whip up the growing sentiment. Even representatives of the Duquesne management admitted that the threat of a citywide general strike was becoming real.

Meanwhile, the nine remaining members of the strike committee appeared in court for judgment. There it was revealed that two of their number had met with Crowley the previous evening and had worked out an agreement that would end the strike. One by one they affirmed to the court that they would call a membership meeting for that same night (September 25) and promised "in good faith to this Court" that they would recommend and urge the members as a whole to accept the offer and call off the strike. On the strength of this promise they were released, with instructions to report to the Court the results of the membership meeting.

The meeting was called. Mueller, however, was still in jail and the threat of a general union uprising had not been dissipated. At this stage the tangle of efforts to remedy the situation is difficult to unravel. It appears, however, that it was a labor reporter for one of the Pittsburgh newspapers who urged two of the three judges, whom he personally knew, to release Mueller to attend the union meeting . . . There seems to be little doubt that the mayor acquiesced in this action. At 8:50 that evening, while the membership meeting was already in session, Mueller was again called before the court and gave assurance that if released that evening (though not freed from the contempt sentence) he would urge acceptance of the agreement which had been negotiated by two of his committeemen.

With police escort, sirens screaming, Mueller was whisked out to the meeting hall. He entered through a side door. His appearance on stage was the signal for general pandemonium. What followed thereafter is in dispute. Impartial observers maintain that despite his promise to the court Mueller, without openly denouncing the agreement, managed to sway the feelings of the members against the settlement by reminding them of the injunction. The members tore up the ballots which were to have been cast on the agreement. By a vote of 1,771 to 402 they determined to remain on strike until the injunction was lifted. In a subsequent radio statement Mueller admitted that the agreement which he had promised to support was never put to a vote, saying the motion had not even received a "second" due to the uproar which attended his appearance.

If Mueller was inspired by public attention, as has been maintained by many who knew him, he was now in his element. A crowd of 400 to 500 sympathizers milled around the auditorium while the vote was being taken. A report in the *Pittsburgh Press* described the scene as Mueller left. . . . "A group of bobby-soxers, not employes, threw their arms around him, kissed him, pulled his necktie and mussed the little hair he has. George loved it. Flashlight bulbs exploded." Mueller was indeed the man of the hour.

The secretary of the union reported back to the court: "We refuse to consider the offer as it was made until the injunction is dissolved—at which time a vote will be taken to determine the acceptance of the company's offer."

The morning of September 26 Mueller and the mayor met together. The issue before the city administration was whether to request dissolution of the injunction. The decision was not an easy one. Some within the mayor's cabinet opposed such a move. . . . As long as the injunction and the jail sentences stood, the city itself became a center of attack. Mayor Lawrence decided [to withdraw the injunction]. In doing so he obtained from AFL and CIO leaders their promise . . . they would again support him against the Duquesne union on the strike issue. The city solicitor entered a motion in court to dissolve the order, on the ground that an agreement had been reached between union and management which the strike committee had advised the city was acceptable to the membership. The agreement referred to was that negotiated with Crowley the night of September 24, on which the members had said they would not vote until the injunction had been withdrawn. The court acceded to the city's request.

This was Mueller's "finest hour." At this point he had defied the city administration and brought it to his own terms. He stood as the unchallenged leader within his own union, whose membership had followed him loyally through his legal vicissitudes. The strike which had been outlawed was now in full swing, with pickets patrolling all Duquesne installations, free of any censure of the courts. He showed no haste to put to membership vote an agreement which had been made not by him but by his subordinates, while he had been in jail.

Nevertheless, despite Mueller's achievements, dissolution of the injunction marked a new turning point in the prolonged dispute . . . Pressures were again concentrated on the striking union. The day after dissolution, September 27, other labor leaders made good their promise of support for the mayor . . .

One participant in the dispute remarked in subsequent interview, "The AFL, the CIO, and District 50 of the Mine Workers were all pleading with [Mueller]

to call off the strike—and at the same time they were all licking their chops at the thought of taking over the independent union. Mueller was like the girl whom all the boys want for the junior prom, and he loved it.” Other pressures on the striking union were called into play. Local radio stations . . . were reported to be unavailable to him until he was ready to announce the end of the strike. The mayor urged that clergymen ask their congregations and associates to use their influence as they best could. . . . On September 29 Mueller brought the Crowley agreement before the membership for vote. It was rejected 1,170 to 553.

The mayor now went before the people with a radio address that was designed to organize public sentiment against the union and to make clear his own role in the strike. [He concluded]:

If one man, the union president had kept his word, we would be a normal city today. One million and a half people must prove that a pledge given must be kept, and that we, all of us, this great city, will against all obstacles exercise our right to live . . .

This speech . . . served only to antagonize Mueller and to make him less inclined than ever to come to terms. He refused any cooperation with the city’s efforts to soften the impact of the strike on the city. The trolley and bus lines had ceased running . . . The mayor asked Mueller and his strike committee to come to City Hall to discuss the matter. Mueller refused.

It was in this attitude of mutual recrimination and hostility that the city and union squared off for a showdown fight. The lines were clearly drawn. The union insisted on continuing negotiations, with the strike providing continuing pressure on the company to make concessions greater than it had. The company held out for arbitration of all issues. The city administration sought settlement, however obtained, but was convinced that a negotiated settlement was less likely and in any event more time-consuming than arbitration. It therefore supported the company’s demand that the union call off the strike and submit all issues in dispute to an impartial board. The company was thus in a position where it could let the city serve as its protagonist—and this despite the known record of Mayor Lawrence as a champion of labor.

What pressures could now be brought to bear on the Independent Association? The city administration had played its ace—the injunction. . . . The administration was now seeking to focus public opinion more effectively on the striking union, but time would be required for the results of this to materialize. There were, however, a few weapons still available.

1. The mayor sought to encourage any back-to-work movement within the union membership and any opposition to Mueller’s leadership. Early in the strike it became apparent that there was not unanimity on policy within either the 10-man strike committee or the 51-man general policy committee . . . More formidable were the several rank-and-file movements which developed and the raiding efforts of several other unions . . . Three interested unions, all filed notice of intent to intervene in [an] election. . . . The petitioners had little hope of victory, however, conceding that the rivalry among the three new unions placed the IA in a strong position. In the vote . . . the IA received more than twice as many votes as the three other unions combined.

Concomitantly with these efforts to unseat the IA as bargaining representative, a group of insurgents sought to secure greater influence *within* the IA . . . These efforts were supported by Mayor Lawrence. First overt indications of a dissatisfaction within the rank and file came on October 7 when a group of rebel IA members of unknown number offered to return to work if pickets were withdrawn . . . On October 10 one hundred members of the Western Division of the union signed a petition asking Mueller to submit the company's arbitration plan to another membership vote. The next day a group of 119 members, presumably including many of the original 100 signers, met in St. Mary's Church Hall in an announced effort to secure 325 signatures on a petition demanding that the union president convene the union membership for a vote on whether to arbitrate the dispute . . . The petition was . . . presented to Mueller, who said that union bylaws required a five-day notice of such a meeting.

Without waiting, the group secured the support of Mayor Lawrence in calling a membership meeting in Carnegie Music Hall the evening of October 14. About 1,100 persons showed up, but it appeared that considerably more than half were there as "Mueller's men" to pack the meeting. Mayor Lawrence and County Commissioner Kane addressed the group, urging acceptance of arbitration . . . With more than half of those present abstaining, the result was 430 to 128 in favor of arbitration. The vote was without legal force, but it seems likely that it made some impression on Mueller. The insurgents . . . hired an attorney and on October 18 sought a writ of mandamus requiring Mueller to release to them the names and addresses of all paid-up members, so that a mass meeting might legally be called. The end of the strike made this action unnecessary, however.

2. Other pressures on the IA came from AFL and CIO unions in the area . . . The collapse of their support, in part attributable to the mayor's intercession, was probably a decisive factor in bringing an end to the strike. Top AFL and CIO leaders supported the mayor against the union throughout the strike . . . It seems probable, however, that the opposition of the combined labor movement had some influence with the IA rank and file. The criticism of their own leadership by much more widely recognized labor leaders could not be without some persuasive effect.

3. Pressures of business groups on the union were relatively slight. Going over Mueller's head, the Smaller Manufacturers Council, representing 400 manufacturers most of whose plants were closed due to the strike, publicly appealed to the general policy committee to call off the strike. Such an appeal had no force behind it other than a reminder to union leaders of their possible loss of community standing if they continued to work hardship on others. Other than this, business's primary contribution was to undercut one argument which the union had raised against arbitration—its cost. On October 4, the executive vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce told conciliators that if this was a legitimate barrier he was "sure that the money could be found." The following day the Chamber's president guaranteed to assume the union's share of arbitration expenses. Mueller had other arguments against arbitration which he could readily substitute, however.

4. Aside from any general community antipathy which may have caused the striking unionists some fear of loss of respect and good will, the primary remain-

ing expression of public opinion was that attempted through a movement to "mass public opinion." On October 2 it was announced that representatives of civic, community, business, and labor organizations having total memberships of 300,000 would hold a public mass meeting at Carnegie Music Hall the evening of October 6 . . . Some 1,500 people showed up at the meeting. A resolution was passed asking for a new union vote, "under supervision" on the question of arbitration. Citizens were urged to phone or visit both union and management members to ask for a prompt settlement of the strike. Another resolution advocated new legislation if present laws were incapable of protecting the public in such an emergency. The Civic-Community Group's request to the union for a reconsideration of arbitration was met with a refusal from Mueller. On October 9 the same group, meeting at the Congress of Women's Clubs, voted to use its influence to force a new meeting of IA members so that the arbitration question might be resubmitted to them . . . It is not clear to what extent this group may have supported the insurgent movement which has previously been described. The relative success of its program, however, was measured by the relative success of the rebel faction. As we have seen, that group, while succeeding in arranging for a meeting, had no legal standing and could not bind the membership, but it probably impressed Mueller with the fact that his hold on the membership was slipping in some degree.

The end of the strike came not dramatically but almost as a drab anticlimax to the more colorful events which had preceded [it]. . . . As the strike wore on . . . Mueller became less and less accessible. Previously he had irritated the mayor and company negotiators by being two or three hours late for scheduled conferences; now it was difficult even for his attorney to locate him at all. Other members of the strike committee were out of touch with him. The strike drifted along more from its own momentum than from any active leadership. Then, in a surprise move, Mueller met Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach in Washington on October 19. The ostensible purpose of the meeting was to secure from Schwollenbach an assurance that Stabilization policy would not bind an arbitration board . . . [Mueller] had already received written assurances of a similar nature from other federal officials responsible to Schwollenbach . . . In any event, the move indicated that Mueller was at last entertaining the notion of submitting to arbitration.

The union's attorney succeeded in locating Mueller upon his return to Pittsburgh, not without difficulty. In a three-hour session he told the union president that a new vote on arbitration could not be avoided. Mueller, who apparently had been coming to the same conclusion independently, finally agreed to issue a call for that same night. As the two men emerged from the attorney's office they found waiting in the anteroom a committee of the union membership that had come to request legal assistance in calling a new meeting. It was evident that the rank and file's limit of tolerance was rapidly being reached.

At this final membership meeting, all was in order. Suspicion had previously been cast on the form in which the motion had been presented and the manner in which votes had been counted. Now it was arranged for Sheriff Walter Monaghan to supervise the balloting and count the votes. This time Mueller argued in favor of accepting the arbitration offer, saying that he had been given

to understand that the Wage Stabilization Board would no longer be in existence by the time arbitration hearings had been completed, so that its policies need not affect the outcome. The men would thus benefit more from arbitration now than if it had been agreed to earlier. It is hard to an outside observer to view this argument as anything more than casuistry designed to cast in a different light something whose complexion had not changed. The union obtained nothing it could not have secured from the Crowley agreement of September 12, which had been rejected in the membership meeting of September 20, four days before the strike began.

The 27-day strike ended when the membership voted 1,197 to 797 to accept arbitration.

The Sanctions

. . . Let us summarize the nature of the sanctions employed and assess their effectiveness.

It is difficult to judge the strength of direct sanctions. Unquestionably there was some community antipathy directed at both parties to the dispute, and in the later stages particularly at the union. There is no basis for concluding how effective these sanctions may have been upon the parties—how the fear of loss of reputation and standing may have influenced their conduct. It seems fairly certain that the company was mindful that a strike, particularly if it should be attributed to obduracy on its part, might damage its good will . . . To what extent this concern for community good will affected conduct during the dispute, we cannot say. It was probably responsible in part for the company's consent to arbitrate. As for the union, there is no evidence that Mueller was much swayed by fear of public disaffection. He had no hesitancy in returning a direct refusal to the pleas of the Civic-Community Group (perhaps the most formal vehicle of direct public expression) to recanvass his membership on the question of arbitration. It seems likely, however, that individual members might have been more responsive to such direct sanctions. While there is no proof, it appears probable that the disaffection within the IA, indicated by insurgent movements and pressures on Mueller to reconvene the membership, was in part attributable to a dislike of being marked for community opprobrium.

Indirect sanctions played a more important part . . . There were three major intermediaries whose influence was brought to bear on the parties in response to public sentiment. These were the mayor, the press, and other unions and managements. . . .

The mayor, responding to both anticipated and actual expressions of public opinion, first exercised the arts of persuasion and condemnation on both parties. These were effective with respect to the company but had no influence on the conduct of the union. At this point the mayor resorted to two other principal weapons. The first was mobilization and organization of public sentiment, intended to augment the direct sanction of possible loss of community good will. The second was use of the injunction, which was rendered relatively ineffective by the opposition it aroused among other unions, whose support was essential both to the mayor's strike plans and to his long-run political career.

The press, likewise responding to its role of "tribune of the people" which it could ignore only on pain of losing its position of influence, employed all the sanctions at its disposal. Its condemnatory editorials in the early stages of the dispute were directed at both parties. Their potency lay in the desire of the parties to avert, if possible, the antagonism of such powerful organs of public conscience and opinion. After the company's arbitration offer had been made, newspaper fire was centered on the union, in a campaign that largely involved vilification of one individual, Mueller. The press served, too, as an organizer of a more effective public opinion.

In the period in which the company was still sparring with the union other managements had pointed out to the company the importance of electric supply to them, urging it to effect some settlement with the union. Here the only sanction involved was possible loss of customer good will. After the arbitration offer, attention centered more exclusively on the IA, and here the influence of other labor organizations was brought to bear . . .

The fact that the strike ran a course of 27 days suggests that these pressures were not particularly effective. This was true only with respect to the union, however. The company responded to these sanctions by making the arbitration offer which was sought from it. We are thus left with the question of why the union was so largely unaffected by the sanctions described.

The answer suggested is that the relative inefficacy of the sanctions was due to the character of the union president, Mueller. If the estimates of those who knew and worked with him are to be trusted . . . it would appear that here was an individual who welcomed the strike role in which he was cast, since it created an opportunity to preempt the stage and command an audience such as he had never before enjoyed . . .

There are two respects, however, in which the sanctions might be considered to have been more effective than appears evident on the face of the facts. It will be recalled that, to be effective, sanctions must *either* induce termination of the strike *or* punish the offending party in such a manner as to deter other disputants from following the same course. It appears that the sanctions were relatively ineffective in bringing an early end to the strike . . . In 1947, in part as a direct consequence of the Pittsburgh strike, General Assembly Act No. 485 was passed, restricting the right to strike in public utilities . . . There are few calamities greater than limitation of the strike privilege. It therefore appears that the IA's intransigence led to a penalty of a nature which might cause other unions similarly positioned to hesitate before following the Duquesne IA's lead.

In the case of Mueller, the strike was probably an instrument in his decline. In 1948 he sought to lead the IA into the CIO Utility Workers Union. The opposition which greeted this move was no doubt attributable in part to continuing resentment of his strike leadership . . . It joined forces with the AFL Electrical Workers, and in a representation election which followed eight of the nine bargaining units repudiated Mueller and accepted the AFL union. Mueller remained with the ninth unit for a time, but it was the tail of the dog. He was taken in as a CIO organizer and became involved in a strike fiasco at the Pittsburgh zoo, which subjected him to ridicule. The brilliant prospects in the labor movements which some had foreseen for him became faded. Are we entitled to say that this

was a penalty—the disaffection of his membership and its eventual repudiation of his leadership—which might deter others?

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FIELD PROJECTS

1. Follow the account of a protracted strike in a daily newspaper and in a union newspaper, observing the following:
 What issues are involved? What is their level or saliency? Record the order of involvement of "outside agencies" in the strike. Observe changes in editorial positions as the strike persists. What appeals do the antagonists make to different community interests? How much space is purchased by each side to advertise its appeals? How do different community agencies line up in their sympathies? Does the alignment change over time? What pressures are used by each side? What pressures are exerted by different community agencies to bring about industrial peace?
2. Examine the order of involvement of local and state agencies in the accounts of strikes given by Chamberlain, Gouldner, Karsh, and McKenny in the bibliography of this chapter.

3. Interview a business and a union official. Determine how they envision the state of public opinion during various phases of the strike. Determine their appraisal of the importance of public opinion generally and in their decisions. Obtain specific illustrations.
4. Interview the heads of local employment bureaus, both private and public. Ask them how workers appraise the reputation of industrial relations records of local plants. Determine whether and how this affects the recruitment of workers by obtaining specific reactions of workers to seeking employment in companies with different industrial relations records.

PART II

Institutional Relations of Business and Labor Within the Community

In this part, industry and labor are shown to interact with various social institutions in the community. The following chapters describe the inter-institutional interaction of industry and labor with political organization, mass communication, education, welfare, religion, and family. The analysis is guided by structural-functional theory, which emphasizes that social structure, as the patterned relationship between individuals and groups, is a determinant of social action. The dynamics of structure are found in the functions which structure serves in the maintenance of the social system. This may be illustrated in the case of collective bargaining in which management and labor arrive at a contract by voluntary agreement. This bargaining pattern leads to many predictable functions, such as the preparation of elaborate displays of statistics, attempts of the parties to increase the power of their legal weapons, and the combined opposition of both parties to compulsory government intervention.

Selected concepts are used in the structural-functional analysis in each chapter. The institutional-organizational complex refers to the unit organizations, positions, and coördinating agencies of a

particular social institution in the community. In the political institution, this means each component part must be identified. But still a larger concept must be embraced. This is the interinstitutional-organizational complex, which refers to an economic complex of the community in its interdependent relations with the organizational complex of another social institution. In Chapter 5, this refers to the configuration of industry-labor-political organization as a relatively self-contained pattern of relations. These relations tend toward equilibrium; that is, changes and disruptive forces are usually contained within broad boundaries. As was explained in Chapter 4, this is another way of saying that any social system is characterized by a greater degree of equilibrium than disequilibrium, that integrating forces tend to dominate disruptive tendencies, and that changes usually occur gradually. The interinstitutional-organizational complex may be thought of as a more or less stable pattern of relationships and expectations persisting through time—a moving equilibrium.

The analysis of each chapter begins with a brief historical description of the complex so the reader may understand how the patterned relationships were established in the interinstitutional complex. The components of the complex refer to the parts of business, labor, and a particular institution, which bear some structural relations to each other. After a complete inventory of the components is made, the collective social values (norms, ends, and sentiments) of the participants in the complex are identified. The combination of components plus values provides us with a good structural base for predicting the functions of the agencies and their representatives. However, an important factor is still necessary. That is the power relationship, which

is necessary for understanding of the equilibrium of the complex. Various power models are constructed as ideal types. These represent possible allocations of power which might be found in various communities. A power model of maximum likelihood is identified as the type most commonly observed in American communities. Patterns of control are then described to explain how the power model of maximum likelihood is maintained as a stable form.

Each chapter in this part has a description of the customary and conflict relations of the complex. Thus, the integrative and disruptive tendencies of the system are revealed. The challenge of general community issues is introduced, and issue resolution is described as a vector pattern of social forces. The concluding materials on changes in the interinstitutional complex are presented to extrapolate trends so that a view of future relationships may be forecasted.

The reader will be rewarded if he will watch for this structural-functional outline as it appears in each chapter. The community lives in the peace of daily maintenance functions, but it intermittently and often frequently explodes in large and small conflicts. The writers have tried to present community life honestly, as both the quiet and the dramatic home base of modern man.

Chapter 5

GOVERNMENT: THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNITY CONTROL

THE PROBLEM OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BALANCE

History of the Business-Labor-Government Complex

Business Involvement in Government and Politics

Labor's Involvement in Government and Politics

Growth of Government in Local Economic Relations

STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Components of the Interinstitutional Complex

Value Orientations in the Business-Labor-Government Complex

Business's Value Orientation Toward Government

Values of Organized Labor Concerning Government

Government's Orientation Toward Labor and Business

Power Models of Two-Party Systems

Nonpartisan Municipal Politics

Model A. Management-Dominated Versus Management-Coalition
Parties

Model B. Management-Dominated Versus Coalition Parties

Model C. Management-Dominated Versus Labor-Dominated Parties

Model of Maximum Likelihood: Business-Dominated Parties

Predicted Behavior

Patterns of Control

Occupational Backgrounds of Governmental Personnel

Composition of Political Party Officials

Financial Contributions

Effective Party Organization

CUSTOMARY AND CONFLICT RELATIONS

Pattern of Customary Relations

In-Plant Patterns

- Political Profiles of the Plant
- Management's Political Roles
- Political Behavior of Labor in the Plant
- Customary Relationships*
 - Doing Business
 - Keeping Informed
 - Building Political Structures
- Conflict Relations*
 - Labor Challenges a Business-Dominated Governmental Agency
 - A Challenge to Management-Party Control
 - Attack on the Electoral Front
 - Dynamics of Issue Resolution

CHANGES IN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

- Changing Character of Local Government*
- Political Party Changes*
- New Perspectives of Pressure Groups*
- Emergence of Alternative Power Models*
 - The CIO and the Democratic Party

THE PROBLEM OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BALANCE

Economic-interest groups are usually more highly concerned about government and politics than most other groups in the community. This may be due to the fact that government is the only institution which can seriously challenge the control that economic groups exert in the community. Moreover, economic and political structures are probably interrelated more directly than are many other local institutions. Together, they seem to form major community policies, yet economic-political relations have not been systematically studied.¹

The central feature of government is its right to exercise control over persons and groups in a given area. While all institutional agencies, such as the home, school, and business, also have socially validated authority, the distinctive thing about government is that, in addition to social power, it also has a coercive *advantage*.² That is to say, government has the ultimate and legitimate right to use force to secure obedience within given territorial limits. It can use violence, threat, fines, imprisonment, and other methods to

¹ Robert A. Dahl, "Business and Politics: A Critical Appraisal of Political Science," *American Political Science Review*, March, 1959, pp. 1-34.

² Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, Alfred Knopf, 1955, p. 201. Williams' discussion is based primarily on ideas of Max Weber. See H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber*, Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 77-78.

secure obedience or prescribed behavior. It is true that other agencies can also exercise coercion, but only government has the *ultimate right* to exercise control over the relations among these agencies.

Some students of modern society have asked whether governmental or economic institutions exert more control in Western societies. It is possible for economic institutions to become so powerful as to *absorb* political functions. Under extreme laissez-faire conditions, business may become the government, or, more exactly, government may become an agency of business. Under extreme totalitarian conditions, government may absorb so completely the economy as to virtually eliminate its separate identity. In most contemporary Western nations, a balance between these two extremes has been more or less stabilized. However, the problem of balance remains ubiquitous, with different groups trying to either maintain or shift the balance.

Both organized management and organized labor want government to help them realize their respective goals. Although neither is internally united on precise objectives, they are spending much time and money to influence government. One of the gravest problems facing the country today is whether the organized economic-interest groups, which represent a minority of the population, will control government for their particular ends. To gain insight into this situation, the historical relations evolving between business, unions, and government will be examined briefly before analyzing their specific relationships in contemporary communities.

History of the Business-Labor-Government Complex

BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT IN GOVERNMENT

The characteristic relationships among business, labor, and government in American cities today represents an evolutionary accommodation to a number of social forces in the economy. Prior to 1850, the American economy was dominated by small enterprises in a political system which permitted economic forces to operate rather freely. Since small businesses and industries served local markets, economic relationships tended to be embedded in local customs.³ Government did not regulate business, although it did respond when necessary to the needs of local businessmen.⁴ Upper-status groups in the community were comprised mostly of businessmen who directed community affairs including local government. Business domination was not a conscious plot to "take over" the community, but rather a response to the traditional relationships and an adherence to the belief that

³ Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, Harper, 1951, chap. XXII.

⁴ This was not a universal pattern, for, in other countries, government controlled economic activity from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution.

government did not interfere in business. *To challenge business control in this era was to challenge the cake of custom.*

From the latter half of the nineteenth century, fundamental changes occurred in the economy which called for changes in government and its articulation to the economy. The most important economic change was the growth in size of business and industry. Shops hiring few men were slowly replaced by corporations hiring thousands of men and women. Local markets were replaced by the national and international markets. The self-regulated market gave way to the administered and controlled market. Locally owned enterprises were increasingly replaced by absentee-owned corporations. Economic relationships (e.g., the owner-customer) became "emancipated" from traditional social relationships. Formal management-union relations began to replace the particularistic ties between the workers and employers. Obviously, all of these changes occurred in a gradual and segmented way. However, they could not occur without corresponding changes in governmental and political structures.

One of the most significant changes in government on the local, state, and federal levels was increased contacts with economic associations. As industrial expansion literally began to change the physical and social climate of the community, government was the only institution capable of directing these changes to consider the common welfare. Health hazards caused by smoke, the dumping of industrial wastes, and the location of plants had to be regulated. As the health, safety, and welfare of workers were threatened inside the plants, laws had to be enacted to regulate the working conditions. Moreover, expanding industries required increased services from government, such as water, gas, sewage, employment bureaus, special educational facilities, transportation, and transit services.⁵ A list of all of the contacts which large plants have with governmental agencies today would be quite formidable. Some external and internal regulations applied by government and some of the services which it typically provides are listed below:

INTERNAL PLANT REGULATIONS	EXTERNAL REGULATIONS	SERVICES
Health regulations	Taxes	Transit services
Safety regulations	Noise, smoke, and other nuisance ordinances	Transportation
Employment restrictions	Building ordinances	Road accesses
Cafeteria regulations	Wiring, plumbing, etc., regulations	Utilities: gas, electric, water, sewage
Wages and hours standards	Licensing	Employment bureaus
Inspections standards	Parking restrictions	School programs
Specifications on contracts for municipal goods and services	Zoning laws	

⁵ For a portrayal of the needs to regulate the new industrial cities, see Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, Harcourt, Brace, 1938, chap. 3.

The number of local governmental relations are relatively small when compared to those of the state and federal governments. Local municipalities can, after all, only enact laws permitted by state governments. State regulations dealing with workmen's compensation, wages and hours, floating of stocks and bonds, labor-management relations, political activities, the use of natural resources, vehicle licensing, and others add enormously to the list of local regulations. Industry's professional workers (nurses, lawyers, accountants, doctors, etc.) are also regulated by state laws concerning licensing and work conduct. In addition to local and state laws, many federal laws deal with labor-management relations, interstate commerce, monopoly, restraint of trade, international trade, and many other areas. The growing volume of state and federal laws did not mean that local problems became less important. Rather, it meant that the control of economic problems could not be achieved by local governments alone. The problems which state and federal governments were called upon to solve were, indeed, urban problems, and urban politics became state and federal politics.⁶

Many businessmen are inclined to define all governmental regulations as interference. Such a view is only partially valid because many regulations were imposed at the request of industries. These laws were enacted to insure free trade, limit monopoly, protect against foreign competition, insure uniformity of governmental treatment, limit union power, and so on. To be sure, many laws were also passed to control the behavior of business and to obtain funds to pay for governmental services.

It would be indeed surprising, in view of the extensive governmental contacts, *not* to find businessmen interested in local, state, and federal government. They understandably engage in politics to help determine their future destiny. They want to be certain that needed governmental services will continue and, if possible, be expanded and improved. They want the cost of governmental services to be minimal—so that taxes may be lowered and profits increased. They want government to be sympathetic to business and to limit the power of organized labor. And, since government may be a major consumer of goods and services, they want government as a good customer.

The concerns which industry and government have with respect to each other will be examined later in more detail. The important point to stress here is that, as business grew and as its impact on the community increased, government was the only agency with sufficient power to regulate and control it. As the economic system became increasingly diversified, and as all segments of the community became more interdependent, government was the only agency capable of imposing sanctions on any unit which threatened the on-going system of economic and social relations.

⁶ V. O. Key, Jr., *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups*, Crowell, 1953, chap. 9, especially pp. 268–276.

As governmental functions expanded and as regulations increased, business found it necessary to become concerned formally and actively with government. It could no longer be assured that local government would automatically protect its best interests. Consequently, full-time lawyers, accountants, and other specialists were hired to deal with the "problems" created by expanding governmental regulations and services. Active participation in politics became an absolute necessity. It became imperative to place sympathetic people in government agencies and commissions which dealt with business interests. Private, local, state, and federal associations were created to protect and advance the business interests which could be affected by government.

Since all businesses do not have the same interests, trade associations, based on similarity of interests, were organized to exert pressure on relevant governmental or political agencies. The National Steel Institute, the Association of American Railroads, The National Dry Goods Association, and the Automobile Manufacturers Association represent a few of these. As new economic developments stimulated the growth of more laws and governmental agencies, business created counteragencies to influence the legal and governmental process. Thus, today we are witnessing the surge of political and economic organizations. Even if only to protect the status quo, business must devote a great deal of time and money to political and governmental affairs. This is a far cry from the situation when business mentality so imbued government that it operated automatically to protect business. The above description is overly simplified because it ignores the expanding political consciousness of organized labor. Business must not only deal with government directly, but it must respond to the political threats of organized labor.

LABOR'S INVOLVEMENT IN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Labor's involvement in government and politics may be considered in five overlapping stages. The first stage preceded national organized labor. Workers spontaneously organized to secure a common price for labor or to protect themselves against the excesses of their employers. Generally speaking, workers did not at first attempt to realize their goals with weapons which local government could provide. Had they tried, they would have been ineffective because business controlled local government and could use it effectively when needed.⁷

After the appearance of a significant number of national labor unions (roughly after 1870), labor participated in four somewhat parallel political movements. At different times, one or another of these movements was dominant.

⁷ Selig Perlman, *History of Trade Unionism in the United States*, Macmillan, 1922; and Norman J. Ware, *Labor in Modern Industrial Society*, Heath, 1955, chap. 6.

1. Labor and labor-affiliated parties: At first, organized labor sought to create third parties to fight the other two major parties. Generally speaking, these parties were farmer-labor coalitions dedicated to improving the lot of the common man and were not primarily concerned with changing the system of property or government radically. Some of these parties were the Greenback party (1876–1884), Union-Labor and United Labor (1884–1888), and Farmer-Labor parties, in one coalition or another (1920–1932).⁸

2. Radical parties: Unlike labor parties, radical parties were dedicated to the abolition or basic alteration of the system of private ownership. Modeled generally after the European Marxist, socialist, and communist parties, they were backed by socialist labor unions and middle-class radicals. These parties came on the national scene in 1892, achieved their major strength from 1904 to 1932, and have since declined.

3. Nonpartisan patterns: The dominant philosophy of the American Federation of Labor from its inception in 1887 to the present has been nonpartisanship. The main characteristic of this position was to avoid identifying labor's interests with those of a single party. Nonpartisan political action rested mainly on the use of pressure group and lobby techniques. Individual candidates, parties, and other political groups were given support as they indicated favorable disposition to labor's goals. Prior to 1940, the nonpartisan program was partially and unsystematically developed.

4. Full involvement program: This designation is used for lack of a better name to distinguish labor's political activities since 1940 from the earlier nonpartisan pattern of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." Labor leaders today insist that their political activity is still essentially nonpartisan in the sense that they are not tied irrevocably to one party or another. While this may be true, there remains an essential difference between this type and earlier types of nonpartisan programs. This difference is reflected in the creation of a permanent political organization from the precinct to the national level dedicated to involve union members and sympathizers in concerted political action. Far from abstaining from political action, the present strategy is to become fully involved in party politics everywhere. The organizational arms of this movement have been the Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO-PAC), Labor's League for Political Education of the American Federation of Labor (LLPE), and the Committee on Political Education (COPE) for the combined AFL-CIO organizations. How these organizations operate on the local level will be examined at a later point.

Each of the above political patterns is still found in the political scene. A small proportion of organized labor still dreams of a Labor party, and occasionally attempts to revive it. Labor-affiliated parties were strongest

⁸ Henry David, "One Hundred Years of Labor in Politics," in J. B. S. Hardman and Maurice F. Neufeld (eds.), *The House of Labor*, Prentice-Hall, 1951, pp. 90–113.

from 1875 to 1900, and the attempts to resurrect them have failed. Socialist-labor parties grew from 1900 to 1932, but never won the loyalty of a major segment of the working population. Survival of the nonpartisan approach of the AFL since 1887 indicates that a pragmatic rather than an ideological political program has the greatest appeal to the American worker.

One of the concerns of the nonpartisan political policy was to avoid identification with foreign labor and political movements. Nonpartisan politics was so dedicated to laissez-faire philosophy that organized labor at times refused governmental assistance. It firmly believed that it would make greatest progress by applying primarily economic and not political pressures on business. To be sure, while some political activity was needed to match the political maneuvers of business, American labor, like business, generally sought to restrict the interference of government in its internal affairs. This pragmatic, bread-and-butter laissez-faire, low-involvement political philosophy was dominant until 1932.

However, labor was being exposed to economic forces which altered its traditional political patterns. The growth in size and power of industry, rapidly changing technology, expanding national and international markets, and fluctuating economic conditions threatened labor's survival. Large corporations had huge funds to influence legislative bodies, governmental agencies, and the courts. Efficient and well-financed lobbies were able to influence the political process at every level. After World War I and the subsequent economic depression, the political power of labor decreased with its membership.

The creation of the Committee on Industrial Organization within the AFL in 1936 represented not only a shift in the type of labor organization but also a change in political orientation. Organized labor saw very clearly that it needed legal and governmental protection to organize workers on a broad scale. Without this, the organizational efforts of unions were no match for the power of organized management. Specifically, without Section 7a of the National Recovery Act of 1933 and the Wagner Labor Relations Act of 1935, organized labor could not match the power of management.⁹ Many labor officials began to realize that the traditional nonpartisan political credo of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" was insufficient to meet contemporary problems. *Labor had to become directly and actively involved in party politics in order to protect the legal gains it had been given.*

Many labor spokesmen insist that full political involvement represents an adaptation of the nonpartisan policy to new conditions and that nonpartisanship is still labor's position. Yet it is clear that organized labor has not only become identified with the Democratic party, but that it has embarked upon a drive to obtain power within that party. It has endeavored to build

⁹ Philip Taft, *Economics and Problems of Labor*, Stockpole, 1942, pp. 616-645.

a permanent political organization from the precinct to the congressional level. It has openly declared its position on a wide range of issues, many of which are unrelated to the immediate economic objectives of the unions. It has openly imitated the organizational and operational methods of management pressure groups. An examination of some of these techniques, especially on the local level, will be pursued later.

GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT IN LOCAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Labor and management are increasingly concerned with politics because governments are becoming increasingly involved in economic and social life. Five main historical trends in governmental functions may be noted. The first is the increased services which governments are providing. As they spend more money on educational, recreational, welfare, and other services, they become important economic forces. In addition to spending huge sums for building roads, dams, schools, military bases, barracks, prisons, and other facilities, governments hire many people in a variety of occupations. Government spending represents markets for business and jobs for union members. Sudden withdrawal of governmental facilities and services sends as many economic shocks throughout the local economy as the removal of a private industry. Groups which have an economic stake in government develop a general interest in it. An arsenal, an ordnance depot, a military base, or a research bureau soon becomes identified as a local industry which must be protected.

For labor groups especially, government fulfills a second important function, guaranteeing basic minima of economic security. The nation has witnessed a gradual expansion of state and federal guarantees regarding minimum wages, survivors' insurance, old-age pensions, home loans, and public housing. Such economic guarantees cannot be preserved and expanded without continuous interest and participation in politics. Farmers, businessmen, and other groups also want and sometimes get economic guarantees from government.

The third function of government is to play an important role in economic planning. Despite protestations to keep government out of business, almost all businessmen want the government to provide a cushion against undesirable economic trends. The scare of the Great Depression and the subsequent evidence that government could be a force in maintaining a prosperous economy convinced many groups that government must play an important role in the economy. To be sure, great disputes rage over the extent of governmental planning and the steps which it may appropriately take. However, these problems can be resolved through political participation. This third role of government is not a passive accommodation to the desires of different interest groups. Large governmental agencies have permanent staffs of experts who have their own ideas concerning what needs

to be done to insure "economic progress." Over the years, they have accumulated sufficient power not only to protect themselves but to exert strong pressures on the groups which can affect economic trends. It may be more accurate, therefore, to consider government as a third force in the economy instead of a mediator of "outside" forces.

Government is also an expanding force in a fourth area, that of industrial relations. Business and labor, especially in certain industries, are no longer free to bargain in any manner they desire. Laws increasingly constrict their freedom of action. The Taft-Hartley Law calls upon unions to file an intention to strike ninety days prior to striking. Mediation and conciliation services are established to facilitate the settlement of the disputes. The National Labor Relations Board is entrusted with validating claims of union representation. The federal government can seize industries under certain conditions. The courts can (through injunctions) prevent certain acts on the part of the business and labor officials. Union officers have to give evidence of noncommunist affiliation, *ad infinitum*. On the state level, much of this web of government concerning industrial relations has been either duplicated or extended. Among the most important of these are laws governing emergency disputes and, more recently, laws affecting union membership (right-to-work). Now, even local governments are passing "right-to-work" laws regulating activities of union organizers.

Government plays two important and sometimes opposing roles in this area of industrial relations. Acting in the public interest, it can intervene in disputes to assure an uninterrupted flow of essential goods and services. That is, as a neutral body, it may act to end disputes and protect public interests. On the other hand, government can swing its weight to one side or another. Government agencies are not amorphous bodies which respond directly to the pressures applied on them. Agencies dealing with industrial relations have slowly developed a corps of experts who have their own ideas on what government should do in industrial disputes. As a third force, these agencies may develop as much power in shaping laws governing industrial disputes as the parties themselves.¹⁰ The involvement of management and labor in government, therefore, must occur on the administrative as well as on the legislative level, on the local as well as on the state and federal levels.

The analysis of the interaction among labor, business, and government agencies will focus primarily on the local level. Despite the fact that most governmental regulations and agencies are state and federal, there are good reasons for concentrating on the local community. In the first place, although the laws are state and federal, they must be applied in specific localities. Secondly, local governments are tied to state and federal govern-

¹⁰ George A. Shipman, *Program Administration as a Means of Expressing Public Policy*, unpublished manuscript, University of Washington, 1957.

ments in so many ways that, in specific crises, all levels of government may act simultaneously. Thirdly, the political party system is a channel of contacts for the local, state, and federal agencies. Moreover, party strength is built upon voting strength at the grass-roots level. For this and other reasons, the state and federal governments have a strong locality orientation. Lastly, the cities provide the problems which governments attempt to meet. Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Seattle, and New York are centers of dynamic labor union and business activities. Government must deal with the concrete problems which arise in the steel, auto, transportation, airplane, shipping, financial, and other centers.

STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

The day-to-day relationships among business, labor, and governmental agencies proceed without fanfare. Business and industry request certain services from government which they get without much difficulty. Governmental agencies, in turn, are on the alert to provide legitimate services to various groups. Many governmental activities are carried out by agencies that operate in traditional patterns not unlike those found in such private businesses as public utilities. These daily, routine, and reciprocal activities among business, labor, and government receive relatively little publicity because they conform to customary expectations. On the other hand, relationships marked by tension, suspicion, and conflict receive considerable publicity. Dissatisfaction with customary relations and aspirations for different relationships sometimes develop into political issues.

A given arrangement among the three parties may be conceived as a truce. The structure of the truce may be studied in its static dimension by appraising the forces preserving the arrangement. On the other hand, the researcher may focus on the strains in the present structure, the forces stimulating conflict, and the attempts to change the customary relationships. He may study politics—the events, issues, and crises in the power structure and the process by which this structure is changed. The authors hope to present both a static and dynamic analysis of the relationships among business, labor, and government.

Components of the Interinstitutional Complex

The interinstitutional complex is comprised of all the interacting organizations in business, labor, and government. It is almost impossible to list the bewildering variety of organizations in the complex found in different communities. Moreover, the types of relationships which emerge among these organizations is indeed a very complex structure.

Figure 5.1 lists just a few of the organizations found in the industry-labor-government complex. For purposes of convenience, they are subsumed under four headings: economic, government, political party, and tangent associations. When analyzing the customary relationships among these four subcomplexes, attention will necessarily focus on the economic and governmental agencies. While political parties interact with governmental and economic agencies constantly, they are more active during elections and in issues which challenge existing power arrangements. The same holds for the so-called "tangent associations" which contact business, governments, and parties intermittently. Tangent associations are of two types: The first is represented by the municipal leagues, the League of Women Voters, tax associations, and citizens' associations which are constantly concerned with government and politics; the other type represents segments of the community which become activated only when particular issues directly affect their values or status. The interaction of these tangent associations with government, labor, business, and the political parties is sporadic, but often spectacular.

ECONOMIC AGENCIES	GOVERNMENT	PARTIES	TANGENT ASSOCIATIONS
<i>Industry</i>	Mayor's committees	Central Committee	Municipal League
Individual firms	Council commissions:	Ward Committee	League of
Business associations	Planning	Precinct Committee	Women Voters
Chamber of Commerce	Library	Political clubs	Citizen's Association
Board of Trade	Traffic	Young Republicans	Tax Association
Trade associations	Administrative departments:	Young Democrats	Institutional agencies:
<i>Labor</i>	Public Works	Candidate clubs	Church
Union Locals	Safety		Service clubs
AFL-CIO	Health		Welfare groups
Council	Parks and recreation		Recreational groups
International and regional representatives	(Board of Education)		Youth agencies
Political arms	(Courts)		Veteran groups
Committees on political education.			
<i>Professional Associations</i>			

FIGURE 5.1. Organizations in the Interinstitutional Complex of Business, Unions, and Government.

It should be apparent that an analysis of all possible relationships among all groups in Figure 5.1 would be a gigantic task. Yet, conceivably, any association might interact with any other in a number of different ways. Thus, economic agencies can (1) contact governmental agencies directly, (2) attempt to influence government through political parties, (3) influence government through the tangent associations, or (4) operate through all three channels simultaneously. Any agency in the subcomplexes may initiate action to economic agencies, independently or in combination. Rarely are all of the organizations in a complex activated simultaneously. Most commonly, a particular association in one subcomplex interacts with one or more segments of another subcomplex. For purposes of simplicity, the discussion will focus on (1) *some* of the *customary* relations found among business, labor, and government; (2) the values associated with the complexes; and (3) the forces which tend to stabilize their power arrangements.

Value Orientations in the Business-Labor-Government Complex

BUSINESS'S VALUE ORIENTATION TOWARD GOVERNMENT

In Chapter 3, the major values of business and organized labor were described. It may be useful now to indicate how these general values are specified in the areas of municipal government and politics. Spokesmen for industry are first of all concerned with the costs of governmental operations. They continually reiterate that they want (1) a "business government" which will operate at the lowest possible cost to the taxpayer. Moreover, (2) governmental services should be limited to those which cannot be operated more efficiently by private enterprise. Above all, (3) government administration should be *stable*, smooth-operating, and noncapricious, especially in its relations with business. This narcissistic projection of business values on government is what has made the city-manager plan so attractive to businessmen.

Businessmen also want (4) the government to permit them freedom to operate their establishments. They want no unnecessary delays in inspection, infrequent inspections of their plants, and minimal reporting. They feel that government should be concerned primarily with providing them facilities (water, sewage, roads) quickly and efficiently. Businessmen often say that no problems would arise if government encouraged a "favorable business climate." By this they mean encouraging businessmen to advise government on its operations, listening to advice given, placing businessmen on strategic boards, and refraining from antibusiness propaganda. Whether the local political system is nonpartisan or partisan, many businessmen evaluate government officials according to how they react to the dictum that what is good for business is good for the community.

Professional groups share many of business's values. However, they differ in their relative evaluations of services. Professionals, for example, often prefer larger government expenditures for education, art galleries, and other "cultural" facilities.

VALUES OF ORGANIZED LABOR CONCERNING GOVERNMENT

Many of the above values are also embraced by organized labor. As taxpayers, union members want (1) low taxes and efficient government. As Chapter 3 explains, expectations which organized labor has toward government are more diffuse. This is reflected in its desire to have the municipality provide a larger number of services. Labor is especially concerned that present services (roads, schools, playgrounds, etc.) are distributed equally to all citizens without discrimination in rank, status, wealth, or residence. To assure this equity, labor wants (2) adequate representation in important municipal bodies, such as the council, board of education, planning commissions, and other agencies. Labor particularly desires (3) a friendly police department because of the critical role it can play in industrial disputes. Lastly, they want (4) city employees, whenever possible, to belong to local unions and to obtain wages, hours, and working conditions which conform to the standards in union shops.

GOVERNMENT ORIENTATIONS TOWARD LABOR AND BUSINESS

It is difficult to generalize about the value orientations of government because it is comprised of heterogeneous agencies with differing orientations. Thus, the values which council members have regarding business and the unions differ from those held by members of the planning commission; assessors; police, park, or other departments. Moreover, the values of party officials may differ from those held by government officials. For purposes of simplicity, the values of administrative executive agencies and party chiefs will be briefly described.

The most pervasive problem which administrative agencies must face is responding satisfactorily to the many and often contradictory demands made upon them. Officials want (1) to satisfy public demands within the legal boundaries of their assignments. Yet they want (2) a moderate degree of freedom from the pressures of other government officials, party leaders, and outside interest groups. In practice, agencies respond *selectively* to outside pressures, and the pattern which emerges is tantamount to public policy. In return for the "selective services" they provide, (3) support of agency goals is expected. These goals include increased authority to make decisions, increased consultation in policy formation, increased budgets, increased staff and facilities, and increased recognition.

The orientations of political parties are many and complex. Their main objective, of course, is (1) to get and retain control of the machinery of

government.¹¹ This objective is neared when their candidates for public office get elected. To keep the machinery of selecting and electing candidates functioning well, the party needs (2) a constant flow of work, money, and votes. Simply stated, the greatest asset of a party is the loyalty of voters. To obtain and retain loyalty, the party must supply effective governmental services or other rewards to its supporters. Parties, therefore, are concerned with providing business and labor with the services they need in exchange for work, money, and votes to keep the party functioning. The concrete objectives which parties attempt to realize once they control government reflect in part the objectives of the groups which support them.

In summary, government is the institution with ultimate control powers. Political parties, in turn, are organized to control government. How parties function in a free society is largely determined by the composition of its supporters. Since there are a number of alternative ways of organizing party systems, there are alternative ways in which business and labor may be represented in them.

Power Models of Two-Party Systems

NONPARTISAN MUNICIPAL POLITICS

The above discussion has been based on the assumption that a two-party system of politics is operative. Yet the *Municipal Year Book* reports that 85 percent of the council-manager forms of local government conducted their elections under a nonpartisan (no party) plan. It also reports that two-thirds of the commission-type cities and 45 percent of the mayor-council-type cities conducted nonpartisan elections.¹² This movement to abolish political parties in local elections began early in the twentieth century in response to the idea that corrupt city politics was largely the result of political parties building a patronage system at the expense of city government. Many believed that local issues bore no necessary relation to issues in state and federal governments which are necessarily structured on party lines.

While there is some truth to this position, a more realistic appraisal would suggest that it is difficult to maintain a party system on the state and federal level and abolish it on the local level. The political system operates as a unity at all levels; if not in the open, then in a latent fashion. As Charles A. Beard has suggested, since the causes of political parties are social and economic, parties cannot be abolished by election laws. Reform of municipal government lies in the direction of making parties responsible for their conduct and not by abolishing them.

¹¹ William Goodman, *The Two-Party System in the United States*, Van Nostrand, 1956, chap. 2.

¹² *Municipal Year Book*, International City Managers' Association, 1953, p. 63.

It is not surprising then to find that many so-called "nonpartisan" local elections continue to be tests of party strength, as in the case of cities which permit local parties to operate. Typically, Democratic candidates inform Democratic voters of their party affiliation, but refrain from doing so to Republican voters. Party officials not only recommend their "choices" but support certain candidates actively; and the latter usually accept the help of the party machines. Newspapers sometimes unmask the façade by publishing the party affiliation of the candidates.¹³ Of course, not all nonpartisan elections are run by political parties. Nonetheless, the political process as it occurs in larger cities can be best understood in the context of a two-party system. Therefore, the following discussion is based on the assumption that a two-party system is operating on the local level and that both parties have realistic chances of achieving power. In the American communities where a one-party system prevails, the analysis applies for the two basic factions which may exist within the party. Three models of two-party systems appear most frequently in systems limited to two parties or factions.

MODEL A. MANAGEMENT-DOMINATED VERSUS MANAGEMENT-COALITION PARTIES

Figure 5.2 graphically summarizes the social composition of three types of two-party systems. Groups at the top of the triangles are considered to have more control of the party than the groups lower down. No attempt has been made to portray the size of the groups proportionately nor the relations among them. Model A represents a system in which both parties are dominated by business and industrial interests, but one of the parties is more completely dominated. All other major occupational groups are represented in both parties with one party having a larger representation of organized and unorganized workers. Although both parties strongly support business interests, one party urges more concern for lower-income groups.

MODEL B. MANAGEMENT-DOMINATED VERSUS COALITION PARTIES

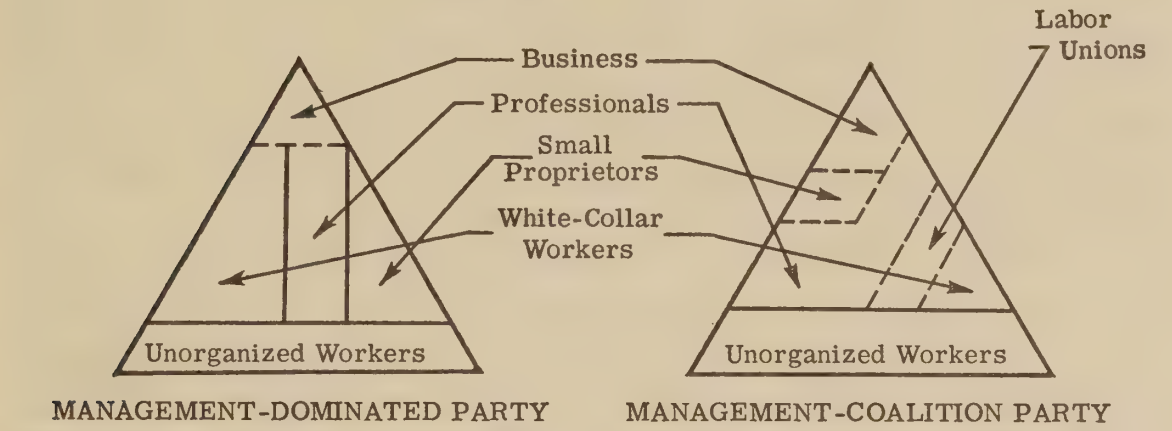
This model differs somewhat from Model A in the sense that, while one party remains dominated by business, the other is "dominated" by a coalition. In coalition parties, policy-making is shared by four or five major interests, such as businessmen, labor union officials, professionals, and ethnic groups. In a sense, the coalition-dominated party tends to be more representative of the major economic and social segments of the community. Such a party emerges in communities where basic cleavages in the stratification system cannot be bridged by a single party. Thus, the management-dominated party (Republican) in many Midwestern industrial centers may be composed of older settlers and people of Anglo-Saxon descent, white-collar workers, and third-generation groups. The Democratic party tends to

¹³ Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

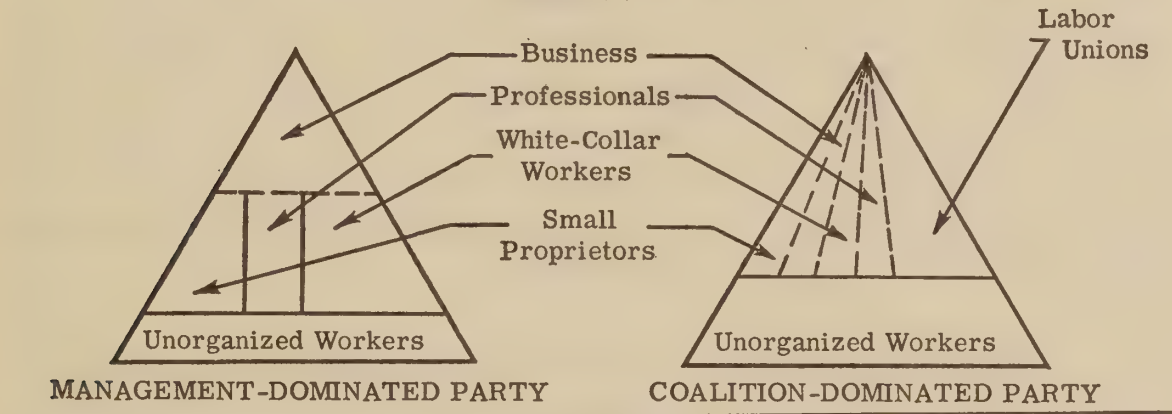
contain more recent migrants and people representing different ethnic, religious, and social backgrounds.

Coalition parties depart somewhat from the management-coalition platform of “staying close to the middle.” The bond in coalition parties is a

MODEL A



MODEL B



MODEL C

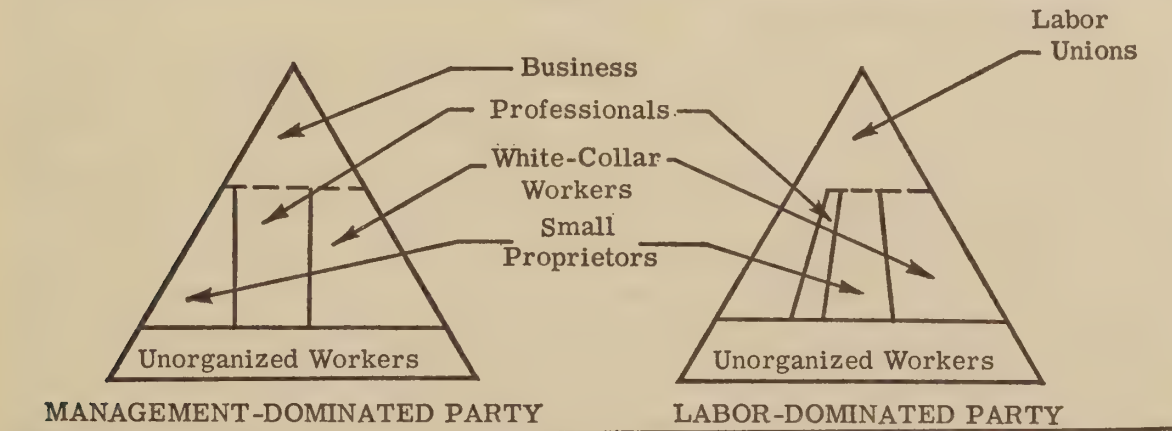


FIGURE 5.2. Three Models of Power Representation in Two-Party Systems.

common recognition among lower-status and marginal groups that they need each other to get power. While the party is not openly antagonistic to local big business, it may take such a position in national politics. The basic political program of the party is to secure proportionate representation for

all segments of the community in local government. With strong labor union backing, the coalition group has sufficient resources to contest the power of local management groups.

MODEL C. MANAGEMENT-DOMINATED VERSUS LABOR-DOMINATED PARTIES

In this last model, the segmentation of big business from organized labor is more or less complete, with each group dominating a party. Such a situation tends to occur when organized labor has successfully organized a large body of workers and welded them into a politically conscious force. To be sure, union officials and party leaders seek and get the support of other groups in the community, especially some white-collar and professional workers. No attempt, however, is made to appeal to big business because a basic ideological cleavage is thought to exist between it and labor. Labor parties, as such, are rare in American cities, although they have repeatedly arisen in New York, Minnesota, Connecticut, and elsewhere. In Europe, where labor parties are quite common, Model C is closely approximated, especially in Britain.

The program of a labor-dominated party calls for government to guarantee minimum services and amenities of life for the "common man." These services are to be paid for by taxing big business heavily. To secure this program, organized labor endeavors to place members in every policy-making group in local government. When local government shows evidence of not being able to support an adequate social welfare program, labor parties seek support from state and central governments.

Model of Maximum Likelihood: Management-Dominated Parties

PREDICTED BEHAVIOR

Model A is the model of maximum likelihood in the United States, and the following predictions for its behavior are hypothesized. Differences over the major objectives of the parties will be relatively small, since both parties must have broad programs to get the backing of the majority of the voters. The wishes of private business will be recognized and favored, regardless of the party in power. Thus, the arrangement of taxes, zoning, and local services will take into account the needs of private enterprise. In addition, collective bargaining will be defined essentially as a private affair between business and the unions. Any changes in their relations which involve government will occur slowly and in small doses.

Differences between the parties will be on the relative sympathy they may develop for the goals of organized labor, unorganized labor, ethnic, and other socially marginal groups in the city. Organized labor may be given more representation on government boards and committees when the more

sympathetic party is in control of local government. This party may push for greater equalization of governmental services throughout the city, a wider conception of proper governmental services, and a greater reliance on business taxes for revenues.

PATTERNS OF CONTROL

The model of maximum likelihood persists in American cities because it is buttressed by a number of social controls. While the political process may often appear tumultuous, the actual control of government and the parties remains remarkably stable. In order to understand the control forces, it is helpful to examine the social composition and the sources of financial support for strategic segments of government, the political parties, and the so-called "political machines."

Occupational Backgrounds of Governmental Personnel. Occupational background is perhaps the best single clue to the political disposition of the person. With some very notable exceptions, the higher the socioeconomic status of the person, the more likely he will identify his interests with the business-dominated parties. In the United States, where there is a two-party or two-faction system, proprietary, professional, and white-collar groups tend to identify themselves as Republicans or probusiness, while manual workers tend to see themselves as Democrats and prolabor.¹⁴ In addition, the political commitment of groups can be measured by two important variables: the amount of time and money they are willing to contribute to a political party, and the frequency of voting in elections. Again, the data generally suggest that the higher occupational groups contribute more per capita to political parties and that a greater percentage of them vote.¹⁵

Unfortunately, researchers have not obtained extensive data on the social backgrounds of those holding policy-making positions in local governments.¹⁶ In Yankee City, Warner and Lunt studied the social class composition of the political hierarchy of the city. This hierarchy consisted of high-control offices, in which final authority in the political structure was located (the council, mayor, and board); middle-control offices with limited authority and supervision (department head, board executives, and auxiliary agency heads); and low-control offices (administrative subordinates and employees). Figure 5.3 depicts the social class composition of the voters and the social class composition of the three levels of governmental authority.

Generally speaking, the upper social classes represent professional and proprietary groups; the upper-middle class is composed of lower professionals,

¹⁴ Dewey Anderson and P. E. Davidson, *Ballots and the Democratic Class Struggle*, Stanford University Press, 1943, pp. 203-285.

¹⁵ Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, *Voting*, University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 336.

¹⁶ For data on the federal level, see Donald R. Matthews, *The Social Background of Political Decision Makers*, Doubleday, 1954.

proprietary, and clerical workers; while the three lowest classes are dominated by manual workers. The diagram clearly indicates that the high-control offices of government are dominated by the upper and upper-middle classes, the middle-control offices by the middle classes, and the low-control offices by the upper-lower class. Supporting evidence has been found by the authors

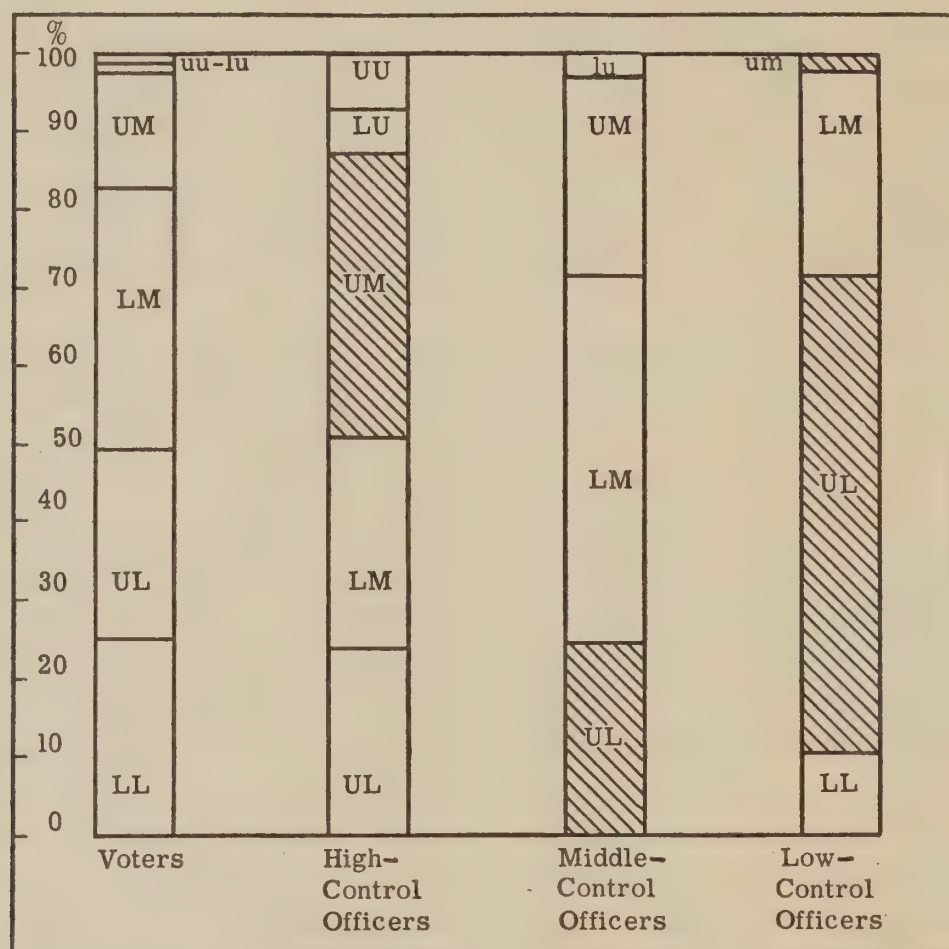


FIGURE 5.3. The Class Composition of Officeholders and Voters. (Adapted from Warner and Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, Yale University Press, 1941, p. 370.)

in their studies of the councils of five cities. Table 7 indicates that about four-fifths of the councilmen and mayors are from proprietary, managerial, and professional backgrounds, and a much smaller proportion are from manual worker backgrounds.

There are many reasons for this situation. Upper occupational groups have the most wealth, the most education, and the highest respect in the community. Moreover, they live in a tradition of political participation. Peter H. Rossi warns that an occupationally biased policy-making group will not necessarily be biased in its decision-making.¹⁷ He suggests that their behavior should first be examined in the context of ideologically relevant

¹⁷ Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision Making," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, March, 1957, pp. 420-422.

issues because all issues facing them are not ideologically salient. Yet differences in board compositions are found in different political systems, as Table 7 indicates. Moreover, on many issues, officeholders do vote in line with their economic interests.

TABLE 7. Occupational Composition of Six City Councils

Occupational Level	Seattle 1924-1952	Bristol 1955	Lansing 1948-1957	El Paso 1945-1957	London 1951
Professional	29%	12%	15%	20%	{ 80%
Proprietor, manager, or official	46	33	55	{ 65	
Clerical, sales	—	8	20	{ 10	
Union officials	14	4	1	—	{ 20
Manual workers	—	23	9	—	
No occupation (housewife)	11	20	—	5	—
Totals	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	28	110	86	40	205

Sometimes the significance of “occupational packing” of boards is more clearly seen in the specific rather than in the general municipal boards or commissions. Examples of the former are such mayor-appointed advisory boards as city planning, zoning, traffic, police and fire, and retirement boards. The planning board may be taken for illustrative purposes. If such a board is dominated by realtors, contractors, and lawyers, it could hardly function in a neutral manner. While members of these occupations collectively may have enough knowledge about land use to make disinterested recommendations, they are not likely to do so at the risk of their vested interests. Rather, they will tend to pool the knowledge gained from public office and their knowledge of the market to further their private dealings.

Unfortunately, detailed data of the occupational composition of municipal boards is very sparse. It is well known, however, that various interest groups are especially concerned with filling crucial positions with their representatives. Conflict of interest laws are rarely found in municipal government, thus safeguarding the business domination of local government. Table 8 presents the occupational composition of the mayor’s committees in Lansing, Michigan, for a 12-year period. As in the case of the city council, the businessmen, managers, and officials are dominant, and this pattern seems to persist without much change.

Composition of Political Party Officials. The second source of government control is the party itself. Again, the important question is “Who

controls the party and how is this control exerted?" Figure 5.4 portrays the formal organization of the party on the local level. Theoretically, the party structure is very simple and is based on the voting and governmental units. Thus, the precinct, ward, city, and county represent increasingly larger divisions of government. The party, which is essentially a private agency, is organized parallel to these units. It has precinct, ward, city, county, and state committees which are sometimes elected at the primaries.

TABLE 8. Occupational Composition of Municipal Commissions, Lansing, Michigan, 1945-1957

Occupational Level	Number	Percentage
Professional	50	13.4
Proprietors	112	30.0
Managers in business	54	14.5
Government "officials"	71	19.0
Clerical (sales)	15	4.0
Clerical (office)	12	3.2
Manual workers	31	8.3
Union officials	4	1.1
Not ascertained	24	6.4
Totals	373	99.9

Each committee has a leader, head, boss, or secretary who directs the activity of his unit.¹⁸ The city and county committees are tied into state and national committees. However, the center of power is at the city and state level, for there is little party discipline above the state level.¹⁹ The nature of the relations between the city and state committees varies. If a single large metropolis dominates the state, it tends to dominate the state committee, for it provides the bulk of the funds and resources.

Locally, the city, county, or central committees and elected officials constitute the "party machine." This group controls the party organization and must win elections to "control" the government. To win elections, the party must build an effective vote-getting organization. This costs money. Therefore, the important question becomes "Who runs the machine and who supports it financially?" It seems evident from exploratory research that the people who run the machine and those who finance it are not the same. In a study of Elmira, New York, the county chairman was an ex-druggist who held the job of county clerk. The vice-chairman was a woman who also was the city clerk. A young lawyer, a small businessman, a local labor official,

¹⁸ Harold Zink, *Government of Cities in the United States*, Macmillan, 1946, chap. XI.

¹⁹ E. E. Schattschneider, *Party Government*, Farrar and Rinehart, 1942, pp. 163-164.

and people in similar occupations had the most important party jobs. Obviously, they were not the big businessmen, racketeers, professionals, and labor officials who headed the important local economic organizations. But this does not mean they had no power. To be boss or chairman of a local party means to have a voice in the important decisions of selecting candidates, conducting campaigns, and getting funds to keep the party going.

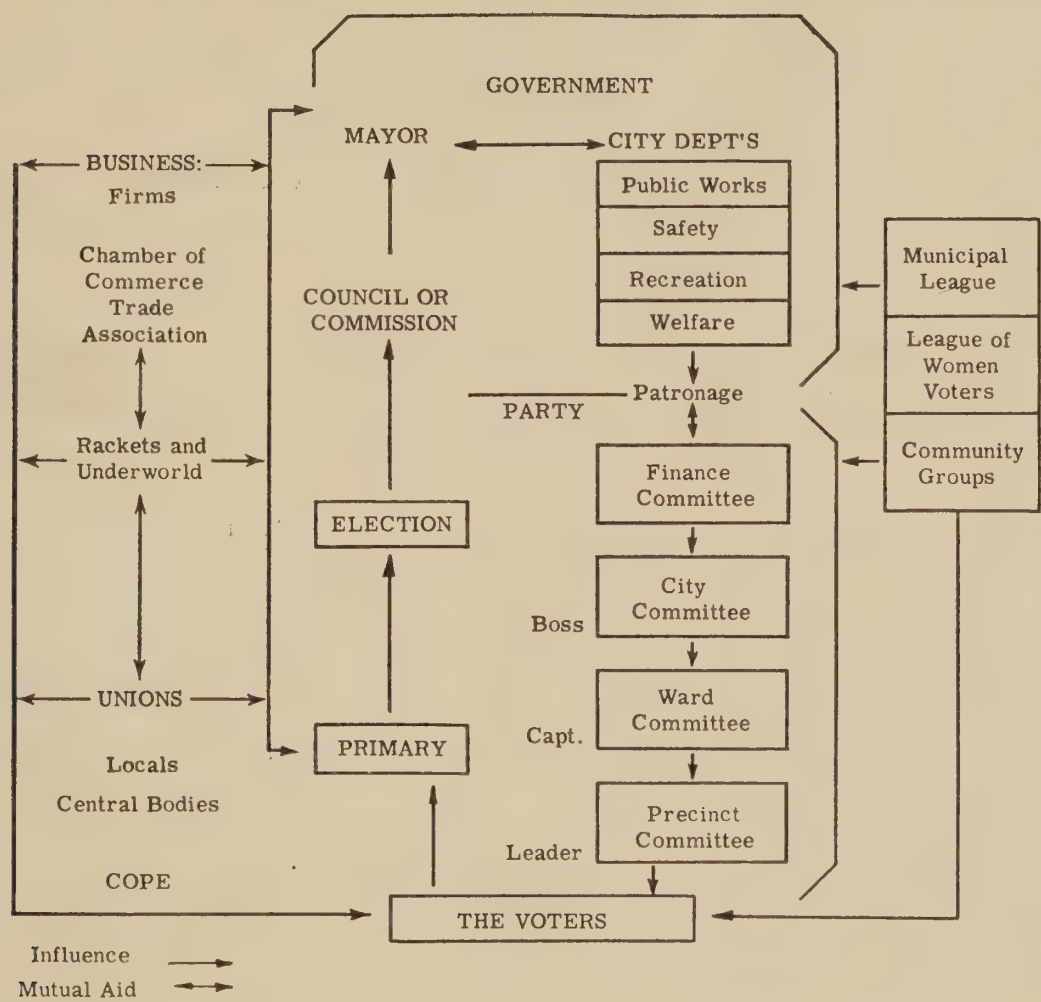


FIGURE 5.4. The Place of the Political Party in Mediating Relations Between Government and External Economic Organizations. (Suggested by F. S. Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions*, Harper, 1935, p. 39.)

However, these people probably have little ideological insistence. Their primary job is to create and perpetuate an effective party organization. The ideological decisions, if any, will be made by those supporting party activities and providing funds for its operations.

In a sense, the party committees and heads have coördinative power. Their task is to (1) select candidates in the primaries who are acceptable to the main supporters of the party, (2) see that these candidates get elected, and (3) distribute patronage in such a way as to satisfy those who have contributed to the success of the party. Contributors may be "little people" who have worked hard for the party; officeholders, businessmen, or union

officers who have contributed campaign money; racketeers who have paid the machine for protection; and many other groups. Thus, the machine tends to be a broker in the "privilege market," rather than a representative board of powerful community interests. Party work horses at the precinct level may be given government jobs for their efforts, officeholders are assured job tenure for their party devotion, business organizations get favorable candidates elected, labor unions get similar consideration, the police keep away from the racketeers, and so on. Some rewards are great and some are small. The party generally distributes influence and favors in terms of the degree of financial and organizational support given to it.

It is not surprising, then, to find that the finance committee of the party is a crucial point of control. Party chairmen take great care in selecting its members because the condition of the party coffers depends on them and they, in turn, fashion the nature of party obligations. Finance committees typically get large sums of money from a few sources and small sums from many adherents. Obligations are probably heaviest to large contributors, which tend to be big businesses, economic associations, and labor organizations.

Thus, the pattern of control of the party is probably more accurately reflected by the occupational composition of the finance committee than by the central or executive committee. Very few studies of the central and finance committees have been made. In one such study in a large metropolitan county, party personnel was composed of small proprietors, lawyers, salesmen, and white-collar workers, while the finance committee members were the top executives of large commercial and industrial interests.²⁰ The latter, who had continuous interest in decisions occurring at the *top* level of the party, suggested policy to top party chieftains, but kept out of the lower-level party operations. Further, this group was partially self-perpetuating, for it selected some of its members. It was the only group which could contain the power and authority of the party chairman. Collecting money for campaigns was a relatively simple task, since this committee could, with the assistance of a few business acquaintances, raise most of the money needed to run the campaigns. Although the committee was active in policy decisions, it was not interested in all of them. It did not insist that all decisions be cleared through it, although its advice was often sought in areas in which it had no interest. Only on rare occasions did the committee advance its specific economic interests. Apparently, its party work was motivated primarily by a *defensive concern* about *possible* governmental action which might hurt its businesses or business in general.

Financial Contributions. Despite the fact that sources of party funds have been subject to extensive investigation, a clear picture of financial con-

²⁰ Lamont Corstens and Thomas G. Brown, *Industry and Politics in a Western City*, unpublished student paper, University of Washington, 1957.

trol of parties on the local level is still unavailable. The studies reveal that the traditional sources of funds for both parties are large corporations and rich families who contribute very large gifts. Since critical economic decisions are made by state legislatures and the Congress, it is not surprising to find that the largest sums are spent to elect officials on the state and federal levels. Table 9 shows that, although the Republican party received the lion's

TABLE 9. Political Gifts of Wealthy Families and Individuals in 1956

	Number of Givers	To Republicans	To Democrats
The Du Pont Family	73	\$248,423	None
The Pew Family	12	216,800	None
The Rockefeller Family	14	152,604	None
The Whitney Family	5	121,450	None
The Mellon Family	11	100,150	None
Lansdell K. Christie, New York		None	\$70,564
Mrs. Albert D. Lasker, New York		1,000	64,400
E. E. Cord, Reno, Nevada		55,000	8,500
The Vanderbilt Family	6	54,800	6,500
The Olin Family	6	53,550	None
The Reynolds Family	7	None	49,609
Mr. and Mrs. John Snyder, II, New York		None	40,000
The Harriman Family	3	34,350	4,500
The Lehman Family	7	14,000	23,500
The Ford Family	88	36,899	None
Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Brown, Jr., Orange, Texas		35,000	1,500
Ambassador and Mrs. C. Douglas Dillon, Paris, France		36,500	None
Dr. and Mrs. David M. Levy, New York		None	28,000
Mr. and Mrs. Albert M. Greenfield, Philadelphia		None	30,950
Mr. and Mrs. George D. Pratt, Jr., Bridgewater, Connecticut		None	30,700
The Field Family	5	7,500	23,000

Note: In addition, some of these families and individuals made smaller miscellaneous gifts to one or the other party, or to minor parties.

SOURCE: "Report of Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections" in *U.S. News and World Report*, February 15, 1957, p. 90.

share of gifts from private individuals and corporations in the national elections, both parties received large sums from these sources. In addition, Table 10 shows that labor organizations contributed large sums to the Democratic party. The same general *pattern* of giving may occur on the local level.

TABLE 10. Labor's Campaign Spending in 1956

(Spending of \$2,987,072 in the 1956 campaign was reported by organized labor groups. Of this, almost 99 percent went to the Democratic party or to individual Democratic candidates.)

<i>Who Spent Labor's Money</i>	
17 National labor groups spent	\$2,156,728
171 State and local labor organizations spent	830,334
<i>How Labor's Money Was Used</i>	
Spent directly for radio and television programs, newspaper and periodical advertising, printing and purchase of literature, billboard advertising and election day expenses	588,680
Spent for unspecified purposes	352,591
Given to national campaign committees, mostly Democratic	443,632
Used by labor campaign committees in the States	330,170
Given to state Democratic party committees	65,583
Given for the use of Democratic House candidates	470,123
Given for the use of Democratic Senate candidates	368,908
Given for the use of state and local candidates	68,432
Used for other labor or Democratic candidates	295,028
Given for the use of 8 Republican House candidates	3,925

SOURCE: "Report of Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections" in *U.S. News and World Report*, February 15, 1957, p. 91.

In a nation-wide survey conducted in 1950, it was found that only 7 percent of the 8000 respondents said they had given money to a party or a candidate in the previous four years. This figure was thought to be high at that time, although it may be more representative today because labor unions have stimulated their members to contribute.²¹

There have been many legislative attempts to limit the financial contributions of individuals, corporations, and labor unions, especially in the national elections. The result of this legislation has been to reduce large gifts of individual persons and organizations to single candidates, but it has not appreciably lessened the amounts given. Federal legislation now explicitly prohibits funds to be given to political parties from corporation or union treasuries. Businessmen have solved this problem by making personal gifts

²¹ Julian L. Woodward and Elmo Roper, "Political Activity of American Citizens," *American Political Science Review*, September, 1950, p. 874.

to parties and candidates in the name of family members, and unions have urged their members to make voluntary contributions. Both methods have been successful in raising money. It is doubtful that the pattern of financial influence over parties has been altered by this legislation.²²

Actually, large funds may not be as necessary for local as for state and national party activities. What is needed locally is a large group of workers

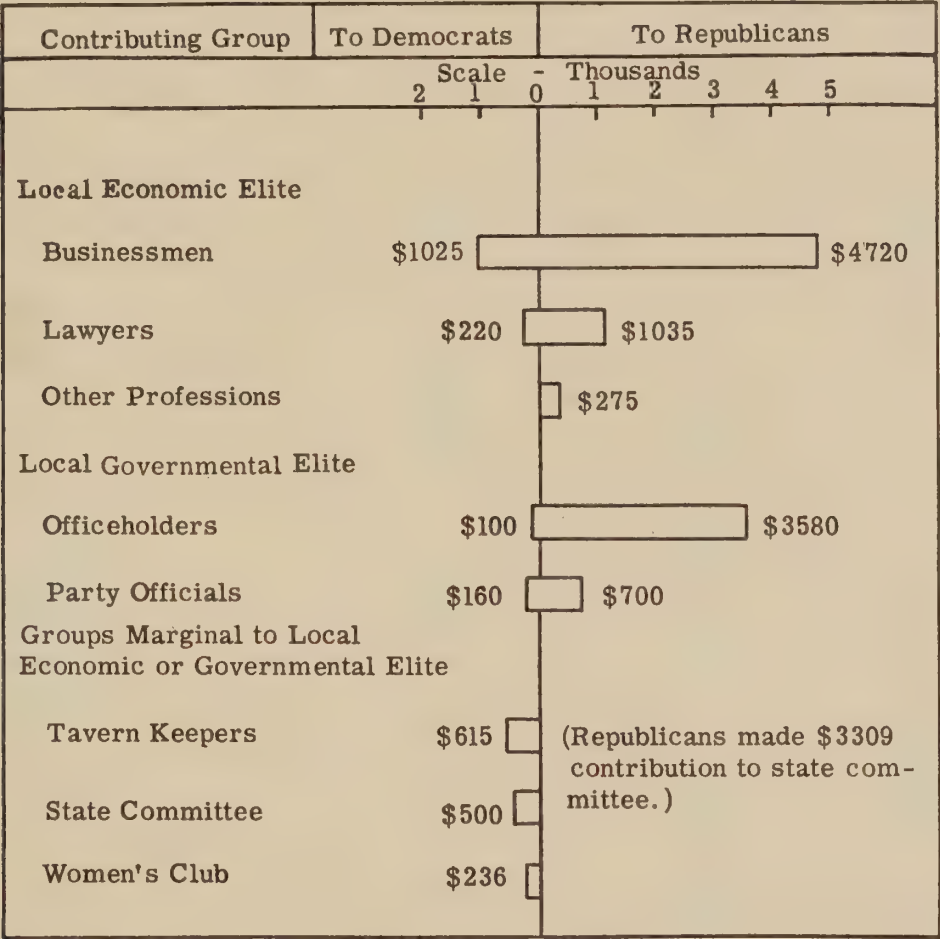


FIGURE 5.5. Support of Parties. Local power centers supported one party; marginal groups, the other. (Adapted from Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William H. McPhee, *Voting*, University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 155.)

who will give time to canvassing and electioneering. Yet some funds are needed to pay for printed materials, transportation, and contributions to the state committees. Berelson and others, who studied voting behavior in Elmira, New York, found that the largest funds were contributed by businessmen, lawyers, and other professionals (see Figure 5.5). Local government officeholders and party officials gave next largest sums, while other groups gave smallest funds.²³ The latter included tavern keepers, state political

²² Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

²³ Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

committees, and women's clubs. In other communities, the Democratic party would receive larger contributions from labor organizations so that contributions to both parties would be somewhat more balanced.

The importance of the contribution psychologically is that it carries a greater political commitment to vote. Berelson and others indicate that in Elmira most businessmen regarded their contribution to the Republican party as part of the cost of doing business that would ultimately earn them a fair return in less government in business, lower taxes, and less labor racketeering.²⁴ It may well be that labor officials want union members to contribute financially in order to increase their political awareness. Of course, the money also helps win elections.

Parties which win elections are not necessarily the parties which spend the most money. However, a rough correlation may exist between amount of money spent and victorious elections over the long run. The question arises, "Does the money go to the party which wins or does money 'insure' victory?" While the answer to this question is not known, increasing campaign costs may point to the need for money to insure victory. It is clear, however, that finance is only one aspect of party effectiveness.²⁵ Assuming an equally attractive platform and equal funds, the important ingredient of political control becomes an effective party organization.

Effective Party Organization. It has been asserted that the historic domination of local government and politics by business has resulted more from its greater concern with government than from any conscious plan to dominate it. Clearly, where there are few legal restrictions to voting, working-class parties could theoretically control governments because they appeal to a majority of the voters. Many studies in various communities have consistently demonstrated that the higher the socioeconomic level of the voter's occupation, the greater the likelihood of his voting and contributing to party finances. Table 11 presents data from a nation-wide study of voting in the Presidential election of 1948. It clearly shows a higher proportion of voting among those with higher education, higher incomes, and higher socioeconomic occupations. In addition, it shows that a greater proportion of members of labor unions voted than nonmembers. Unfortunately, the table does not reflect regional variations. For example, in northern industrial cities, Protestants have a higher voting rate than Catholics, who are more concentrated in lower socioeconomic levels.

Other studies show that the amount of political involvement—such as discussing public issues, belonging to organizations which take a political stand, working actively for party candidates, contributing money to a campaign—increases with economic status, educational achievement, and

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

²⁵ Key, *op. cit.*, p. 563. Quotes George Lundberg, "Campaign Expenditures and Election Results," *Social Forces*, 1928, pp. 452-457.

TABLE 11. Demographic Characteristics of a National Sample of Voters and Nonvoters, Presidential Election of 1948

	Voted	Did Not Vote	Total
Sex			
Male	69%	31%	100%
Female	59	41	100
Race			
White	66	34	100
Negro	36	64	100
Age			
21-34	55	45	100
35-44	66	34	100
45-54	75	25	100
55 and over	63	37	100
Education			
Grade school	56	44	100
High school	67	33	100
College	80	20	100
Income			
Under \$2,000	47	53	100
\$2,000-2,999	61	39	100
\$3,000-3,999	74	26	100
\$4,000 and over	80	20	100
Occupation			
Professional and managerial persons	75	25	100
White-collar workers	82	18	100
Skilled and semiskilled workers	71	29	100
Unskilled workers	50	50	100
Farmers	42	58	100
Trade union affiliation			
Member	73	27	100
Nonmember	62	38	100
Population classification			
Metropolitan areas	83	17	100
Towns and cities	61	39	100
Rural areas	40	60	100
Religion			
Protestant	57	43	100
Catholic	79	21	100

SOURCE: Survey Research Center, *A Study of the Presidential Vote, November 1948*, University of Michigan, 1949, p. 109.

occupational status.²⁶ Furthermore, public opinion data reveal that the higher socioeconomic groups are not only more active politically but they tend to vote more conservatively; i.e., vote Republican in the United States. Centers, Jones, and others have constructed liberal-conservative scales of political values. They found that higher socioeconomic groups voted consistently more conservatively. These results have been verified in several communities, specifically in Akron, Detroit, Elmira, Yankee City, Seneca, Steelport, and Jonesville.²⁷ In communities with two-party systems, where higher socioeconomic groups vote Republican, the main job of the Democratic party is to increase the proportion of voters among manual workers.

Ammunition, a monthly magazine sent to union officials of the United Automobile Workers (UAW), analyzed the problem of nonvoting for the Democratic party in the Detroit area. It indicated that, in the 1954 state election, Detroit, which is dominated by working-class people, voted 64 percent Democratic, as opposed to 14 percent for the swank suburb of Grosse Pointe. However, while only 68 percent of the eligible voters of Detroit voted, 96 percent of the eligible Grosse Pointe voters turned out on election day. They further indicated that, in the "silk stocking" precincts of the city, more women than men voted; in the labor precincts, many fewer women voted.²⁸ The lesson for labor then clearly is to get out a greater proportion of the vote and to get their womenfolk to vote.

It is clear that the business control of parties stems not only from greater officeholding in government and greater control of party finances, but also from greater participation in the political process. The question may arise whether the Republican party is more effective in getting out the vote of the higher socioeconomic groups of the community or whether the high turnout is responsible for the strength of the party. The evidence tends to suggest that a high voting turnout occurs almost despite party activity, but that party activity is necessary to get out the vote of middle and lower socioeconomic groups which might support the party.²⁹ The party is remarkably effective in this work.

McKee has shown conclusively in a study of voting behavior in Steelport the importance of effective party organization. Before 1937, Steelport government was controlled almost exclusively by the Republican party, which represented the older, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon, higher socioeconomic segments

²⁶ Woodward and Roper, *op. cit.*, p. 877.

²⁷ An excellent extensive analysis of voting, voting turnout, and ideological direction of voting may be found in Seymour M. Lipsett, *et al.*, "The Psychology of Voting, an Analysis of Political Behavior," in Gardner Lindsey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, vol. II, Addison-Wesley, 1954.

²⁸ *Ammunition*, September, 1956, pp. 42-43.

²⁹ Oscar Glanz' studies point to higher class consciousness of business groups. See "Class Consciousness and Political Solidarity," *American Sociological Review*, August, 1958, pp. 375-383.

of the community. Although a minority, they had more political power than the larger group of newer arrivals who came from central and southern Europe and were predominantly Catholic. The CIO wanted to weld this heterogeneous body of workers into a solidary political organization and exert its influence in local affairs. To achieve this, it created the Political Action Committee to support the Democratic party. Table 12 shows how successful the unions were in achieving their aim. Before 1945, individual Democrats occasionally won city-wide offices. After this date, they won all the administrative positions as well as a majority of the legislative ones.

TABLE 12. How Steelport Voted Before and After CIO Political Action Committee Organized

	Pre-PAC				Post-PAC			
	1939		1943		1947		1951	
	Democ.	Repub.	Democ.	Repub.	Democ.	Repub.	Democ.	Repub.
Mayor	6,200	7,700	5,400	6,300	9,200	5,800	8,000	5,400
Council								
president	7,000	5,800	5,100	5,700	9,000	5,300	6,800	5,700
Treasurer	5,800	6,500	6,300	4,900	8,400	5,800	6,700	5,700
Average								
vote	6,667	6,667	5,600	5,634	8,867	5,634	7,164	5,600

SOURCE: James B. McKee, *Organized Labor and Community Decision Making: A Study in the Sociology of Power*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Sociology Department, University of Wisconsin, 1953, p. 148. See also James B. McKee, "Status and Power in the Industrial Community, Comment on Drucker's Thesis," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1953, pp. 364-370.

Calkins, in a study of four communities in Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan, revealed similar results; namely, that the Political Action Committee of the CIO was effective in increasing the turnout of the vote for the Democratic party.³⁰ What the party lacks in financial resources, it can gain by better organization. With one-half of the electorate typically not exercising the right to vote, there is plenty of room to increase party effectiveness and representation in government.

A note of caution is necessary in interpreting the significance of high voting. Many groups are active politically in the sense that they vote regularly and contribute to political campaigns. Teachers, clerical workers, and small proprietors are cases in point. This does not mean that they have significant political influence. In Steelport, McKee found that the businessmen were not worried about the rise of labor representation in city government. When

³⁰ Fay Calkins, *The CIO and the Democratic Party*, University of Chicago Press, 1952.

issues crucial for business arose, such as a possible increase in local taxes, they decisively defeated the proposal.³¹ Control of the political party is only one facet of control in the community power structure.

The above section has documented the control devices of business-dominated parties. The evidence suggests that high governmental policy-making positions are occupied by persons of business and professional backgrounds. The same applies for positions on important city boards. In addition, the political parties are dependent on funds which are largely supplied by businessmen who also occupy crucial positions on party finance committees. The business-dominated parties can also depend on a high degree of political participation by the higher socioeconomic groups in the community. While coalition parties may become more effective by securing larger voting turn-outs of manual workers, such success does not automatically assure them governmental control. This pattern of control can be seen in the customary relationships which develop among the politically relevant social systems of the city.

CUSTOMARY AND CONFLICT RELATIONS

Pattern of Customary Relations

IN-PLANT PATTERNS

The work plant is the arena of greatest social interaction for both business and labor. With the possible exception of the family, the work plant is the place where the worker discusses most his interests and concerns: sex, sports, politics, religion, and family problems. Friendships are made, ideas are exchanged, new interests are aroused, and social activities are planned. Since political issues often center around economic problems, the work plant is a primary source of political ideas and action. Both management and union officials are aware that workers in the plant constitute a captive audience which may be educated politically.

Chapter 6 analyzes the number of leaflets, booklets, letters, and newspapers which workers receive from union and business sources. Throughout the year, these publications barrage workers with opposing political and social sentiments. As political campaigns get underway, the flow of publications increases as efforts are made to get workers to vote "right." On occasion, political issues of local and national significance arise, and special efforts are expended to persuade the workers to vote in a given manner. In this section, the ordinary efforts of political persuasion within the plant are analyzed.

³¹ James B. McKee, *Organized Labor and Community Decision-Making: A Study in the Sociology of Power*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Sociology Department, University of Wisconsin, 1953, pp. 142 ff., *passim*, and adapted by Meyer Weinberg and Oscar E. Shabat, *Society and Man*, Prentice-Hall, 1956, pp. 531-532.

POLITICAL PROFILES OF THE PLANT

The political climate of the plant reflects the social composition of its work force. If the work force represents a cross section of the community, the politics of the plant will be similar to that of the community. Since this is not usually the case, the first task of the researcher is to draw the socio-political profile of the plant. Table 13 presents a hypothetical version of the occupational-political composition of a plant in a “typical” two-party, industrial city. In a concrete instance, it would be necessary to have more exact knowledge of the work force, such as age, religious, ethnic, and social class composition.

TABLE 13. Theoretical Political Profile of a Manufacturing Plant by Occupational Levels

Occupational Levels	Work Force	Republicans	Democrats	Independents or No Preference	Voters	Political Contributors
Proprietors and managers	5%	80%	10%	10%	90%	80%
Professionals	3	75	15	10	90	50
Clerical men	7	70	15	15	85	40
Clerical women	10	50	30	20	60	20
Supervisors	5	50	20	30	75	40
Skilled workers	20	35	45	25	65	20
Semiskilled and unskilled	50	15	65	20	45	10

SOURCE: Suggested by Dewey Anderson and P. E. Davidson, *Ballots and the Democratic Class Struggle*, Stanford University Press, 1943, p. 620.

As Table 13 shows, the six highest occupational levels of the plant, from managers to supervisors, are predominantly Republican, while the lowest two levels are predominantly Democratic. Moreover, a large proportion of the upper levels vote and make financial contributions to political parties. On the other hand, as many as half of the workers in the two lowest occupational levels do not vote, and a smaller proportion makes financial contributions. The “independents” among the white-collar groups probably represent those who are “on the fence” or are too timid to make their political dispositions known. The independents among the manual workers probably are those who have no party preference or are apathetic to politics.

Two important observations may be derived from the table. First, the work environment of manual and white-collar workers each have a predominant political cast. Certain “political colorations” or norms pervade the social

atmospheres of both groups, for there is relatively little interaction among the white-collar and manual workers in the plant. The second observation is that, although two dominant political norms prevail, there is by no means total consensus among white-collar and manual workers. There are sizable proportions among both groups who may be persuaded to change their party preferences, or lacking them, to decide on one. Also, as many as two-fifths can be made politically active. The least politically reliable group among the white-collar workers are the female clerks, many of whom have husbands or brothers who are manual workers and more inclined to vote Democratic. Among the manual workers, theoretically, as many as one-third can be made to declare a party allegiance, and one-half can be persuaded to vote. There is plenty of room for political persuasion!

How do workers feel about using the plant and the local union for political propaganda? Scanty evidence suggests they are split on this question. One study of 700 union members in a Midwestern union showed 55 percent believed the union should take active part in politics, 24 percent thought this was sometimes advisable, and 21 percent disapproved of union political activity. About the same proportion were aware of union political activity and approved of the manner in which this activity was conducted.³² Stewards and officers endorsed active political involvement of the locals in significantly larger proportions. A study of the UAW in Detroit, Michigan, showed a much greater support for union participation in politics and confidence in the union program.³³ On the management side, there is ample evidence to suggest that many businessmen feel they have the right to engage in political activity on the plant level. Despite the slogan "business and politics do not mix," they are mixed continually and in very partisan ways in the work plant.

It is clear that both managements and unions carry on political persuasion in the plant. Berelson and others found in Elmira, New York, that the higher the social integration of the workers to the plant, whether or not they were union members, the more likely they were to vote Democratic. They also found a greater disposition among managers who belonged to more local organizations to vote Republican.³⁴ At all levels, there was a strong tendency for workers to vote like their associates. Moreover, co-workers affected the strength of conviction of the party preference. The occupation of the first person with whom a worker discussed politics was someone in the same occupational level.³⁵ In short, the study found that discussions of politics occurred within occupational groups, that norms of political allegiance were occupa-

³² Ruth and Alice Hudson and Hjalmar Rosen, "Union Political Action: The Member Speaks," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, April, 1954, p. 408.

³³ Arthur Kornhauser, Harold L. Sheppard, and Albert J. Mayer, *When Labor Votes*, University Books, 1956, chap. IV.

³⁴ Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-105.

tionally derived, and that political allegiance was a function of the degree of integration within the occupational group.

MANAGEMENT'S POLITICAL ROLES

Managers have long observed that getting workers to identify with them promotes political hegemony in the plant. When social identifications are buttressed by social and organizational activities, the process of social absorption takes place. Since the social absorption facilitates political identification, many plant activities which ostensibly are social have political consequences. Getting the employee to join the same organizations, allowing supervisors to share management facilities (such as the dining room and country club), encouraging employees to buy stock in the company, and giving workers free magazine subscriptions promote social and political absorption.

Business has other inducements which it can use. It can give executives time off to manage political campaigns. It can provide them with company equipment and facilities for their political work. It can reward them for doing a good job of political management. Actually, there is little need for businessmen to apply pressure on their executives to hew a political line. The latter are literally enveloped in a network of politically homogeneous formal and informal associations. Rotary clubs, chambers of commerce, management associations, and other groups have similar political goals. Company magazines, newspapers, and other communication media clearly indicate management's politics. Only the white-collar and manual workers in the plant need to be persuaded politically.

To reach these groups, management can rely on mass communication media outside the plant, or it can approach them directly. Prior to 1952, it was illegal for managers to proselytize workers on their political and labor union views, but this barrier has since been removed. There is little reason to believe that legislation has had much influence on the process of political persuasion. Workers who want to climb the management ladder realize that expressions of political loyalty may help them. On the other side, managers are aware that highly integrated union members are not easily susceptible to management influence. Therefore, management pressures *itself* to get the fullest amount of political expression of which it is capable and, by personal contact, puts pressure on politically marginal persons. The following document demonstrates the kind of pressures top managers are expected to apply to their subordinates.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT LABOR LAW REVISIONS

1. Each businessman to familiarize *himself* and his whole management—from top executive to foreman—with what are the essential ingredients that ought, in the public interest, to go into any new labor law. For instance, the hearings to date indicate to most people that the critical issue is the *closed shop*. Around this

hinge the jurisdictional strikes, the secondary boycotts, the featherbedding, the mass picketing violence, and the need for injunction power by government. Hence, the need for a ban on the closed shop and its attendant abuses.

2. Each businessman to at once send short, plain, easily readable information—signed by him—to his own employees about the most important basic ingredients he thinks ought to be included in our country's labor law, and to encourage his employees to write their Congressmen and Senators their own views directly. *Longhand letters are especially noted.*

3. Each businessman individually to *publish* in paid newspaper advertisements or otherwise to employees' neighbors (the public) in each community where he has substantial operations the same facts as he is giving to his employees and publish these facts publicly at the *same time* he gives them to his employees—with the same encouragement to the public to write to their Congressmen and Senators giving their views whatever they are.

4. Each businessman himself to write to his Congressman and his two Senators giving his views and supporting them with specific instances of the situation in his own experience before and after passage of the Taft-Hartley Law. Each businessman also to encourage each individual plant manager or each other manager in his own organization at whatever location to write his views (*often in long-hand*) to his Congressman and Senators supporting these views with specific experiences of his own.

5. Each businessman to write to his Congressman and Senators demanding they take sufficient time to get a good law. He will probably want to tell his Senators the hearings so far have been inadequate and that any bill reported out by the Senate Committee ought to be recommitted for further study and public hearings with employers really listened to this time. He will probably want to tell his Congressman that he demands the privilege of appearing before the House Committee to relate his significant experiences. He will right now probably want to write a special group of Senators about outlawing the closed shop and its attendant abuses.

6. Each businessman, who possibly can, to go to Washington and call on his Congressman and two Senators to (a) thank them for their stand, if it is good, or (b) urge them to take the right stand, if the stand to date is felt to be wrong. *Both* (a) and (b) are equally important.

7. Each businessman—and each of his plant or other managers—to assemble locally ten or fifteen other business executives, farmers, and other citizens, discuss the needs and the possible activities in the present situation, and then get each of these ten or fifteen to go out and individually take the seven steps here listed—and so on.³⁶

A more active internal political education program was initiated by Johnson and Johnson in 1951. Nine management employees of the company formed themselves into a Sound Government Board—a nonpartisan, voluntary group of employees meeting *on company time* to discuss urgent governmental problems. The objective was to stimulate work associates to engage in

³⁶ Issued as a public service by General Electric Company, February 23, 1949.

political activity in the community. An informal survey taken at the beginning of this program showed a low level of political participation among the company's 750 executive, supervisory, technical, and sales personnel. After the program was in operation for a year and a half, 100 Sound Government members were advocates of political clubs, 40 held public office, and 4 out of 5 of the company's 1850 management people had attended council meetings in their home communities.³⁷

Currently a business-in-government movement is in full swing. "Labor's political power must now be opposed by a matching force," says Gulf Oil senior vice president Archie Gray. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce has put an estimated 20,000 businessmen through its 18-hour course on the how's and why's of practical politics. The National Association of Manufacturers has a similar course and puts out a massive how-to-do-it study, "Practical Politics." At the company level many different programs indicate that business is opening the throttle as it moves into the political arena. General Electric, for instance, maintains a Government Relations Service and encourages employees to get into politics largely at the grass roots level. G.E. uses its house organs, newsletters, special reports, and advertising to support or oppose specific legislative measures. It was one of the most vigorous supporters of right-to-work laws in California and Washington. Republic Steel has trained 100 middle management men as public speakers and so far they have presented the company views on certain political issues to 300,000 people at 4,000 meetings. Ford Motor Company and Johnson and Johnson urge employees to run for political office and give them leaves of absence if they win. In all of this, industry generally maintains a nonpartisan approach. But many firms frankly admit that their activity ultimately works to the benefit of the Republican party.³⁸

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF LABOR IN THE PLANT

Much of the political education of the union member occurs in the plant. For many reasons, large proportions of the members do not attend union meetings. Therefore, union work must go on in car pools, on the parking lot, in the plant cafeteria, and in the work area itself. Stewards, officers, and active union members who are scattered throughout the plant are able daily to contact other workers who are politically apathetic or antagonistic.

Political persuasion is a long process. The active union member talks to his co-workers daily about local events which have significance for the working man. His effectiveness increases with the number of different kinds of activities he can share with others. To be a good guy, know your work, help the other guy when he needs it, give him a lift home, eat with him, bowl

³⁷ "Sound Government Gets a Boost from Industry," *American City*, November, 1953, p. 116.

³⁸ "How Nonpartisan Should Business Be?" *Newsweek*, November 30, 1959, p. 85.

with him, and meet his family—help build a common social world and a common political outlook. Social absorption works as well for the union as it does for management. The worker who resists social absorption is likely to be one who is a rate buster, who wants a management job, is socially marginal, and refuses to engage in common social activities.³⁹

Political persuasion may be more difficult for the union activist than it is for his management counterpart. In the first place, the plant floor usually represents a more socially heterogeneous environment. To produce consensus among people of distinctly different social, religious, and ethnic backgrounds is an arduous task. Furthermore, as Table 13 shows, the political climate of the work plant is more diversified than that of the office. Two major problems face the active unionist: to get traditional Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists to come together on a common political program; and to make many apathetic workers politically conscious and active. The latter problem is the more serious. The union is successful if it gets the workers to do anything which has political significance. This may be registering, going to a political rally, contributing a dollar to COPE, or getting his wife to vote. Union officials generally trust the “political instincts” of the worker (they do not worry how the worker will vote), but they do not trust the worker’s political initiative (whether he will vote).

Just before elections, the political activity in the plant quickens. A report in *Ammunition* describes how a Louisville, Kentucky, UAW local containing over 1000 workers inaugurated a drive to collect political contributions from the membership. Prior to the drive, a training session on political issues and techniques of raising money was held for 130 workers.

Local 862 originally had set its PAC dollar drive goal at \$1000. The day the campaign opened the 24 PAC collectors took over. In four days, they had taken in more than \$800. Hammond said:

Each man had a particular group in his work area to contact. In that way, he kept his contacts on a personal basis and lessened the load for the other collectors. When one of the collectors failed to get a contribution, one of the three shop committeemen in the plant followed that up by talking to the worker himself. The ten members of the local Executive Board also took part in these follow-ups.

When we counted the \$800 after only four days, we decided that the original goal of \$1,000 was too low. We voted to go after the full 100 per cent. More than 1,000 Local 862 members gave their dollar to political action when first asked by the PAC collectors. Only about 100 members had to be followed up. Some wanted to get clear in their minds that PAC was not the arm of a political party. We went into details here to show that PAC backs a man on his record and on his platform, regardless of party.

Some of these workers stated they had been born and reared Democrats or Republicans, as the case was, and had never gone into voting records and

³⁹ William Foote Whyte *et al.*, *Money and Motivation*, Harper, 1955.

platforms as such fully. Then, too, there was a large number of members we couldn't contact—they were home sick during the campaign or on vacation. Today, one of the men who is new in the plant heard about the PAC drive and donated a dollar. He said he'd heard just about everyone else at the plant did, and he believed it was a real good contribution.

Coinciding with its dollar drive is Local 862's effort for all its members to register and vote. Some years back, we set up a card index system for each member. We then ran a series of handbills encouraging our members to register and vote.

Then, Marshall Redwitz, the Local's PAC chairman, followed this by checking at the Louisville city and county registration office on whether our members had registered. Those we found were not registered were contacted by the political action committee. The committee went into the reasons why every member should register and should vote, and the member was urged to do so.

This check now is made twice a year, and so are the follow-ups. At the last check we made, more than 90 per cent of the Local's members were registered to vote.⁴⁰

Customary Relationships

Business and labor both interact daily with government and political parties in the community. Although political corruption, development of partisan issues, and tests of strength receive most attention, the daily concerns of the four parties are more important, if not more dramatic. These may be subsumed under three main functions: (1) doing business, (2) keeping informed, and (3) building political structures. A close examination of these functions sometimes elicits the feeling that collusion and unethical conduct characterize partisan activities. It is often difficult to determine whether this is so because standards of morality are not always clearly defined. This will be illustrated in some of the cases which are described below.

DOING BUSINESS

Pressure groups in city government usually operate with less fanfare than their counterparts in state and federal government. Much of the interaction between business and government is quiet and unspectacular. Buildings are inspected, licenses are given, services are provided, taxes are levied, and contracts are awarded without much public notice. Yet some of these functions constitute the very life lines of business and government relations.

Illustrations of important customary relations are enumerated below:

1. In some cities, banks virtually run city finances, control bond flotations, secure deposits of government funds, and limit governmental expenditures.
2. Real estate groups want to be kept informed of all land use changes, locations of all new construction, the sale of public lands, and related matters which

⁴⁰ "Spotlight on a Buck," *Ammunition*, May, 1954, p. 10.

affect the land market. They sometimes attempt to raise the value of their property by getting the city government to fill in swamp land, locate parks nearby, provide services and zone land in a partisan manner. Real estate men are often placed on planning and zoning boards and have easy access to the data they need.

3. Public utilities are close to local governments. Good relations are necessary to renew franchises, get favorable rates, and keep taxes down. Transit systems have the same objectives. Successful operations of utilities depend on how well they can get along with government and labor unions in their enterprises.

4. Contractors constantly seek to sell their supplies or services to government. Close contact with the Department of Public Works, Board of Education, and other agencies are needed to develop favorable contracts. Government agencies also need the advice of business on how to develop city services. Opportunity for advantage is ubiquitous.

5. Public employees seek better working conditions and higher pay. They sometimes get the aid of organized labor to back their demands. Moreover, they may threaten party control by pushing for civil service status and making smaller political contributions.

6. Organized labor keeps track of building permits to make sure that contractors use union labor. They seek to develop favorable relations with public employees to maintain community wage rates. They insist that government contracts be drawn up to permit contractors to hire at wage rates agreeable to organized labor. This involves developing contacts with a large number of agencies.

7. Rackets are found in almost all large cities. Gambling and vice need the protection of key officials and the political bosses to stay in business. Bribery and coercion are the primary techniques to get this protection. Congressional investigations of union breaking activities in large cities have uncovered a pattern of collusion among business, government, and racketeering organizations. They have also shown that some labor unions have been able to survive with the collusion of governmental officials and racketeers. Here again, a pattern of customary relations is perpetuated by payoffs, protection and collusion.⁴¹

KEEPING INFORMED

Business and labor need to be fully informed of governmental activities in order to use available services and guard against possible discriminatory legislation. Representatives are sent to meetings of the city council, board of education, planning commission, parks commission, and other agencies. Newspapers play a fundamental role in keeping the public informed on governmental activities. However, labor and business officials may insist on even closer scrutiny of government operations. Special groups are encouraged to make certain that the whole machinery of government operates according to certain precepts. For example, citizens' tax leagues and chambers of commerce pay special attention to all tax matters, revenue bills, and

⁴¹ Zink, *op. cit.*, chap. XIV, pp. 228-255. See third interim report of the Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Inter-State Commerce, Senate Report No. 307, Eighty-Second Congress, 1951, for data on labor union rackets.

expenditures. They consider it their sacred duty to protect the "public pocketbook" by eliminating unnecessary taxes and expenditures.

Some organizations allegedly have no partisan interests. They are concerned with adequate and efficient government for all citizens. Outstanding among these are the municipal leagues and the League of Women Voters. Some of their main functions are to interview all candidates for election, appraise their qualifications, and present their findings to their members so that they may vote more intelligently. They also keep informed on all important municipal issues, appraise their utility, and disseminate this information. Many other organizations parading under various names pretend to function in this neutral manner. It is sometimes difficult to know whether these agencies are, in fact, what they pretend to be.

A study of the membership composition and activities of a municipal league during its 45 years of existence in a large city provided the following information:⁴² one-third of its 166 trustees were lawyers; almost another third were bankers, financiers, and insurance executives; and the remaining third were other businessmen and professionals. Labor leaders, white-collar workers, subprofessionals, and manual workers were not represented. More significantly, the trustees were almost solidly Republican, belonged to the elite social clubs and the high-status churches in the city. The league kept close check on city finances, came out against *all* tax increases, and tended to recommend Republican candidates. Consequently, it was boycotted by the Democratic party. In this city, it served as the taxpayers' league, an organization dedicated to protect the interests of property owners by reducing taxes and fighting increases in governmental functions. In other cities, the municipal league functions rather impartially like the League of Women Voters. However, each case has to be examined separately.

Recently, some local governments have taken steps to inform citizens about their operations by instituting "Know Your Government Day." Businessmen, labor officials, and school children are invited to visit governmental agencies, ask questions, and observe operations. Officials explain the functions of their agencies and indicate how they can be of greater service to the community. Through these contacts, it is hoped that interest in local government may be raised as well as the status of public office.

BUILDING POLITICAL STRUCTURES

Elections are the final test of the organizational effectiveness of political parties between elections. The primary task of political leaders is to satisfy key people and groups with what they get out of governmental operations and, at the same time, keep them sufficiently dissatisfied to remain actively concerned with politics. Thus, the manipulation of satisfactions is the crucial task of those who occupy political roles within business, labor, and govern-

⁴² From a student paper by Joe Nelson, University of Washington, 1956.

ment. How well these roles are performed determines the effectiveness of the political structures. The primary functions of these structures are to (1) develop issues, (2) recruit political talent, and (3) raise money.

Parties which are not in power constantly examine governmental operations with the hope of developing campaign issues. When party platforms are compared against governmental achievements, the discrepancies usually found can provide the issues. Such labor organizations as COPE are designed to develop a sense of political consciousness among workers. Like the municipal league, COPE analyzes the voting records of elective officials, and compares them to the "ideal" labor vote. These comparisons are then published and distributed to the entire membership. In this way, the labor records of both legislators and political parties are evaluated, and political support is aligned.

Both business and labor leaders scrutinize performances of legislators to ascertain whether they should be removed from office, kept in office, or advanced to higher posts. Simultaneously, they evaluate the work of active party members and even people outside the party in order to recruit future legislators. Sometimes this is a small permanent clique known as the "kingmakers." Such a clique existed in a large Southwestern city studied by the authors. The kingmakers selected a political unknown for mayor and got him elected. Unable to cope with the pressure of office, the novice developed a nervous breakdown and resigned within two months. The kingmakers, realizing their mistake, then selected an old warhorse to fill the mayor's job. Such errors are not often made. Usually, political grooming is a slow and accurate process, guided by people who know their business.

Raising money for the machine is closely related to defining issues and recruiting candidates. Labor and business are willing to contribute money for the campaigns of candidates who develop issues to their liking. Sometimes, when legitimate sources of funds are unavailable, unscrupulous party henchmen may turn to racketeers. Of course, all of the tasks involved in building political structures may become political issues. How issues are selected, candidates recruited, and how money is raised may result in conflict among opposing factions. These conflicts may be extensions of legislative issues in government, such as taxation, housing, FEPC, and zoning.

Conflict Relations

Greater insight into the relations among unions, business, and political agencies may be secured by observing how conflicts strain their customary relationships. Many kinds of issues may arise to challenge the dominant pattern: Labor or business may test their respective control of the parties; either side may attempt to control the behavior of a governmental agency

in a particular issue; or the dominance of either group may be contested in a general election. Several concrete issues will be examined to illuminate the internal dynamics of the model of maximum likelihood in the political institution.

LABOR CHALLENGES A BUSINESS-DOMINATED GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY

The first issue to be examined is a request on the part of a forge in a middle-sized city to change the zoning classification of some of its properties which were located in a working-class area of the city. One day, residents of the area read in the newspaper that Central Drop Forge had asked the city zoning commission to reclassify some of its property from residential use to parking use. This vacant land had provided a buffer between the plant and the surrounding residential area. The neighbors met informally and decided to fight the zoning on several grounds. They drew up a petition charging (1) that the forge had been invading residential property which was limited, (2) that this invasion was decreasing the attractiveness of the area, (3) that the forge had not obeyed laws relative to the control of fly-ash discharged from its chimneys, and (4) that the fly-ash was deleterious to health and property in the neighborhood.

Prior to a scheduled meeting with the zoning board, the residents, many of whom were members of the union in the forge, asked the union officials to intercede on their behalf. Management presented the same arguments to union officials, the zoning commission, and the residents. They were (1) parking space was urgently needed, (2) the plant had grown up with the city and that it had a right to expand in the area of its origin, (3) the company had provided steady pay rolls in the community for years, (4) parking was not a "nuisance" land use, and (5) it would make further efforts to control the dangerous fly-ash. At the meeting of the zoning board, the union representatives acted as spokesmen for the local residents, but did not press the case with vigor. The board recommended to the city council that a change in zoning be approved.

Interviews with union officials and governmental personnel indicated that Central Drop Forge had excellent relations with important groups in the community. As a local company with local interests, it had contributed generously to local charities. It was among the first locally owned companies to recognize the union, and it had developed good relations with it. Company officials were good Republicans who had contributed generously to the party which dominated local government. Local residents were the only people the company had alienated, and they apparently did not have sufficient power to resist the company.

The neighborhood became hopeful when union officials unearthed a behind-the-scenes move on the part of the forge to sell all of its properties to the Jung-Smith Manufacturing Corporation. The union, which had locals

in both plants, learned of the alleged sale from an official of J-S. Allegedly, Central Drop Forge had made plans to move its plant to the outskirts of the city. Since J-S officials were afraid they would not be able to secure a change of zoning on their own, part of the sales agreement was for Central to cash in on its community good will and obtain the zoning change prior to announcing its move. J-S was a large absentee-owned corporation. It had fought union recognition fiercely; it had refused to become actively involved in community projects; and it had made no moves to support local politicians. The union "representative" on the city council promised to "make a case of it," and residents of the area were hopeful of success.

When Central and J-S officials were confronted with these charges, they denied them. In the meantime, city councilmen were approached indirectly by spokesmen for J-S and Central officials. The councilmen were told that the sale was "conjectural," that the zoning change should be considered on "its own merit," and that J-S provided the largest pay roll in town. The next meeting of the city council was stormy. J-S spokesmen were conspicuously absent. Union officials spoke up vehemently against the proposed change of zoning. The council delayed voting on the issue, but approved the change at its next meeting. The union-neighborhood forces had insufficient strength to contest traditional business strength.

Within three months, the local newspaper announced the sale of Central Drop Forge properties to the Jung-Smith Manufacturing Corporation, and the plans of the forge to move to the city outskirts.⁴³

A CHALLENGE TO MANAGEMENT-PARTY CONTROL

Fay Calkins has documented the efforts of the CIO Political Action Committee to fight a party machine.⁴⁴ This occurred in a section of the Fifth Senatorial District of Chicago, Illinois, in 1950. Since the local Democratic party showed no particular sympathy toward labor, the CIO decided to challenge the machine head-on at the primaries. Control of the Democratic machine rested in the hands of the county chairman. To challenge his control, PAC had built *its own independent* organization down through the wards and the precincts. PAC tried but failed to exert influence on the party's choice of candidate for state Senator. The ward leader selected a committee made up of party, business, civic, and religious leaders (none from labor) to select its regular candidate. In a meeting with other ward leaders, Korshak, assistant state's attorney, was selected. He had built strong ties with local politicians, interest groups, and newspapers. Furthermore, he had been a "loyal" Democrat, had contacts, financial resources, and a good record on interracial issues.

⁴³ William H. Form, "The Place of Social Structure in the Determination of Land Use: Some Implications for a Theory of Urban Ecology," *Social Forces*, May, 1954.

⁴⁴ Calkins, *op. cit.*, chap. IV, pp. 59-85, *passim*.

The PAC decided on its own leader, Willoughby Abner, a Negro lawyer who was president of an Automobile Workers local. Both Democratic and Republican ward leaders found him unacceptable and preferred more "loyal" candidates. When the Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI), a Chicago affiliate of the Americans for Democratic Action, decided to back Abner, CIO decided to risk Abner against Korshak in the Democratic primary. The Abner factions raised over \$12,000. Korshak's friends raised \$15,000 and another \$20,000, allegedly from the Democratic party. Both candidates relied mainly on their precinct organizations to contact the voters. Korshak could count on an experienced group of precinct workers who were well trained and had strong incentives (job promises). He spent two or three nights a week the year round building personal obligations with "his people," most of whom were small shopkeepers. On election day, he paid 40 to 50 people to help him get out the vote.

Abner's organization was weaker. IVI had a mixture of experienced and inexperienced precinct workers who visited their neighbors only at campaign time. They talked about issues rather than developing personal friendships. The majority of PAC precinct workers were completely inexperienced. They were given only \$10 on election day to use at their discretion. Korshak had earlier won the support of the Congressman from the first district who was a leading figure in Negro politics, the AFL's Association of Negro Trade Unionists, businessmen, and the Negro Chamber of Commerce. Possibly, the syndicate also contributed to the hard-pressed precinct captains on election day. The prominent Negro newspaper, *The Defender*, also gave Korshak a sympathetic press.

Abner got support from leaders in the Illinois Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, but *not* the organizations. *The Daily News* and the *Sun-Times* also supported him, as did the Campus Committee for Abner (students from the University of Chicago). PAC and IVI coördinated their work at weekly meetings. On election day, Korshak had a real advantage of having experienced poll watchers, while Abner's watchers suffered from doubts and uncertainties. Abner was defeated 21,739 to 9537. PAC, despite its attractive issues and its broader base, did not have sufficient funds, contacts, party experience, and organizational backing to challenge successfully the customary domination of the party machine.

ATTACK ON THE ELECTORAL FRONT⁴⁵

In the 1949 "nonpartisan" mayoralty election in Detroit, public housing became a leading issue. The city had received from the federal government earmarked funds for 10,000 low-rent dwellings. George Edwards, a candidate

⁴⁵ Charles Abrams, *Forbidden Neighbors*, Harper, 1955, pp. 96-99, *passim*.

for mayor who had CIO support, favored public housing. Albert Cobo, the other candidate, came out against public housing. His overt support came from the self-styled "neighborhood improvement associations," which were dedicated to resist every intrusion of minority groups into white neighborhoods.

The United Auto Workers of the CIO had been attempting to educate the rank and file on racial tolerance. It established a precinct organization to elect Edwards. In addition, it participated actively in the Detroit Council for Better Housing, which brought together leaders of the AFL-CIO, church, and community groups. The aim of this organization was to get interracial public housing in whatever areas suitable land was available. The aim of the opposition was to contain the Negro population in the areas they already dominated and to resist integrated public housing in outlying areas.

Other organizations joined the contest. It seems clear that the powerful and rich savings and loan associations and the real estate organizations not only provided funds to defeat Edwards but resisted the intrusion of public housing in any form. Their position was backed solidly by all the suburban newspapers. They protested not only against "socialist" housing but also the threat of labor domination in city government. Local businessmen, developers, and even churches published large ads against Edwards and public housing, providing the newspapers with handsome advertising revenues. The strategy of the "better elements" of the community was to contain Negro housing in privately owned dwellings in downtown Detroit. Opponents also used newspapers to inform voters that federal housing was limited and that it was possible to control decline of land values. In the factories, unions campaigned for Edwards, but did not find solid support, especially among many of the newly arrived Southern whites.

Cobo, who later became Republican candidate for Governor of Michigan, soundly defeated Edwards. Almost immediately after election, he announced to the city council that he was opposed to public housing in "outlying areas where single homes are located." He insisted that all vacant land projects and the demolition of Negro slum areas be developed by private enterprise. The position of the suburban press, the neighborhood associations, the real estate groups, and "better elements" was vindicated for the time being. Again, the model of maximum likelihood manifested itself.

As Negro earning power improved, as they became more articulate politically, as the FHA eased credit for home buying, as the Supreme Court rendered decisions against restricted covenants, the Detroit Housing Authority finally admitted Negroes into segregated housing projects located in mixed areas. It is significant, however, that this resulted from pressures outside the community more than from internal pressures.

CHANGES IN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

Evidence has been presented which illustrates how the present system of business-dominated parties is perpetuated. However, analysis of the conflict patterns found indicates that certain instabilities are part of the present structure of political arrangements. It is not simply a case of business completely dominating every segment of the political system. Political parties, government agencies, and interest groups are constantly adjusting to changes occurring in the local community and in the wider society. As the above cases have shown, business must make rapid accommodations if only to maintain its present position of influence. What are some of the changes affecting the business-labor-government-party complex?

Changing Character of Local Government

Since some of the historical trends in local government have been reviewed, only a few current trends need to be mentioned here. The most striking trend, of course, is the increasing amount of governmental services. Sometimes these services are assumed because private business cannot provide them at a profit. Thus, many cities have been forced to provide power and public transportation because they have been unwilling to subsidize private utilities. Many other functions have been added to city government, such as economic planning, extension of public education to the university level, research on local commercial development, and expansion of recreational facilities. This has happened along with the expansion of state and federal governmental functions, sometimes at the expense of local governments.

The social consequences of augmented governmental services are profound. Perhaps the most important is that highly trained personnel are being developed to provide and maintain these services. Specialized, well-trained professionals are needed to run government and replace people who have served because of their political services. The growth of professional administration has stimulated the independence and strength of governmental bureaucracies. They must be recognized as an almost independent force in the political system along with parties, pressure groups, and citizens.

The spread of civil service, the unionization of government workers, the rise of professional associations among government workers, and the increasing importance of political science all point to the growing power and independence of governmental agencies. Every new governmental service creates a new public which becomes *dependent* upon government. This means that governmental agencies get power over their publics, and that political deci-

sions cannot be made without taking into consideration the power of governmental agencies and officials.

Political Party Changes

Obviously, the above changes have consequences for local political parties. Perhaps the most important is the decline in patronage and the consequent decrease in the power of party bosses. Although there still is enough patronage to spur political activity, the special occupations needed in government tend to deter political manipulation. Moreover, the local party boss has lost some of his power and prestige to key state and federal officials. They in turn are subjected to pressures from interest groups that do not demand traditional kinds of patronage. For example, organized labor often seeks certain legislative commitments rather than job patronage from the party. Labor is more interested in the functioning of government than in gaining administrative control. To be sure, means and ends are inextricably interrelated, and labor finds itself neck-deep in politics. Yet, organized labor is primarily interested in legislation rather than party organization.

Balancing political commitments is becoming increasingly difficult for party leaders because their power and independence are becoming increasingly circumscribed. State and federal laws limit the funds that may be spent in political campaigns, pressure groups (which contribute votes and funds) increasingly demand and get a voice in party decisions, and governmental agencies are providing many of the welfare services previously performed by the party. Although local party operations are being restricted, parties will remain an important force in local and national affairs.

New Perspectives for Pressure Groups

The changes in local government and party organization have occurred as a response to many forces. Among the most important of these is an increasing "politization of functional groupings." This simply means that many occupational and industrial interests are becoming increasingly aware that they cannot reach their objectives without getting into politics. Before the New Deal, many interest groups operated without serious political challenge. Today, organized labor, professional associations, and many noneconomic organizations are heavily committed to political activity. They are not only demanding a voice in governmental and party affairs, but they are pressing for representation on all boards, committees, and agencies which affect their own welfare and that of the community. Dissatisfied with the customary political control system, they are urging changes which may alter the traditional power structure of the local community. What alternative structuring of power will be most likely?

Emergence of Alternative Power Models

Tendencies are apparent in urban life which point to the Democratic party outside the South moving away from a coalition of business and subsidiary groups to a party dominated by a broader coalition. If this pattern spreads, a party dominated by business will be opposing a coalition party (Model B). Although both parties will continue to represent coalitions, the internal composition of the coalitions will differ somewhat.

Several conditions seem to point to the Democratic party becoming an amalgam of nonbig-business interests, while big and small business outside the South are becoming more highly identified with the Republican party. The Democratic party seems to be losing support that it once had from leading business groups. While still attractive to many small businessmen who fear being swallowed by the giant firms, the strength of the Democratic party comes increasingly from lower-status groups, which are bent on seizing local political initiative.

There is no need to mass evidence for this point. Over the years, the Democratic party has appealed increasingly to the newer immigrants and their children. Ethnic groups, dominately Catholic and of manual-work backgrounds, have become more identified with the party. Many white-collar workers, blocked in upward occupational mobility, have also been attracted periodically to the party. Some professional groups, especially intellectuals who want parties to respond quickly to social and cultural changes in the world, have also sought refuge in the party. Many voters who have tried in vain to launch third parties also have cast their lot with the Democrats. The most important political asset of the party, of course, has been the labor unions. Although officially nonpartisan, the unions have supported Democratic candidates and provided financial support so consistently they have become identified with the party.

So clearly fixed is the association of organized labor and the Democratic party in the public mind that many people have assumed that the party is or will become a labor party. This is not now the case nor is it likely to be in the foreseeable future for several reasons. First, not enough workers are organized in labor unions to provide a solid core for a labor group party. In most cities, less than half of the labor force is organized. Secondly, the labor officials have not been able thus far to "deliver" the vote of organized labor to any party because of the political apathy and disunity among workers. Thirdly, overidentification of organized labor with the party alienates other groups which are needed to win elections. Lower white-collar groups, professionals, and small businessmen would feel estranged from the party if it were "captured" by organized labor. Fourth, labor officials have indicated they do not desire a labor party. Part of their strength, they claim, derives from their prerogative to withhold support whenever

advantageous. Lastly, party chiefs have shown no inclination to hand over party reins to unions without a fight.

THE CIO AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Fay Calkins has examined how the Democratic party can become a coalition party with organized labor playing an important role.⁴⁶ A study of PAC provides insight into the tactics which any group can use to become effective in a coalition party. If the party is victorious in a general election, then members of the coalition may be expected to have power in government. Several tactics were available to PAC, depending on the political situation in the local community. In some communities, it used the wrong tactics, while in other communities it was more successful.

In Bronzeville, Chicago's Negro district, the PAC did not enter the Democratic party. Instead, it built an independent machine and fought the machine in a primary election. The failure of the PAC described above emphasizes that the control of a party is not for the asking. If successful, PAC would have been a power for the party to reckon with. Its failure, however, excluded labor from participating in important decisions in the business-dominated party.

Steubenville, Ohio, is a small steel-producing city in Jefferson County where Republican and Democratic party strength was equally balanced. The Democratic party needed the PAC block of votes in 1952 to win a close election. PAC was given a voice in internal party affairs because it had the balance of power. Specifically, it had influence in selecting candidates and distributing patronage. It also wanted a voice in determining who should head local relief, housing, and civil defense programs. Moreover, it wanted sympathetic local justice in case of future injunction disputes. It named sympathetic candidates for these jobs and obtained additional considerations from the party chairman and Congressman.⁴⁷ This balance of power tactic is effective only so long as there is a fairly equal balance between both major parties.

Rockford, Illinois, represents a case in which PAC entered the county Democratic party directly. In a staunch Republican area where the Democratic party was weak, PAC decided to take over and vitalize the party. In this process, it had to join forces with the All-American Club, an Italian group which was primarily concerned with patronage. The coalition was sufficiently strong to win control in the county convention. Subsequently, the coalition raised funds, released campaign publicity, contacted local interests groups, and got out the vote on election day. However, its candidate was severely beaten by the Republican party.

The advantage of this strategy was that PAC was able to make some party reforms. Under the cover of a party, it was less vulnerable to newspaper

⁴⁶ Calkins, *op. cit.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-44, *passim*.

attack as a special-interest group. In addition, it had some influence with state and national Democratic party committees. Some disadvantages of the tactic are obvious. The PAC had to commit heavy resources to the party. To retain any of the advantages it won, PAC had to shoulder year-round party responsibilities. It had to compromise with groups which were not interested in labor's legislative program. Besides losing discipline over members who had won party offices, PAC lost some support because it had openly embraced a partisan position. Finally, the party was not strong enough to win the election against the Republicans.⁴⁸

What happens when a Democratic party with a labor coalition wins control of a city government? In Steelport, the PAC issued endorsements of candidates in the Democratic party. This enabled the party to win all the major administrative and legislative offices. Yet McKee reports that labor did not drive ahead to institute a labor program which departed radically from that offered by the Republicans. Labor became a new actor on an old stage and sought to play a constructive role in community affairs. However, it did not seriously challenge business' decisive power in community affairs.

The community fair employment practices (FEP) bill was a case in point. PAC officials wanted the bill passed for various reasons. Yet the majority of the workers were opposed to increasing job opportunities for Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the mill. Business actively opposed the bill by suggesting many amendments which weakened the enforcement powers of the administrative agency. A stalemate ensued which was broken by the Puerto Rican people themselves. A Puerto Rican began organizing the vote of his people behind the Democratic mayor. The Republicans, fearing a Democratic victory, felt they had much to gain by building a block of voters in the new Puerto Rican community. When the Democratic motion for FEP was made in the city council, all Republican members voted in favor of it.⁴⁹

If new political directions do not result from a party coalition, what advantages does labor derive from such a coalition? One advantage is representation on most of the important governmental boards and many quasi-public agencies. Thus, labor begins to participate gradually in areas formerly denied them. This democratization of participation seems to be a necessary step toward obtaining social power in the community. In the long run, this may have the effect of flattening the status system of the community.⁵⁰

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⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-101, *passim*.

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FIELD PROJECTS

1. Interview a public relations official of a large plant. Ask him to list all of the contacts with local governmental agencies, such as street, water, and planning and zoning commissions; health department; assessor's office; building inspector; fire, police, and other departments. What problems, if any, arise in relations with these agencies?
2. Interview the Republican and Democratic party chairmen. Determine their occupational and industrial affiliations. What do they see as the main local political issues? How do they view the relations between business and government and between labor unions and government? Inquire about the occupation and business of those who have been chairmen of the finance committees over the past few years.
3. Interview the political reporter of a local newspaper. Ask him about the climate of relations existing between government and local businesses and unions. What have been the most important political issues in the community? Are business and labor united internally in their political goals?
4. Visit City Hall and obtain from the city clerk the names of the elected and defeated candidates for elective offices for the past decade. Look up their names in the city directory and identify their occupational and industrial affiliation. What groups seek offices most frequently? Which are most successful in getting elected?
5. From the city clerk, obtain the names of all the mayor's appointments to city committees over the past ten years. Is there a concentration from any particular occupation, industry, or union in any of the committees? Is there any possibility of a conflict of interest between the job and the duties of political office?

6. Visit the union officers who are most active in COPE. What are their specific objectives in the community? How effective have they been since the establishment of COPE in getting people elected who are favorable to labor?
7. Interview the officers of the Young Democrats and Young Republicans. Inquire what programs they are pursuing in the community. Do these differ from those of the regular party? If so, why?
8. With the accompanying score card for citizen political activity, interview two representative panels of white-collar and manual workers and compare their mean scores.

SCORE CARD FOR CITIZEN POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Designed by The League of Women Voters

(Score one point for each "yes") *

Voting: Did you vote

.....Once in the last four years?

.....Two to five times?

.....Six or more times?

Public Issues: Do you

.....Inform yourself from more than one source on public issues?

.....Discuss public issues frequently with more than one person?

Individual Action on Public Issues: Did you

.....Write or talk to your Congressman or any other public official—
local, state, or national—to express your views once in the past year?

.....Two or more times?

Group Action on Public Issues: Do you

.....Belong to one or more organization that takes a stand on public
issues?

Primary Election Activity: Did you

.....Discuss the qualifications needed for the offices on the ballot?

.....Work for the nomination of a candidate before the primary elec-
tion once in the last four years?

General or Municipal Election Activity: Did you

.....Work for the election of a candidate once in the last four years?

Financial Support: Did you

.....Contribute money to a party or candidate once in the last four
years?

.....Total Score

* 10-12 points—An outstanding citizen!

6-9 points—An average citizen.

5-0 points—A citizen?

9. Advanced students and professional researchers are directed to Appendix C (pages 695-696) for an outline useful for an analysis of an interinstitutional complex involving business, labor, and a social institution.

Chapter 6

MASS COMMUNICATION: THE STRUGGLE FOR A COMMUNITY PLATFORM

HISTORY OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND MASS COMMUNICATION

The Process of Public Opinion Formation

Three Major Trends in Public Opinion Formation

The Increase of Functional Groups and the Rise of New Power Groups

The Increase of Mass Communication Media

The Application of Social and Psychological Principles to the Shaping of Public Opinion

STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Components of the Interinstitutional Complex

Organizational Values of Business, Labor, and Mass Communication

Major Value Orientations of Business

Major Value Orientations of Labor

Major Value Orientations of Mass Communication Agencies

Summary

Power Models of Business, Labor, and Mass Communication

Model A. Business-Dominated

Model B. Partisan

Model C. Business-Biased

Model D. Neutralized

Model E. Professional

The Business-Biased Model of Maximum Likelihood

Predicted Behavior

Patterns of Control

Ownership of Mass Media

Fathers' Occupational Background of Publishers, Correspondents, and Public Relations Executives

Political and Social Orientations of Publishers
Ideological Dominance of Business

CUSTOMARY AND CONFLICT RELATIONS

Customary Relations of Business, Labor, and Mass Communication

Influence Network of the Interinstitutional Complex

Dynamics of Issue Resolution

Issue: The Public Referendum of Increased City Bus Fare for Lansing,
Michigan

Origin of the issue

Labor takes a stand

Issue vector analysis

Tactics Employed to Influence the Press

CHANGES IN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

New Trends

The Trend Toward the Neutralized Model

Variations in Contemporary Communities

The Union Press as Countervailing Force

HISTORY OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BUSINESS,
LABOR, AND MASS COMMUNICATION

Mass communication has contributed significantly to community development. It is destined to contribute even more significantly in the future. The reason for this statement is simple. We live in an interdependent world in which mass communication plays a central role. Newspapers, books, magazines, motion pictures, radio, and television are the media of communication which assist in the formation of public opinion. If ideas are weapons in the conflicts of political beliefs, they are also the basis for coöperative action among community groups. Ideas of local origin are transmitted quickly to every segment of the community. In addition, social forces released by national and international sources rush into the local community over the mass media.

Governments wage their diplomatic and ideological campaigns with millions of words beamed by powerful radio transmitters and leaflet drops. Industry constructs corporate and cartel arrangements bridging many countries to communicate with its foreign markets. Labor maintains association with many international labor organizations seeking to communicate methods of raising labor standards. Both industry and labor in the United States have pledged a common allegiance to democracy and a common opposition to communism. These international concerns of industry and labor are matched

by an even greater effort to maintain and improve their individual goals in the nation and the local community.

The Process of Public Opinion Formation

Eventually all ideas must be debated in a local community where groups interact and people talk to people. The forming of public opinion in a middle-sized or large city is a process which evolves as various functional groups (such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Central Labor Council, the Municipal League, the political parties, the Council of Churches, and the PTA) press their interests. These groups differ in view of their strategic position in society and in terms of opportunity to act. Such groups have organizational structures with resources and leadership. Leaders may speak on behalf of the group and take the initiative in acting on behalf of the group. Much of the interaction through which public opinion is formed is through the clash of these group views and actions. Blumer has defined public opinion "as the pattern of the diverse views and positions on the issue *that come to the individuals who have to act in response to the public opinion.*"¹ He explains that the responsible leader of an organization has to assess public opinion as it comes to his attention in terms of the functional organization of society to which he is responsive. "He has to view that society in terms of groups of divergent influence; in terms of organizations with different degrees of power; in terms of individuals with followings; in terms of different people—all, in other words, in terms of what and who counts in his part of the social world."²

Three Major Trends in Public Opinion Formation

This process of formation of public opinion has been characterized during the last century by three major trends:

1. The increase of functional groups and the rise of new power groups, such as labor, government, trade associations, professional organizations, veterans' organizations, and farm associations;
2. The increase of mass communication media;
3. The application of social and psychological principles to the shaping of public opinion.

THE INCREASE OF FUNCTIONAL GROUPS AND THE RISE OF NEW POWER GROUPS

The rise of labor organization and the increased role of government in industrial life have been two very significant changes in the power structure of

¹ Herbert Blumer, "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling," *American Sociological Review*, October, 1948, p. 545.

² *Ibid.*, p. 547.

American society. These changes have affected industrial relations at both the national and local level. Industry has been modifying its approach to participation in community activities during the last century. It is possible, as was pointed out in Chapter 1, to characterize the shift in approach into three broad stages. Ralph Spence calls these (1) the isolation stage with its company police, (2) the philanthropic stage with its public relations men, and (3) the coöperative stage with its community relations studies.³ The first stage might be observed when large-scale commerce and industry became dominant after the Civil War and big business was committed to the doctrine that the less the public knew of its operations, the more efficient and profitable—even the more socially useful—the operations would be. This secrecy policy may be traced back historically to the exclusiveness of the medieval guild.⁴ In America it permeated business thinking so thoroughly during the later nineteenth century that the greater the potential public interest in an industry, the more attention it was likely to give to keeping its operations secret. Industry was riding a wave of expansion in a virgin continent full of rich raw materials. It wanted no interference from government, the incipient labor organizations, or any community leaders who refused to recognize the prevailing order. Henry Seidel Canby, thinking back to the Delaware town of his boyhood, says, "Business was much more than an occupation—it was a philosophy, a morality, and an atmosphere breathed in as naturally as a Londoner takes in his November fog."⁵

Except for minority dissident groups, the public objected to the secrecy policy only sporadically. Then, as the excesses of the trusts and as the consequence of cyclical depressions began to bring increased government control over banking and commerce, industry began to face the central role that it was playing in the lives of citizens. On the plant level, it embarked on a policy of paternalism resulting in management-sponsored clubs and a variety of recreational and social activities. In the community, management began to contribute generously, sometimes lavishly, to community drives. It instructed its officials to participate in organizations. A young reporter, Ivy Lee, set out in 1903 to convince businessmen that "their policy of secrecy was not wise and that they needed to supply to the press and to the public of the United States prompt and accurate information concerning subjects which it is of value and interest to the public to know about."⁶

Lee began to get clients. In 1906 the Anthracite Coal Operators appointed him their public relations advisor, as did the Pennsylvania Railroad and

³ Ralph B. Spence, "Some Needed Research on Industry Within the Community," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December, 1953, p. 147.

⁴ N. S. B. Gras, "Shifts in Public Relations," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, October, 1945, pp. 107-109, 111-118.

⁵ Henry Seidel Canby, *The Age of Confidence*, Farrar and Rinehart, 1934, pp. 232-233.

⁶ Quoted in Sherman Morse, "An Awakening in Wall Street," *American Magazine*, September, 1906, p. 459.

Standard Oil. Public relations was born and its growth was rapid. Bethlehem Steel Company, that long-time bastion of "the public be damned," was announcing in full-page ads: "We have allowed irresponsible assertions to be made for so long without denial that many people now believe them to be proved facts. We shall make the mistake of silence no longer. Henceforth, we shall pursue a policy of publicity."⁷

Industry is sensing that charity and public relations are not enough in today's world. *Fortune* magazine pointed this out in a review of what it calls "The Great Free Enterprise Campaign." About 1950, business groups were especially worried by the threat of communism and the loss of the presidential election in 1948. A tremendous effort was organized to "sell" free enterprise. The Advertising Council contracted for 8000 outdoor posters on the free enterprise theme, 136,000 car cards, 3,000,000 radio listener "impressions"—and inspired countless messages from the company president in industry's 6000 or more house organs. Within industry itself, many of the country's largest firms started extensive programs to indoctrinate employees. Films, conferences, and wide distribution of free enterprise comic books were brought together in one of the most intensive "sales" jobs in industry. In 1951, it accounted for at least \$100,000,000 of industry's annual advertising, public relations, and employee relations expenditures.⁸ In appraising this effort, the editors of *Fortune* waste no words when they say "it is not worth a damn." They point out that mass advertising is not convincing; that the unions have been provoked into effective countermeasures that make workers suspicious of the sources and the motive of the free enterprise campaign. They say that the only way the worker will be strongly influenced is by what management *does* in the plant and in the community.⁹

Both industry and labor are beginning to move beyond the philanthropic stage in the search for ways which recognize their joint responsibilities toward making the community a better place in which to live and work. Here the task is to find ways of making industry and labor resources of finance and leadership available without in any way damaging the self-esteem of all other parts of the community. In the fully matured coöperative stage, it may be that industry and labor will seek to join all segments of the community in a joint endeavor for community development. Such an effort would raise such questions as: What kind of community do we want? What kind of community do we have now? What resources are available? How do we utilize these resources for achieving desired ends?¹⁰

Any appraisal of the role that various firms are now taking would reveal that some are in each of these three stages: isolation, philanthropic, and

⁷ Quoted in Ivy Lee, "Enemies of Publicity," *Electric Railway Journal*, March 31, 1917, p. 599.

⁸ William H. Whyte, Jr. *et al.*, *Is Anybody Listening?* Simon and Schuster, 1952, p. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-20.

¹⁰ Ralph B. Spence, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

coöperative. The trend might be depicted by saying that the isolation stage is recessive, the philanthropic stage is dominant, and the coöperative stage is emergent. Mass communication is an agent that can hasten or retard this movement by the philosophy of its owners and the skill of its professional workers. It may interpret and mediate the various interests of the functional groups. It may withdraw from active leadership, assume a neutral stance, or take an aggressive role. Whatever role it elects to take, mass communication must face the fact that increasingly all of the functional groups will demand that the mass agencies serve them as they seek to gain a community platform. In this chapter we are concerned with the way in which industry and labor have related themselves to mass communication.

THE INCREASE OF MASS COMMUNICATION MEDIA

Fifty years ago the mass communication media consisted of newspapers, books, magazines, and pamphlets. Today these media remain, but motion pictures, radio, and television have been added. Together, this is a massive apparatus capable of filling any home or office in the United States with overwhelming masses of words. A contemporary concept like “communications saturation” reflects the frenetic volume of mass communication. A study of a national sample of adult Americans showed that their habits were as follows:

Read one or more newspapers a day	82%
Listen to radio or television one or more hours a day	79
Read one or more magazines regularly	69
Attend one or more movies a month	63
Read one or more books a year	50
Hear one or more speeches a year	21

SOURCE: Angus Campbell and Charles A. Metzner, “Books, Libraries, and Other Media of Communication,” in Daniel Katz *et al.* (eds.), *Public Opinion and Propaganda*, Dryden, 1954, p. 238.

The mass media serve two major memberships of the adult in modern mass society. He is a member of publics and a member of audiences. These memberships differ in this respect: as a member of publics, the person participates in the discussion process involving an issue in which he is interested. Members of a public talk the matter over, argue it out in such a way that everyone’s attitude is influenced by everyone else’s. A member may write a letter to the editor, subscribe to magazines and newspapers which give information to his public, or attend a forum which features a speaker discussing an issue of interest to him.

As a member of an audience, he is associated with members who act in similar ways because of a common source of stimulation, but do not have much contact with one another. The movie audience is an ideal illustration. People enter the darkened theater at different times and have practically no

interaction with one another. They concentrate their attention on the screen, the common source of stimulation, and any influence on their behavior comes from the screen rather than one another. The members of the audience do not have to be physically assembled. A radio or television audience may be scattered widely, perhaps over an entire nation.

There has been a trend toward increasing frequency of occurrence of the audience because of the large number of mass media and because of social changes that have encouraged the growth of audiences. For example, the small organized group has declined with the rise of the large city characterized by its heterogeneous and stratified group life; the mass society based on the formation of audiences is ascendant.¹¹

Whenever any group seeks to influence public opinion, it may try to exert a contact with people through their identification with publics or through their participation in audience behavior. The struggle for a community platform is waged, therefore, among all the various media of mass communication.

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES TO THE SHAPING OF PUBLIC OPINION

Psychology and sociology have been making important discoveries about human motivation and group influences. The accumulated knowledge of human wants and weaknesses has made it possible for persons in control of communication to manipulate people toward goals that the controllers desire. Some of the basic tools to discover the conscious and unconscious drives are the (1) survey, (2) attitude scales, (3) depth interview and observation, (4) panels, (5) projective techniques, and (6) clinical personality study. These methods, coupled with modern sampling techniques, increasingly reveal what groups of people think and why.¹² Huge compendia now exist describing public opinion on various matters as sampled from many nations of the world. The search for the formative influences of opinion and behavior has revealed the major determinants of many social actions. In addition, new mind-control techniques have been discovered and perfected. These include brainwashing; new drugs to tranquilize, excite or create hallucinations; subliminal and subauditory communication; and hypnopaedia (the planting of suggestions during light sleep). Indeed, numerous principles of propaganda and sales promotion may be applied to the manipulating of mass groups. Responsiveness to suggestion is the human quality which makes each individual in varying degrees vulnerable to the manipulations of others.¹³ Motivation research has been emphasized increasingly in commer-

¹¹ Arnold Rose, *Theory and Method in the Social Sciences*, University of Minnesota Press, 1954, chap. 2, pp. 25-49.

¹² Hadley Cantril, *The "Why" of Man's Experience*, Macmillan, 1950.

¹³ Aldous Huxley, "Tyranny Over the Mind," *Newsday*, May 31, 1958, pp. 3M-24M.

cial research because the advertiser employs mass media to sell products. It is known that attitudes can be shaped and a market demand stimulated for a particular product. Even habits can be changed. One example may suffice: after six months' intensive advertising campaign on TV stations in Syracuse, New York, in 1951-1952, tea consumption in TV homes increased 19 percent, whereas in non-TV homes, there was a nominal decrease in tea consumption. Before the advertising, 20 percent of the persons in TV homes said they liked tea; after it, 38 percent did.¹⁴

No longer are intuition and hunch regarded as reliable. The prediction of consumer behavior is estimated increasingly by polls and surveys. There is more rigorous pretesting of copy, closer collaboration between the agency and the social psychologists' laboratories, increased study of regularities through content analysis and probability sampling. The advertising man is becoming a part of a professional group which is being called (with some disdain) the "social engineers." The public relations men are usually put into this group. In 1923, Edward L. Bernays set the course for public relations in his pioneer work entitled *Crystallizing Public Opinion*. Bernays declared the primary function of the public relations man to be the changing of both company policy and public attitudes so as to bring about a rapport between the two. "He helps to mold the action of his client as well as to mold public opinion."¹⁵ Modern practitioners have assessed the new techniques made available to them,¹⁶ and public relations counselor G. Edward Pendray says "To public relations men may go the most important social-engineering role of them all: *The gradual reorganization of human society, piece by piece and structure by structure.*"¹⁷

In labor, the use of public relations personnel is growing. New techniques provide the industrial or labor administrator with more reliable and more effective means of accomplishing certain goals. There is nothing about the techniques which predetermines that the goals shall be socially beneficial or injurious. What is new is an increased power to manipulate others by molding ideas. This, like the discovery of atomic energy, may be welcomed or dreaded, but it cannot be ignored. High-pressure talk is one of the new social forces which have been released. Word patterns are contrived to make people do things they had not planned to do, buy things they have no use for, believe things they never thought possible, see things which are not there, fear things which do not exist, hope for things which are unattainable.

¹⁴ N. B. Henry (ed.), *Mass Media and Education*, Fifty-third Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education, Part II, University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 209.

¹⁵ Edward L. Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, Boni and Liveright, 1923, pp. 56-57.

¹⁶ Ivy Lee conceived the legal profession as an analogy to the emerging public relations activity. In 1929, he suggested that public relations work amounts to a new profession and that public relations advisors have to do with public relationships as lawyers do with legal relationships.

¹⁷ Whyte *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Components of the Interinstitutional Complex

Customary relations arise around the formal programs of business, labor, and mass communication and the values which each seeks to inculcate. The accompanying outline is an inventory of the possible array of mass communication components that may be assembled within any given community. The larger the community, the greater is the likelihood that the fullest elaboration may be found.

BUSINESS	LABOR	MASS COMMUNICATIONS
Principal spokesman	Principal spokesman	Editors, publishers,
Public relations media	Public relations media	columnists, commen-
Plant newspaper	Labor newspaper	tators
Plant magazine	Labor magazine	Daily newspapers
Plant pamphlets	Labor pamphlets	Industry page
Industry-owned	Labor-owned radio	Financial page
radio	Labor-owned tele-	Labor page
Industry-owned	vision	Radio and television
television		Magazines and
		pamphlets

FIGURE 6.1. Components in the Interorganizational Complex of Business, Labor, and Mass Communications.

Note how business and labor have built up parallel structures. In Detroit, the principal industry spokesmen include John F. Gordon, Henry Ford, II, and Walter P. Chrysler, the presidents of the three largest automobile manufacturing companies. Each of the companies have large public relations divisions which are responsible for the issuance of plant newspapers, magazines, and many feature publications. General Motors Corporation alone spends a half-million dollars a year on its plant reading-rack program.¹⁸

The unions in Detroit have such spokesmen as Walter Reuther, Victor Reuther, and August Schole, who speak and write for the United Auto Workers and the CIO. The United Auto Workers Union publishes *Solidarity* and the *United Auto Worker*. These generally include articles about the union, its locals, and its members, as well as reports concerning issues which may affect all people. The *Michigan CIO News* reaches workers all over the state, as does the national labor weekly *AFL-CIO News*. *Eye-Opener*, UAW-CIO's informative early morning radio program which is broadcast from Detroit is now heard in 39 cities throughout the United States and

¹⁸ "The Secret Struggle to Change Your Ideas," *Ammunition*, September, 1955, p. 7.

Canada. It includes news about the union, as well as general news, comments on important issues, interviews with public figures, and music. Other international unions also turn out newspapers and magazines, while printed and mimeographed newspapers are published by many local unions. In UAW-CIO alone, about 400 local unions have shop papers. Additionally, *Labor's Daily*, published by the International Typographical Union-AFL, covers a wide variety of news. This paper, the nation's only daily labor newspaper, reaches a large number of Detroit readers. WDET is an FM station operated in Detroit by the United Auto Workers. It is alleged by unions that these mass media are maintained in part because they are forced to combat the effects of the "one-party press" under which the people get only the business-interest side of the issues.¹⁹

Unions have also been building up public relations departments with various kinds of experts. Sometimes the expert is asked to deal with internal relations of the union; sometimes with the outside public. Wilensky quotes one interview with a trade union leader: "Such sciences as anthropology, sociology, and psychology, trade union leaders have not been taking advantage of the way they could. When I have a problem like increasing dues—or any problem in the day-to-day administration of the union—if I had a better understanding of what makes people tick, what builds good and bad attitudes, we'd have a better union. I'd like to have more of these scientists in to train my staff—techniques—these are adjuncts to any intelligent operation."²⁰

Labor staff experts may be grouped into three social types: the Facts and Figures Man, the Contact Man, and the Internal Communications Specialist.²¹ The contact man is an expert who maintains a skill in mediating the complex relationships between the union and the outside world. Wilensky comes to the conclusion that the contact man may have the greatest influence because he has the human relations skills necessary to make maximum use of the informal channels of influence; he enters a greater number of areas of decision; and finally he has the relevant and nontransferable connections outside the organization, and his skills are irreplaceable, which gives him more security and independence in the expert-boss relationship.²²

The public or community newspapers are probably the most significant of mass communication media for industry-community relations. Here business, labor, and other institutional segments and interest groups seek information about the community and press their demands for representation and influence in the content and treatment of news. The newspapers usually respond with provision for an industry page, a financial page, and a labor page. No

¹⁹ M. H. Hedges in J. B. S. Hardman and Maurice F. Neufeld (eds.), *The House of Labor*, Prentice-Hall, 1951, p. 176.

²⁰ Harold L. Wilensky, *Intellectuals in Labor Unions: Organizational Pressures on Professional Roles*, Free Press, 1956, p. 103.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-108.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 204 ff., 207, 227.

large-interest group is forgotten, as witness the society page, the sports page, the women's page, and the comics. The interests of associations and of racial and ethnic groups must be included. In Detroit, the principal newspapers are *The Detroit Free Press*, *The Times*, and *The News*. Each of these papers devotes two substantial sections to automotive news, to financial reports, and to labor.

Organizational Values of Business, Labor, and Mass Communication

MAJOR VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF BUSINESS

Business wants to achieve certain objectives through mass communication media. Its purposes are to (1) sell products, (2) achieve better public relations in the communities in which individual businesses operate, (3) achieve better labor relations and greater labor productivity, (4) quicken the interest of stockholders in the companies they own and in the enterprise system generally, (5) develop more favorable attitudes toward the individual companies and the enterprise system among consumers, government officials, and the general public, and (6) persuade foreign peoples of the advantages of capitalism. Many of these programs are intended to prevent governmental controls, to oppose the spread of socialism, to combat unfavorable publicity, and to counter political and other attacks on business.

MAJOR VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF LABOR

Labor wants to (1) achieve approval of its members for activities undertaken by its officers and official representatives, (2) achieve public approval and respect for unionization, (3) counteract the alleged bias of the public press, and (4) increase labor's political power and secure favorable legislation. Many of its programs are intended to prevent governmental limitation of labor organization, to combat unfavorable publicity, and to counter political and other attacks on labor. Let us look at Lansing, Michigan. The writers found that the workers feel that they have been looked down upon as the "lower element." Labor leaders have sought to prove that the support of labor has been indispensable to such community projects as the hospital expansion drive (1954), the Lansing Community Chest, and youth activities. The *Lansing Labor News* is mailed to the homes of 21,000 union members from 26 plants. It carries messages directly connected with the workers' job interests. The specific message depends on what is of current concern—contract negotiations, strike vote, speed-up in the plant, campaign to improve unemployment compensation, Taft-Hartley repeal. It also carries messages to get the workers more interested in civic affairs—and to make them more aware of their importance in society. A content analysis for copies issued in 1954 shows that column inches, excluding advertising, were devoted in order of

frequency as follows: union affairs, personals, and civic affairs. Labor feels that it is very important to get this information to its members because it charges that the daily press falls far short of democratic functioning. It charges the daily press with a bias toward industry and that the polls of public opinion reveal that the people are thinking in a direction quite opposite to that indicated by the daily papers. The 1755 daily newspapers are likened to so many little hammers beating on the minds of the citizenry. As competing newspapers diminish in the cities, the opportunity for the free expression of all views is seen to be restricted increasingly. Labor wants its own press to act as a counter to what it believes is the controlled opinion of the daily press and its vested interests.²³

MAJOR VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF MASS-
COMMUNICATION AGENCIES

The daily press, radio, and TV want (1) financial support, (2) access to news and news sources, and (3) community acceptance as a positive force in the community.

Our press and broadcasting system is dominantly commercial. It must have advertising revenue to survive. The volume of advertising in 1957 amounted to over ten billion dollars and was distributed according to the American Newspaper Publishers' Association as follows:

Newspapers	\$3,325,000,000
Radio	648,000,000
Magazines	830,000,000
Direct Mail	1,500,000,000
Television	1,315,000,000
Outdoor	204,000,000
Miscellaneous	2,610,000,000

Television has become a very expensive medium to maintain. A Class "A" hour (6 to 11 P.M., Monday through Friday) over the basic line-up of NBC-affiliated stations in 1956 cost \$68,275 for the right to use the broadcasting equipment.²⁴ It is obvious that the overhead and operating costs of commercial mass communication can only be satisfied with a large advertising revenue.

The press and radio want news. The press, particularly, must have access to people, to organizations, and to wire services. The local news is greatly desired, since this news has high-interest value for community readers.

The press wants community acceptance. The fact that many communities have only one or perhaps two newspapers means that there is always

²³ Hardman and Neufeld (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 177. Cf. Arthur Kornhauser, Harold R. Sheppard, and Albert J. Meyer, *When Labor Votes*, University Books, 1956, pp. 91-106.

²⁴ Girard Chester and Gaiet R. Garrison, *Television and Radio* (2nd ed.), Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956, p. 96.

the need to take into account the interests of all groups. Seattle, Washington, has two daily newspapers. Each newspaper has about 600,000 daily circulation, which comes from every segment of the community. It is very important that no large segment be alienated, since the profit margin depends on maintaining a large circulation.

The press wants to be a positive force for industrial and general community development. Since the press is a big service business, its own business growth depends on the growth of the community. *The Seattle Times* has been engaged in a campaign to urge industrial development. On July 8, 1957, its editorial page spoke out with these statements:

ALL-OUT INDUSTRIAL PLANNING EFFORT IS URGENT NEED HERE

Many signs of the times appear to indicate a gradual reduction of expenditures by the federal government in the immediate Seattle area and in other sections of the state. These developments in combination make it the more urgent that Seattle take stock of its industrial future and accelerate all possible efforts to attract new concentration of private industrial enterprise to this city and its environs. This effort may well be—it almost certainly is—the biggest job Seattle has ever faced in its entire history. It is one community job that cannot fail. This is a job that must succeed—or else.

On July 11, 1957, the *Times* published another editorial calling again for aggressive action:

NO ROOM FOR WISHFUL DREAMERS IF SEATTLE IS TO FORGE AHEAD

Business leaders will convene here July 18 to discuss plans for the formation of a community endeavor to attract new, diversified industry to Seattle and its environs. Civic and municipal groups sponsoring the meeting include the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, with the facilities of its Industrial Division; a standing industrial committee appointed by Mayor Clinton; the Seattle-King County Industrial Development Committee and the Puget Sound Industrial Development Council.

The need now is for these groups and others interested in the same general goals to join forces . . . The winners in this competition for industrial pay rolls will not be the communities that are content to wish and dream. The winners will be the communities that conduct aggressive campaigns for the business and industry required to keep their local economies forging ahead.

The Seattle area must be one of the winners.

SUMMARY

The values of business, labor, and mass communication may be observed to have a common pattern. Maintenance of each requires support from its own members and from the public at large. Industry must sell goods or services, labor must win members, and mass communication must satisfy the claims of myriads of persons and groups. Each of the three parties wants community acceptance and greater representation on policy-making boards and influence

in civic affairs. The daily press is the medium through which the largest number of persons in the local community may be reached continuously with fact and opinion. The radio and TV are extremely useful, if not vital, in political matters. Industry and labor want access to the mass-communication media so that their information and their opinions will be aired. They will make demands for this requirement and, if denied, will intensify efforts to increase the effectiveness of their own house organs, and they may turn to the operation of their own mass-communication agencies.

Power Models of Business, Labor, and Mass Communication

We have examined the institutional complex which is composed of those segments of business, labor, and mass communication that interact in various community settings. Now, we shall describe the power relations. Five typical models may be constructed to represent the various alternatives. Figure 6.2 shows the five power models: Business-dominated, Partisan, Business-biased, Neutralized, and Professional.

MODEL A. BUSINESS-DOMINATED

Model A is a power complex in which the mass-communication agencies are business institutions which act as community organs interpreting news and opinion favorable to business. The appearance of Model A in a community would most likely appear when mass-communication agencies are purchased by business interests and operated for the purpose of maximizing profit. The agencies then seek maximum advertising support by trying to please the advertiser through favors and treatment of news. This model is most likely to appear in a company town or in a small town dominated by a small number of leading industries.

MODEL B. PARTISAN

Model B is a complex in which business and labor both operate their own agencies of mass communication. Labor purchases its own agencies so that it may compete with those owned by industry. This model is uncommon because it requires a highly unionized community with unions of substantial treasury. The cost of a modern daily newspaper is so great that the efforts of most labor organizations to help establish one have met with failure. The *Seattle Union Record*, the *Milwaukee Leader*, the *Minneapolis Star*, the *New York Call* are all skeletons on the sands of time. However, many local labor papers maintain high standards and produce editions that are influential and read by a wide public outside of labor. Among these are *The Colorado Labor Advocate*, *The Michigan CIO News*, *The Wisconsin CIO News*, *The Cleveland Union Leader*, *The Cleveland Citizen*, and the *Kenosha (Wisconsin) Labor*.

In the field of radio, WCFL, Chicago, is a labor-owned AM station. Other radio stations owned and operated by labor are FM stations in New York,

Chattanooga, Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Detroit. The operating cost of television makes it almost prohibitive for a local labor organization to consider for independent operation.

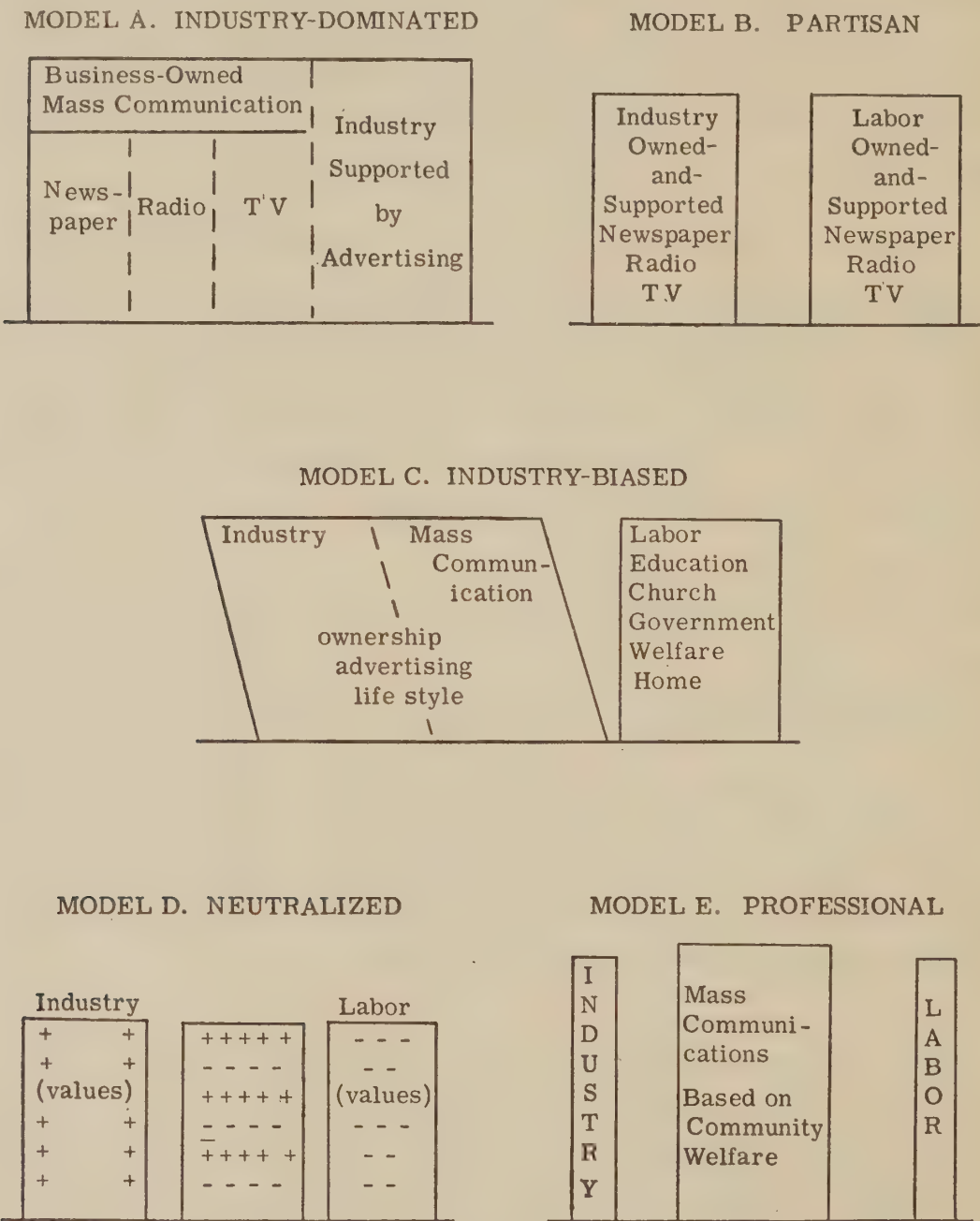


FIGURE 6.2. Five Power Complex Models of Business, Labor, and Mass Communication Relations.

MODEL C. BUSINESS-BIASED

Model C represents a complex in which mass communication agencies operate to make a profit, but try to play the role of a public institution in order to attract and hold a mass circulation of subscribers. Business bias appears because of business ownership and operation, need for advertising as a major source of support, and the identification of the publisher and editor with the business community. It is widely held that this is the model now prevailing in most American communities. The Commission on Freedom of the Press

stated that "the press, as an instrument of mass communication, has greatly decreased the proportion of the people who can express their opinions and ideas through the press."²⁵ They see a danger to the free press brought about in part by the economic structure of the press, in part by the industrial organization of modern society, and in part by the failure of the directors of the press to recognize the needs of a modern nation.

MODEL D. NEUTRALIZED

Model D is another model that may be emerging. It may appear in a community where strong labor threatens reprisal for any unfavorable bias toward industry. Mass-communication agencies in such an environment may become neutralized in all controversial issues for fear of losing large blocks of subscribers. It takes no sides, offers comment on community matters only after a consensus begins to crystallize. The policy is to keep as many people happy as possible. One observer believes that the two Seattle newspapers are moving toward this model. Both papers have built their organizations to a point where decreased circulation could mean serious financial trouble for either one of them.²⁶

MODEL E. PROFESSIONAL

Model E represents a complex in which mass communication is functioning as an independent public institution under a strict code of ethics. In journalism schools in this country, there is concern with the ethics of journalism as a profession. Principle No. 1 might be described as duty to the community; Principle No. 2 has to do with allegiance to truth and accuracy. A structure dedicated to these principles may need an independent source of income or sufficient subscriber income to act without reliance on advertising or any one class of society as a major source of revenue. Perhaps ownership and operation should be in the hands of professionally trained journalists. The great newspapers of the United States aspire to this model. Perhaps those which come closest include the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and *New York Times*.

All five of these power complex models may be found in American communities. All function somewhat differently.

The Business-Biased Model of Maximum Likelihood

The business-biased model is believed to be the model of maximum likelihood.²⁷

²⁵ Commission on Freedom of the Press, *A Free and Responsible Press*, University of Chicago Press, 1947.

²⁶ Dan Mackey, *Patterns of Relationships Between Industry and Mass Communications in Seattle*, unpublished paper, University of Washington, 1955.

²⁷ James A. Wechsler, "The One-Interest Press," *The Progressive*, May, 1957, pp. 9-11. Wechsler declares that the great majority of United States newspapers are owned and ruled by conservative Republicans.

PREDICTED BEHAVIOR

The predicted behavior of such a model includes:

1. The mass communication agencies will affect a neutral stance, but some news will be slanted favorably toward business values by use of amount of space, headlining, editorial position, or timing.
2. Slanting of the news toward business will be done by a careful consideration of labor reaction and other segments of the community.
3. Rising costs, as in the case of television and newspaper (and lowered revenues in the radio and motion picture industry), will be given as reasons to justify the reduction of news, news analysis, and public service programs. Commercially sponsored entertainment will dominate on radio and television at peak listening hours.²⁸
4. There will be a tendency to avoid comment on controversial issues entirely or wait until there is a good opportunity to appraise the business and labor positions and the possible outcome.²⁹
5. Reports unfavorable to business, such as are made on consumer goods by the Federal Trade Commission, and other such reports by government or independent agencies will be minimized or withheld to avoid injuring advertisers.
6. Endorsements of candidates will favor the Republican party.³⁰
7. Labor will constantly threaten to establish its own radio and TV stations and newspapers.
8. Whenever there is coöperation between labor and management, the

²⁸ Eric Sevareid and Martin Agronsky, *The Television News Commentator*, and Edward R. Murrow, *The Responsibilities of Television*, Fund for the Republic, 1959.

²⁹ Cf. interview with Harry S. Ashmore, Fund for the Republic, 1958. Gordon Cole, editor, *The Machinist*, says, "I hope I will live long enough to see our newspapers support a movement for a wage increase. I haven't seen it yet." (*Labor and the Press*, Fund for the Republic, 1959, p. 13.)

³⁰ Most newspapers have favored the Republican party in editorial preference for the presidential and vice-presidential office, as shown in the elections from 1932 to 1952:

	Republican Preference	Democratic Preference
1932	55.5%	38.7%
1936	60.4	34.5
1940	66.3	20.1
1944	60.1	22.0
1948	65.2	19.4
1952	67.3	14.5

However, in a careful study of 35 newspapers covering the 1952 Presidential campaign, Nathan B. Blumberg found that a majority of the newspapers in his study (18) met the standards of fair news presentation, and a large number (11) showed no significant degree of partiality. Six newspapers demonstrated partiality in their news columns. Nathan B. Blumberg, *One-Party Press?* University of Nebraska Press, 1954, p. 44; cf. James W. Markham and Guido H. Stempel, *Pennsylvania Daily Press, Coverage of the 1956 Election Campaign*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1957, p. 31.

media will give especially favorable emphasis and space to both parties as a means of calling attention to its objectivity.

9. The constitutional requirement for freedom of the press will be called to attention to protect the communications industry when its monopoly position in various communities is challenged.

Any differences exhibited will be explained largely because of the strength of labor and the number of competing newspapers and other agents of mass communication. The model itself is anchored to a distinctive pattern of control. A description of this pattern of control follows.

Patterns of Control

OWNERSHIP OF MASS MEDIA

Mass communication has become big business. Its organization and ownership has changed. There has been a marked decline in individual or family ownership. Group ownership has increased since the Scripps brothers started a chain in 1878. On January 1, 1954, there were 95 corporations or individuals owning dailies in two or more United States cities. Circulation of all group dailies in 1953 was 45.3 percent of total daily circulation.³¹

There is a further tendency of newspaper interests to invade the radio and TV field. Table 14 is a Federal Communications Commission analysis of business interests of television licensees, construction permit holders, and applicants.

TABLE 14. Business Interests of Television Licensees, Permit Holders, and Applicants

Type of Business	Number	Percentage
Newspaper publishing	128	31.3
Broadcasting only	66	16.1
Motion picture theaters, etc.	27	6.6
Radio manufacturing	25	6.1
Merchants, dealers, etc.	25	6.1
Miscellaneous manufacturing	18	4.4
Real estate, insurance, etc.	17	4.2
Oil production	17	4.2
Educational institutions	10	2.4
Miscellaneous	76	18.6
Total	409	100.0
Information not available	26	
	435	

SOURCE: Charles A. Siepmann, *Radio, Television and Society*, Oxford University Press, 1950, p. 326.

³¹ R. B. Nixon, "Trends in Daily Newspaper Ownership Since 1945," *Journalism Quarterly*, Winter, 1954, pp. 13-14.

FATHERS' OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF PUBLISHERS,
CORRESPONDENTS, AND PUBLIC RELATIONS EXECUTIVES

The flow and control of public information rests very heavily in the hands of publishers, correspondents, and public relations executives. The father's background is important as a possible indicator of the social and political orientation of the men who come to occupy key positions in mass communications. Table 15 shows the fathers' occupations of some publishers, correspondents, and public relations executives compared to the total U.S. adult males for 1920 (when most of the fathers were in their active work life).

TABLE 15. Occupations of Fathers of Newspaper Publishers, Washington Correspondents, and Public Relations Executives

Father's Occupation	Fathers of Penn. (1954) (N = 43)	Fathers of Publishers Kan. (1938) (N = 141)	Fathers of Washington Correspondents (1936) (N = 123)	Fathers of Public Relations Executives (1944) (N = 131)	U.S. Adult Males (1920)
Professional	58%	38%	43%	33%	4%
Proprietary-Managerial	28	23	24	38	12
Farmers	4	39	9	2	27
Clerical	4	—	9	14	10
Skilled	4	—	3	13	16
Semiskilled	6	—	2	—	15
Unskilled	6	—	6	—	16
Other	—	—	4	—	—
Totals	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: James N. Peters, *A Study of the Social and Economic Backgrounds of Daily Newspaper Publishers*, thesis, Pennsylvania State University Library, 1955; Raymond D. Lawrence, "Kansas Publishers, A Professional Analysis," *Journalism Quarterly*, December, 1938, pp. 337-348; Leo Rosten, *The Washington Correspondents*, Harcourt, Brace, 1937, p. 330; Leila A. Sussman, "The Personnel and Ideology of Public Relations," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Winter, 1948-49, pp. 697-708.

This table shows that all three groups are drawn heavily from professional, proprietary, and managerial backgrounds. If each group is compared with the percentage of United States male adults in 1920, it can be seen how much the father's background of publishers, correspondents, and public relations men varied from the total labor force. The predominance of such proportions from the professional and proprietary groups suggests, but does not define, the political and social orientations of these three groups. Additional information about their actual recruitment and life styles is needed. Such information as is now available indicates that the publishers are strongly committed to the property interests of the community and are predominantly conservative, but that reporters and correspondents are much more liberal

and would give the press a different appearance if permitted to report freely. The public relations executives are recruited from journalism to a very large extent. They are generally paid more than journalists and, in return, are expected to protect and extend the reputation of their firms and to keep in line with company policy.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORIENTATION OF PUBLISHERS

Raymond D. Lawrence reports on his study of Kansas publishers that “the newspapers would seem to support the dominant social values in their particular cultural patterns and the majority place themselves on the side of the possessing classes.”³² He bases his judgment partly on the answers to these questions, as answered by the publishers:

The newspaper mainly reflects the propertied interests of the community.

Agree	54.4%
Disagree	33.3
Uncertain	10.2

In general, my newspaper agrees with the dominant points of view of my community.

Agree	78.7%
Disagree	12.7
Uncertain	8.4

James N. Peters reports on his study of Pennsylvania publishers that, “like their fathers before them, the publishers were conservative in their political views and, according to their choice of candidates in the 1952 presidential election, leaned toward the Republican party.”³³ He reports the following political affiliations of the fathers of the publishers: Republican, 67.4 percent; Democrat, 25.6 percent; Independent, 4.7 percent; and Socialist, 2.3 percent.³⁴

When the Pennsylvania publishers were asked who their choice was for president in the preceding election (1952), a total of 36 publishers, 92 percent of them named either Eisenhower or Taft, both Republicans, as their choice. Only three publishers, 8 percent, said their choice was the Democratic candidate, Adlai E. Stevenson.³⁵

³² Raymond D. Lawrence, “Kansas Publishers, a Professional Analysis,” *Journalism Quarterly*, December, 1938, pp. 337-348. See also Leo Rosten, *The Washington Correspondents*, Harcourt, Brace, 1937, p. 330; Leila A. Sussman, “The Personnel and Ideology of Public Relations,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Winter, 1948-1949, pp. 697-708.

³³ James N. Peters, *A Study of the Social and Economic Backgrounds of Daily Newspaper Publishers*, thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1955, p. 118.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

William A. White, who established a national reputation as editor and publisher of *The Emporia Gazette*, once said that the real threat to freedom of the press lies in the publishers themselves:

Too often the publisher of an American newspaper has made his money in some other calling than journalism. He is a rich man seeking power and prestige. He has the country-club complex. The business manager of this absentee owner quickly is afflicted with the country-club point of view. Soon the managing editor's wife puts him in the country club, and then the city editor's wife nags him into it; and they all get the unconscious arrogance of conscious wealth. Therefore, it is hard to get a modern newspaper to go the distance necessary to print all the news about many topics.³⁶

Oswald G. Villard concurs with this estimate, pointing out that the large newspaper owner feels that he belongs in the Chamber of Commerce and the merchants' association, more naturally perhaps than anybody else except the heads of the public utilities. Since the profession of journalism has turned into a big business, there is every temptation for the proprietor to consider all political and economic questions from the point of view of those who have very large economic stakes and to look with alarm upon all proposed social and political reforms.³⁷

The following participation record is an accurate picture of the economic and social participation of a newspaper publisher in a large American city:

Business Affiliation (other than major responsibility)

Consolidated Publications, Inc.	Vice-President and Director
---------------------------------	-----------------------------

Civic Organizations

Chamber of Commerce	Trustee
Greater City, Inc.	Trustee
Symphony Orchestra	Trustee
Municipal League	Member
City Safety Council	Trustee
Regional Hospital Association	Trustee
Regional Trade Association	Former President

Employer Associations

Regional Newspaper Association	Member
Allied Daily Newspapers	Member

Similar depictions of publisher and editor life styles may be secured from the short biographies of the various *Who's Who* volumes.

³⁶ George Seldes, *Lords of the Press*, Blue Ribbon, 1941, p. 273.

³⁷ Oswald G. Villard, *The Disappearing Daily*, Knopf, 1944, p. 5. Cf. Virginius Dabney, "What's Wrong with Newspaper Editorials?" *Saturday Review*, February 24, 1945.

IDEOLOGICAL DOMINANCE OF BUSINESS

American society has heavily structured its social institutions around the support of private property. Generally, business management has placed itself at the core of society, and this management directs and coördinates all of the social layers. This orientation is understandable because industry houses a large body of trained leaders who give a great amount of service to the community, both as employees and as citizens. In turn, the greatest volume of career rewards, at least monetarily, lie within the industrial and business enterprises. Such career opportunities continue to provide business with the largest share of trained and intelligent personnel. Meanwhile, occupational inheritance is also highest in the business classes. The business leaders of the United States are recruited predominantly from the proprietary-managerial groups. The best national study of business leaders, made in 1952, shows that 52 percent of the major owners and executives have fathers who were in proprietary-managerial occupations. Only 15 percent were from the manual-labor classes.³⁸

A strong identification with the private property system is a natural outcome of these forces. Business interests interpret public relations activity as necessary to keep open an effective two-way channel of communication so that no misunderstandings can arise to disturb the true harmony of interests between the public and management. Business groups generally believe that all social problems can be solved within the existing framework of free enterprise. When conflicts arise, better communication is expected to clear up the difficulty. "This is an era of revolutionary changes in ideologies and institutions in which business finds its traditional leadership challenged by a hostile public opinion. This bad public opinion exists because business has failed to tell its story."³⁹

Labor leaders generally agree that business is more powerful than labor. They believe that business merely tolerates unions, or is out to break them. In this regard, city leaders are more suspicious of business leaders than are state and national leaders. Most labor leaders believe that they must engage the whole union membership in political activity to get political representatives favorable to labor. They definitely feel that it is the function of government today to see to it that full employment is maintained.⁴⁰ The union movement is viewed as a democratic association of employees that seeks protection against the employer who may always be tempted to pay less and maintain poorer working conditions unless pressed to change. Unions have

³⁸ W. L. Warner and James C. Abegglen, *Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry*, University of Minnesota Press, 1955.

³⁹ See Sussman, *op. cit.*, pp. 615-616.

⁴⁰ See C. W. Mills and Helen Dinerman, "Leaders of the Union," in Hardman and Neufeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-27.

a right to bargain for work and pay, and a fair share in the power and status of community life and decision-making. Union leaders believe that industry possesses much larger resources than they have for conducting bargaining and that the union must always be alert and aggressive.

The identity of labor leaders with manual labor is reinforced by their fathers' occupational background. Sixty percent of AFL-CIO leaders have fathers who were manual workers. Only 24 percent come from business or professional backgrounds.⁴¹

It is within this ideological atmosphere that the most controversial problems of American life must be reported. When reporters bring in the news and write their story, Rosten says the process of journalism reduces to a set of expectations. The reporter, although told to be objective, must also please his employer, the publisher. He comes, in due course, to sense the policy of the newspaper. Although the Washington correspondents show themselves to be much more liberal than their employers,⁴² it is the publisher who sets the standard of the news. Nelson A. Crawford has described the result as follows:

Fear in journalism begins with the reporters and permeates every part of the newspaper organization up to the publisher. Conversation with many reporters has convinced the writer that the vast majority are fundamentally honest. It likewise has convinced the writer that the vast majority are either liberals or radicals, though in many cases unintelligent ones. If, however, one picks up the average newspaper today and reads the stories written by these men, one will find a certain bias toward conservative and reactionary policies and against liberal and radical policies. Presumably, if these men unconsciously varied from strict objective truth in writing their stories, they would vary in the direction of their own conviction. What is the explanation of their varying in exactly the opposite direction?

All or nearly all the newspapers that the reporter has seen, including the one on which he is working, have exhibited a conservative bias and that, if he writes an important political or economic story showing no bias or showing radical or liberal bias, the story will not be printed, and he may be fired. If nothing more, he feels that the story will be so altered by the copy desk as to maintain the conservative bias. The statements of the managing editor urging reporters to be objective have not removed his fears . . . He is perhaps encouraged in his beliefs by the city editor and the copy readers—men who have grown old and cynical in the newspaper office . . . There is instilled into the young newspaperman's mind the feeling that the publisher is involved in various capitalistic enterprises, that his business and social associates are all capitalists and that he is publishing a newspaper in the interests of capitalism.⁴³

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴² Leo Rosten, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-191.

⁴³ Nelson A. Crawford, *The Ethics of Journalism*, Knopf, 1924, pp. 83-85. Cf. Peters, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-66. Peters cites business enterprises in which Pennsylvania publishers have interests.

Where the profit motive controls, advertisers become a great danger to a newspaper's freedom. When a newspaper is weak or conscienceless, fear of offending readers and advertisers is a powerful fetter. Oswald G. Villard cites examples of such pressure upon Cyrus H. K. Curtis when he was publisher of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*. Villard charges that, in spite of his great personal wealth and financial ability to withstand pressure, Curtis frequently suppressed news unfavorable to a department store advertiser. He charges that "Philadelphia was for many years one of the worst of our cities in the domination of the press by the great department store advertisers—some of the newspapers offering themselves for prostitution with complete harlotry, while others, like the *Bulletin*, stood out well against any attempt to limit their freedom of utterance."⁴⁴ The danger of advertising as a control upon the freedom of a newspaper may be judged from the fact that most newspapers rely upon advertising revenue for approximately 65 percent of their income and about 35 percent from subscription.

CUSTOMARY AND CONFLICT RELATIONS

Customary Relations of Business, Labor, and Mass Communication

Most American adults read their public newspaper every day. Although 50 percent of the nation's adult population say they read no books during the year, 80 percent are not without their daily paper. While the reasons for reading the paper are many, there is no question that there is a core of readers who find the newspaper indispensable as a source of information about, and interpretation of, public affairs in the city, state, and nation. It is important to stress that this interest is expressed in a desire to have both information and interpretation. The core readers use the commentaries on current events from the editors, columnists, and letters to the editor as a touchstone for their own opinions.⁴⁵ The serious reader becomes related to the newspaper because there is news and opinion about people he knows locally and about the associations in which he may have membership or interest. He reads about local issues and formulates opinions. These readers are often the formal and informal leaders of the groups in which they move. They carry the news and their opinions to these groups. Lazarsfeld and Katz have recently traced this process, and they show that ideas often flow from radio and print to opinion leaders and from them to the less active sections of the population.⁴⁶ It is this communication process which makes the press

⁴⁴ Villard, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁴⁵ Bernard Berelson, "What Missing the Newspaper Means," in P. F. Lazarsfeld and F. N. Stanton (eds.), *Communication Research, 1948-1949*, Harper, 1949, pp. 111-129.

⁴⁶ Elihu Katz and Paul Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence*, Free Press, 1955.

so important in the molding of public opinion. And it is because the press is both an organ of information and of the opinion on community-wide issues that it becomes of major significance to the study of industry-community relations.

The survey of the press activities of management, labor, and daily community papers is impressive. It is estimated that there are nearly 6000 company house organs which distribute approximately 40,000,000 copies of company publications each month, making a total circulation of almost half a billion a year. There is general agreement that the total expenditure for these publications is close to \$50,000,000 per year.⁴⁷

Labor also has a large number of periodicals. In 1949, the United States Labor Department reported that the department had a mailing list of more than 800 labor periodicals. Their circulation is estimated to total more than 20,000,000, possibly as high as 30,000,000.⁴⁸

In 1957, there were 1755 daily newspapers in the United States with a combined circulation of 57,805,445.⁴⁹ Both management and labor have learned the importance of developing good press relations. Most public relations executives contend that the first step in developing good public relations boils down to the contacts administrative officers make with newspaper and radio reporters. The news agencies and the larger dailies now have one or more reporters specializing in labor, financial, and industrial news. Both parties have learned that good personal contact with the reporters and the newspaper editor is conducive to favorable publicity.

Two forces which are influencing the structure of the press have significance for industry-community relations. One is the diminishing daily competition in the United States between 1920-1950. Table 16 shows that cities with dailies under common control have increased and that competing dailies are now found in less than 6 percent of our cities.

Lee states that the factors which have brought about this decline are many, but that they center about the cost of production, which now prohibits most newcomers. Raymond B. Nixon points out that the newspaper industry has stabilized itself in a noncompetitive structure with only 82 cities out of 1449 in the United States possessing a competing daily. He believes that this situation now will remain relatively unchanged with few suspensions of unprofitable papers and with few new consolidations.⁵⁰

The decline in competing daily newspapers affects the relations of the

⁴⁷ Glen Griswold and Denny Griswold, *Your Public Relations*, Funk & Wagnalls, 1948, p. 405.

⁴⁸ Herbert Little, "800 Labor Journals on Government List," *Editor and Publisher*, October 15, 1949.

⁴⁹ *Editor and Publisher Yearbook*, January 28, 1958, p. 23.

⁵⁰ Alfred M. Lee, "Freedom for the Press," in Katz *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 276. Cf. Raymond B. Nixon, "Who Will Own the Press in 1975?" *Journalism Quarterly*, Winter, 1955, p. 13.

TABLE 16. Diminishing Daily Newspaper Competition in the United States, 1920-1955

Year	Cities with Only Dailies Under Common Control		Cities with Competing Dailies	
	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total
1920	743	57.5	549	42.5
1930	1,114	79.5	288	20.5
1940	1,245	87.3	181	12.7
1945	1,273	91.7	115	8.3
1950	1,314	93.2	96	6.8
1955	1,367	94.3	82	5.7

SOURCES: Alfred M. Lee, "Freedom for the Press," in Daniel Katz *et al.* (eds.), *Public Opinion and Propaganda*, Dryden Press, 1954, p. 277. For 1955, see Raymond B. Nixon, "Trends in Daily Newspaper Ownership Since 1945," *Journalism Quarterly*, Winter, 1955, p. 3.

press to labor and management in the community. The newspaper may become a one-sided organ or take a stringently neutral position. If it becomes biased in favor of one side, then the other side is encouraged to seek some counterchannels. It may establish its own daily newspaper or radio. It may increase support of its internal house organs. It may demand federal regulation. Albig says that public confidence in the press as a source of guidance on public affairs has waned, especially on issues relating to welfare legislation, popular democracy, economic issues, and the proper locus of power. In the report of the nine Nieman Fellows of 1946, professional newsmen all, it was stated:

Today the newspapers, while still powerful, have lost their leadership. Readers no longer look to them for advice and wisdom in making great decisions. The newspapers are held suspect by millions of Americans. The hostility of the newspapers against the reviving labor movement, their one-sided stories about the efforts of bewildered workers to raise their standards of living, their bias against social legislation, made millions feel that most of the papers were far from sympathetic to the large number of Americans who passed their lives on the edge of economic disaster.⁵¹

This indictment is probably based in part on the fact that the majority of the voting public in the last five out of six national elections in the United States has assumed a position contrary to the stand of over 60 percent of the newspapers.⁵² Yet, in summary, it must be accepted these elections refer to

⁵¹ L. Svirsky (ed.), *Your Newspaper*, Macmillan, 1947, p. 8.
⁵² William Albig, *Modern Public Opinion*, McGraw-Hill, 1956, p. 369. See also Nathan B. Blumberg, *op. cit.*

special situations. After all criticism is weighed, confidence in the newspaper rests upon its relatively equal treatment of the news, if not upon its editorial stands. Steadily, day after day, the press influences public opinion on various issues ranging from international affairs to cooking and food values. The *modern newspaper*, for all of its waning influence, *is the most important medium of communication for the distribution of news and opinions to large publics.*

Radio and TV are recognized as important agents in the influencing of attitudes. This has been demonstrated in election campaigns. In 1952, 31 percent of voters in a national survey of votes named TV as the most important source of information on the campaign, 27 percent named radio, 22 percent named newspapers, and 5 percent named magazines. Table 17 shows a national survey of voting preference for the presidential election in 1952 with a statement from each respondent of his most important source of campaign information.

TABLE 17. Voting Preference and Most Important Source of Campaign Information

Voting Choice	Most Important Source of Information			
	Television	Radio	Newspapers	Magazines
Eisenhower	43%	40%	44%	54%
Stevenson	38	25	33	22
Did not vote	19	35	23	24
Total	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: Angus Campbell, Gerald Burin, and Warren E. Miller, "Television and the Election," *Scientific American*, May, 1953, p. 47.

This information gives no direct clue as to why people vote as they do or the impact of television on voting behavior. However, the use of radio and TV for information is unmistakable. But this kind of exposure to public affairs via radio and TV is relatively infrequent. TV and radio content may be grouped into three kinds of program classes: entertainment, information, and orientation. The categories are based on the manifest intent to entertain, to impart information, and to affect attitudes and values, respectively. Studies show that radio and TV content is approximately 75 percent entertainment-type, 20 percent information-type, and 5 percent orientation-type.⁵³ This large entertainment content reduces the potentialities of radio and TV as arenas in which public opinion on local matters may be debated. As the national broadcasting networks supply more and more of the TV station programs, material designed for national consumption dominates increas-

⁵³ Henry (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 196, 200.

ingly. In contrast, the newspaper offers more local than national news. Recently, radio has turned from less use of the national networks and to more local programming.

Influence Network of the Interinstitutional Complex

In the Business-biased Model C, the essential structural feature which preconditions its bias is the location of a commercial press within an economic network that brings a predominant business influence into play. Figure 6.3 depicts the influence network of business and labor as it surrounds the daily newspaper and other mass communications. Note how the property and business interests through financial, social, and civic organizations form power arrangements. These groups can bring pressure upon a publisher by threatening to withdraw subscription and advertising revenue from the newspaper. They may, perhaps, penalize the publisher or editor by withdrawing social and economic opportunities which lay before them. The labor influence resides in a large body of subscribers and a body of voters who potentially might win any local election. However, these labor forces are usually weak because they are so often unawakened and unorganized. Only in a bitter election or strike does their latent influence manifest itself.

The communication specialists are shown in capitals. They are the public relations officials, the editors, and the reporters. These persons work in contact channels. The public relations officials of company or union who may be supplemented by top company or union executives make policy and have major contacts with the editor and publisher of the daily newspaper. The business and labor editors are specialists in internal communications and address themselves to members in their own organizations. They are in close contact with the business and labor reporters of the daily newspaper, as these reporters seek news for the business and labor page of the metropolitan daily. Sometimes, the big news is released only by the public relations officials, and then they must go directly to that source. This set of channels is kept open by the desire of industry and labor for a wider public and by the need of the daily newspaper for news. Both business and labor have endorsed the idea that it has the obligation to see that its acts should be in the public interest and that the public should know what its acts are and, insofar as possible, what motivates them. However, the consequences of each act and each explanation may be so great that the public relations official screens, weighs, and interprets. The channel has become increasingly formalized. Indeed, public relations services may be purchased from independent firms who specialize in particular campaigns, such as strikes and elections. Unions and business firms are equally sought as a clientele. When money is poured into the mass communication apparatus, the mighty avalanche of symbols that falls upon the public is an awesome spectacle.

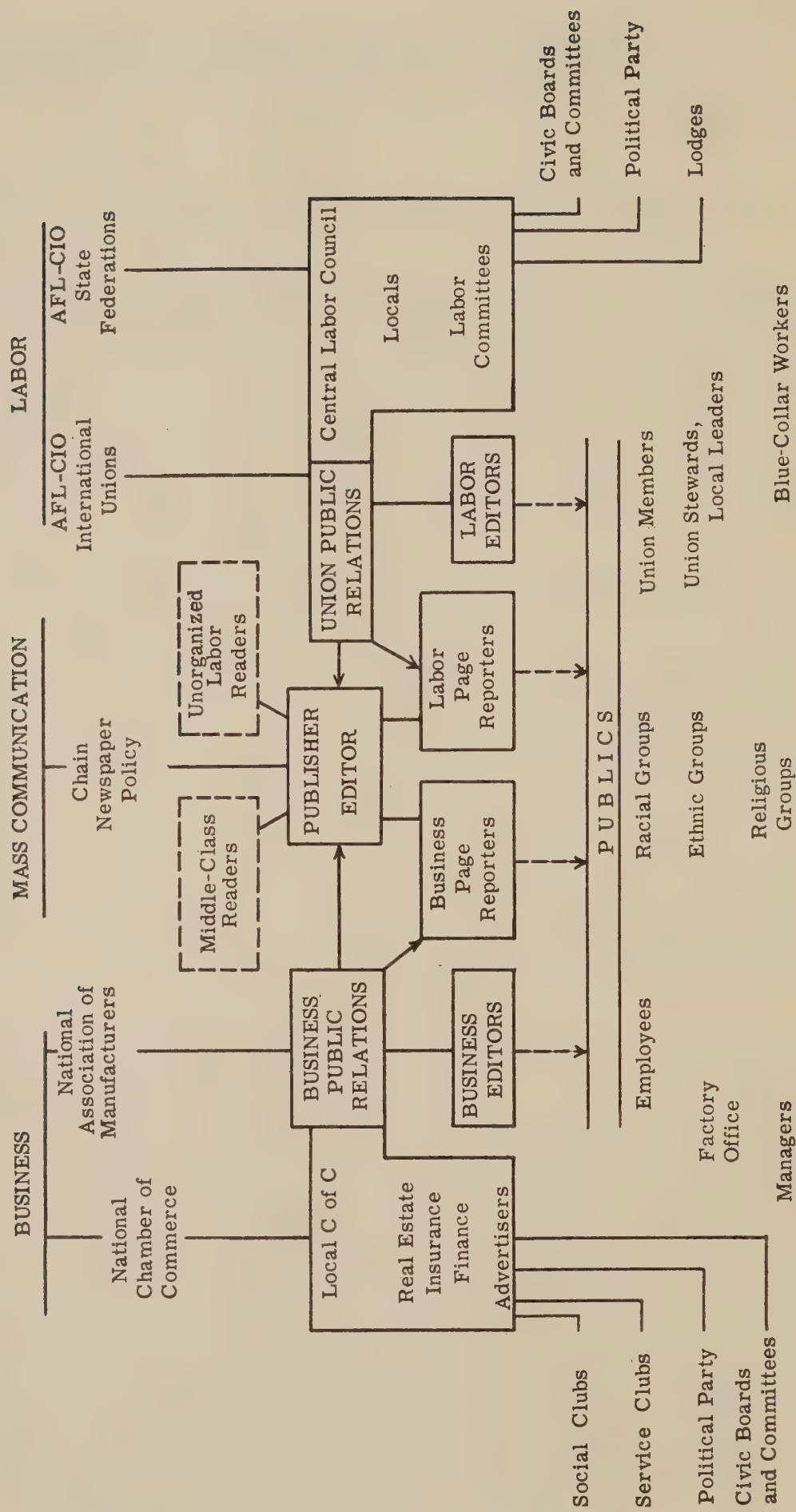


FIGURE 6.3. Influence Network of the Interinstitutional Complex of Business, Labor, and Mass Communications. Dotted lines represent important audiences.

Dynamics of Issue Resolution

When a live issue activates the community, all of the customary agencies of mass communication spring into action to report facts and reflect the feelings and opinions of various functional groups. Let us follow an issue which arose in Lansing, Michigan, where one daily newspaper and one city-wide labor paper operates.

ISSUE: THE PUBLIC REFERENDUM ON INCREASED CITY BUS FARE FOR LANSING, MICHIGAN

The following discussion is concerned with an analysis of the Lansing, Michigan, Inter-City Coach Line's proposal for increased city bus fares and public response to that proposal.⁵⁴

The sources of data were the *Lansing Labor News*, the CIO union newspaper, and microfilms of *The State Journal*. The *Labor News* is a weekly, claiming "over 10,000 circulation, dedicated to the interests of the community and to the interests of labor." The administrative control is held by a board of directors made up of union members. The editor is V. E. Vandenberg. *The State Journal*, the only daily paper in Lansing, is edited and published by Paul A. Martin. The period covered in this analysis is December, 1947, through November, 1948.

Origin of Issue. By way of introduction, it may be pointed out that the city of Lansing depends for its city bus service upon the Inter-City Bus Company, which is privately owned, but whose fares are regulated by the City Council with public approval, as registered by ballot in duly announced elections. The company operates on a franchise granted by the city with sanction by the electorate. At the time the increased fares became an issue, the company was operating under its first 15-year franchise, which had 8 years more to run. The bus service not only serves Lansing, but also provides a link between Lansing and East Lansing, some two miles east. At the time under consideration, the fare from Lansing to East Lansing was 10 cents, half of which had to be placed in the coin slot upon arrival in East Lansing, since fares within Lansing were legally restricted to 5 cents.

The first mention of the bus fare increase appeared in *The State Journal* of December 2, 1947. The news story announced that the bus company was requesting an increase of the 5-cent fare to 10 cents to meet increased costs. In addition, it was proposed that three tokens be sold for 25 cents and a \$2-per month pass be available for school children. A new 15-year franchise was also requested by Mr. James Gibb, president of the company, who stated that the existing franchise did not permit assurance of a reasonable return on the investment for new equipment which was then necessary. Gibb further stated that maintenance costs had risen by 170 percent, wages

⁵⁴ Gwen Andrew, unpublished paper, Michigan State University, 1957.

had increased 81.5 percent, and taxes were up 432 percent. The article stated that, under charter requirements, a 90-day waiting period must follow the company request and that the proposal had been referred to the City Council Transportation and Ways and Means Committees to be studied and reported back.

On December 4th, the *Journal* printed an editorial stating that increasing costs had made it impossible for Lansing riders to expect adequate service without paying increased fares. "The issue (was) clearly whether or not Lansing would continue to have adequate service." On this same date, following a request by the bus company to the City Council, *Lansing Labor News* published a story strongly opposing a bus fare increase of the magnitude requested. Stanley Cleeves, president of the Lansing CIO Council, was quoted as protesting the proposed "100-per-cent increase," as "pretty steep." The article went on to comment that this increase was too great for workers who had not experienced an increase of comparable magnitude in their own wages and who had families to support. It was pointed out that the company had recently paid for broadcasting a Michigan State University football game, and the suggestion was offered that economy in such advertising might solve the company's financial problems. This same article called for a public statement of the financial status of the company, and this was to become the issue around which all future *Labor News* articles were focused.

Labor Takes a Stand. There was no further mention of the bus fare issue in *The State Journal* until January 21, 1948, although a December 15th story announced the arrival of seven new modern city buses. During the same six-week period, the *Labor News* highlighted the bus company proposal in several of its weekly issues. As a first action, the CIO Council, after rejecting a proposal to send a letter of protest to the City Council, established a committee to get facts. This action was initiated by Vandenberg, the *Labor News* editor. Cleeves, CIO Council president, appointed a committee consisting of C. Stanaway, Reo Local 650; R. Dingwell, Amalgamated Local 724; and V. Vandenberg, editor, representative of Amalgamated Local 652. The Council voted unanimously to oppose a bus rate increase if it was for profit only. The last *Labor News* in December devoted space to quotations from Local union presidents denouncing the increase. Those quoted were Lewis Ellis, Local 652; A. Perry, Fisher Local 602; and A. Salter, Reo Local 650.

While no advance notice was found in either newspaper, both reported a public hearing held at the City Council chambers to air the bus fare issue. *The State Journal* reported that the "Bus Fare Hike Plea" was unopposed. The *Labor News* stated nothing was accomplished because the Inter-City Bus Company did not present a financial statement. The City Council was criticized for failure to demand such a statement periodically, since this was a requirement of the franchise.

A second public hearing was held February 10th, at which, according to *The State Journal*, it was clear that people were not concerned over rate increases, but rather wanted better service. Contrary to this, the *Labor News* stated that 20 people protested the increase, while only 2 defended it.

During the remainder of February, *The State Journal* provided a number of reports about bickering between the City Council and the bus company and the City Safety Engineer over the skip-stop system then in use, which permitted buses to skip certain stops along the route. The Council wanted to eliminate this system, but backed down after a *State Journal* "survey" was reported as indicating the people preferred the skip-stop plan.

The *Labor News* reported on April 22nd that the City Council had agreed to submit the 10-cent bus fare proposal to the voters without a public airing of the financial statement of the bus company. Following this, the Amalgamated Local 652, UAW-CIO, sent a letter to the City Council "firmly requesting" complete information be given to the public 60 days before an election.

By May 6th, the bus company financial statement had been made public, and the labor paper was contending that a 1-cent increase in fares would produce a \$100,000 surplus after expenses.

Soon after this, on May 11th, the *Journal* announced that the bus line franchise would be put to the vote on June 22nd. An earlier date had been changed because it did not meet legal requirements for a 90-day period before holding an election. The *Labor News* urged a "no" vote on the proposal and stressed the fact that the wording on the ballot obscured the issue. The wording would permit a 15-year franchise, would repeal all other ordinances pertaining to the former franchise, and would, in effect, permit the City Council to agree to the proposed rates.

About this time, the bus company became the co-sponsor of the first Youth Talent Exhibit, which was a *State Journal* project. "Through the courtesy of James Gibb," the buses carried posters advertising this event.

During the last week of May and again on June 15th and 21st, the union made radio broadcasts protesting the bus fare increase. These broadcasts were given by E. Tubbs, president of Amalgamated Local 652, and V. Vandenberg, editor of the *Labor News*. On the last occasion, they were joined by T. Eno, president of Fisher Local 602.

This period was covered by the *State Journal* by a series of articles explaining the proposed bus hike and the necessity of providing additional funds to keep the company solvent. No comment was made regarding the labor broadcasts.

The vote was held on June 22nd, and the proposal was defeated with 1806 "no" votes out of a total of 3180. The *Labor News* expressed the view that Local 652 and the paper itself deserved some credit for defeating the

proposal. The editorial chastised other locals for failure to offer more than minimal coöperation in fighting the proposal.

The defeat was followed by immediate curtailment of bus service, including the elimination of a midnight run from the Oldsmobile factory. The curtailment was opposed by Editor Vandenberg before the City Council.

On July 7th, the bus company resubmitted its proposal for vote in the November 2nd elections. When the proposal was resubmitted, the company stated that bus drivers were willing to continue without a raise until the coming election. *The State Journal* story reporting this event pointed out that two public hearings would be required by law.

This time the *Labor News* took the stand that a reasonable increase in rate was acceptable and suggested that approximately 20 percent would be appropriate. No news coverage was given to the first public hearing, but, according to the *Labor News*, at the second hearing about 100 people appeared to hear D. Hayworth, president of Americans for Democratic Action, request that the Council back a 20-percent increase in bus fare.

Late in August it was announced that the City Council was considering two alternative proposals: (1) two tokens for 15 cents and 10 cents straight, or (2) four tokens for 25 cents and 10 cents cash fare. The bus company wanted proposal one.

At this time, J. Smith, comptroller of the bus company, was quoted as stating that bus drivers had been promised a raise, but proposal two would not provide this, and, moreover, it would force curtailment of services.

On September 9th *The State Journal* announced that a strike was possible, as negotiations between drivers and the company had collapsed. This story was in contradiction to the statements of the company previously published, indicating that the drivers would wait for a raise until after the coming election. No indication of formal negotiation had previously been published, indicating that the drivers would wait for a raise until after the coming election. No indication of formal negotiation had been given previously in either newspaper. H. Dillenback, president of the drivers' union, stated that the drivers wanted a 25-cent-per-hour increase for themselves and a 20-cent-per-hour increase for mechanics. The State Labor Mediation Board had no success in attempting to work out the issue, and, on September 13th, the drivers voted to go on strike in 30 days. Following this, the City Council approved the bus company proposal for a 10-cent cash fare or two tokens for 15 cents. The CIO Council immediately countered this with a vote to oppose the proposed increase and a statement backing the drivers in their demands. The company then made an offer to the drivers which was rejected as no different from former offers. The company continued to refuse to arbitrate the wage dispute, and a special fact-finding committee was appointed by the Governor, which consisted of two university professors and a former legislator.

On October 12th, the drivers voted to hold off their strike until after the report from the fact-finding committee, but a strike was again called to start on October 27th, after both the company and the union rejected the recommendations of this committee. The company refused to do anything until after the November election. The strike began on schedule.

The bus strike then was underway and had been for over one week when the November 2nd election was held. The *Lansing Labor News* was vigorously protesting the rate increase, but *The State Journal* was taking a more neutral stand, or at least a more subtle approach.

This time the proposed bus fare increase passed with 16,000 votes for and 7500 against. The following day negotiations between the company and the drivers began again, and, on Saturday, November 6th, the strike was ended.

Thus, after nearly 12 months and two elections, the Inter-City Coach Company achieved its goal of a 10-cent bus fare, or, as the *Labor News* would put it, a 100-percent increase.

As an addendum, it is of interest to note that, at the time this report is written, the bus company has been in financial trouble for some time, and the February 27, 1957, issue of *The State Journal* stated that Lansing's Mayor Crego instructed the City Clerk to put the following items on the April ballot for "an advisory vote of citizens":

1. Do you favor continuing our public transportation system under private ownership?
2. Do you favor continuing our public transportation system under municipal ownership?
3. Do you favor continuing our public transportation system under private ownership but with a subsidy from the city not to exceed \$2000 per month?

This issue of increased bus fare indicates how business and labor often use the press to present their side of an issue. This issue was not one of high saliency to the community, but the contest did involve the union, the city council, the bus company, the bus drivers, and the fact-finding committee. An analysis of the forces operating in this complex would first show that the union and the bus company were principal opponents with the *Lansing Labor News* and *The State Journal* representing them. The City Council seemed to lean toward the company's request for an increase in fares. The bus drivers drew toward the CIO Council.

Issue Vector Analysis. Figure 6.4 is a heuristic model which estimates the strength and direction of opposing forces contesting the issue. The *general goals* sought by the participants are shown on the extreme right and left of the figure, while the estimated strength of each organization is indicated by the length of its arrow. The direction of each arrow represents the degree to which the designated organization deviates from the general goal through its commitment to *specific* objectives, such as the desire for leader-

ship, organizational credit, and the use of preferred means of obtaining the general goal. The degree of convergence of the arrows on each side of the diagram represents the degree to which the specific objectives of the organizations converge toward the general goal. The line labeled "Resolution" summarizes the combined strength of the forces and the final compromise, if any, of the objectives of the successful side.

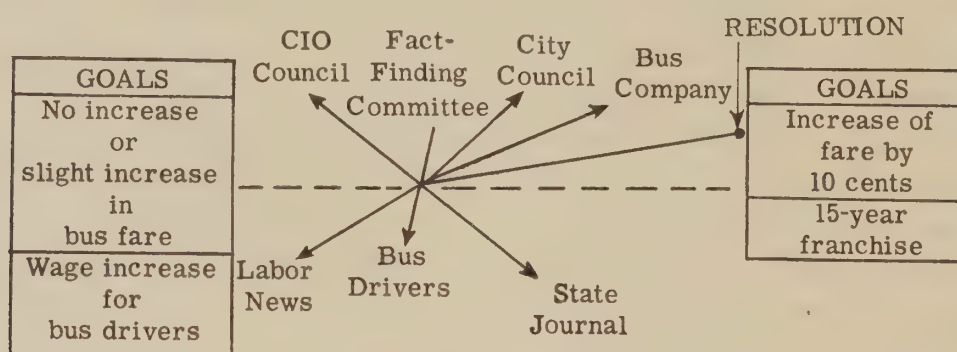


FIGURE 6.4. Vector Analysis of Contesting Forces in the Bus Fare Issue.

The bus company won its increase of fares by winning support with the electorate through the use of publicity, threat and actual curtailment of services, a refusal to meet bus driver wage demands until after the election, timing of the second election, and some support from the fact-finding committee and the City Council. However, its request for a new 15-year franchise was denied. The CIO was not able to mobilize full union support, let alone the electorate. The city had 40,000 eligible votes. Only 3180 votes were cast in the first election, but, in the second, a major election, 23,500 people voted. A large part of the electorate, including a considerable body of unionized labor, was apathetic. The final result was a victory for the bus company in spite of the vigorous stand taken by the *Lansing Labor News*. However, the significance of the two papers must not be discounted, especially in the first defeat of the proposal at the polls.

TACTICS EMPLOYED TO INFLUENCE THE PRESS

In various issues brought to contest in the community, the struggle to influence public opinion takes many subtle and primitive forms. The role advertising plays is subject to many interpretations. Some newspaper editors and publishers contend it makes no impact on editorial policy whatsoever. They say that their advertisers are only interested in reaching readers and their interest is not in newspaper opinion but in newspaper circulation. Others claim, as did Fred Millis, specialist in coöperative advertising campaigns, "As a former newspaperman—reporter, editor, advertiser, publisher and newspaper owner—I do not want to have it understood that I am stating that the influence of the newspapers can be directly purchased. Let us not be naive, but, at the same time, let's be realistic about the situation . . .

If we get into a cooperative advertising program in the newspapers, this association will find that it will get fifty times as much news printed as now.”⁵⁵

This point of view may have been shared by Charles F. Kettering when, as vice-president of General Motors, he told the Associated Press managing directors at a GM dinner, “We always sort of felt we owed the newspapers something in the form of advertising for the other things they did. We really didn’t advertise to sell cars at all. We had to advertise to keep the newspapers going.”⁵⁶ In 1954, the three Detroit newspapers received a total of 5½ million dollars in display advertising from the auto industry. The union sees a connection between this revenue and the outright opposition of these newspapers to the guaranteed annual wage.⁵⁷

When the right-to-work initiative was placed on the state election ballot in a Pacific Coast state in 1956, it was upon the specific recommendation of the public relations firm whose president said that the way to get the closed-shop issue before the public was to give it “news” value. Getting the initiative on the ballot meant that newspapers gave it millions of dollars of free publicity by converting it into “hot” news. Its failure at the polls was greeted by the public relations head as a very successful educational campaign which presaged victory at the next election.

The tactics of organizations are manifold: they may involve sounding out the editors and publishers, making visitations, threatening withdrawals of advertising, and cajoling newspaper people at service clubs and other social and civic organizations. The dropping of newspaper subscriptions is an effective boycott if carried out collectively.

The newspaper must accommodate itself to the community power structure and may do so in many different ways. It may take sides, compromise, mediate, play a neutral role, or play down all controversial issues. What it does depends, in part, on the publisher, the community, and the societal setting.

CHANGES IN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

New Trends

Newspaper circulation is now at all-time peaks. Advertising volume is incredible. Profits are good.⁵⁸ Yet there is abundant testimony that newspapers are not as influential in molding public opinion as they were 40 years ago. For one thing, they were then virtually alone as the principal medium of

⁵⁵ *Editor and Publisher*, October 27, 1934, p. 10.

⁵⁶ *Ammunition*, September, 1955, p. 10.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵⁸ Louis B. Seltzer, “What’s Happening to Our Newspapers?” *Saturday Review*, April 28, 1956, p. 7.

fact and opinion. There were some magazines, but they were mainly concerned with fiction and entertainment. Newspapers dug out the local news. Journalism was characterized by its original reporting, crusading, and individual investigations. Along came bigness. The mass production press was expensive and demanded mass circulation; increased advertising volume was important. And, as costs rose in the expanding economy, the cycle repeated over and over. The public liked the new features. Fiction, comics, departments, rotogravure, and entertainment flowed into the columns. *Whereas newspapers were once primarily concerned with fact and opinion and magazines with fiction features, an abrupt, significant, and interesting reversal has taken place.*⁵⁹ The newspapers have gradually taken on the content of the magazines with their fiction features, crossword puzzles, panels, columnists, comics, and other entertainments. The magazines have become more and more the instruments of original reporting, crusading, and investigation.

Louis B. Seltzer, the editor of *The Cleveland Press*, points out that local situations are the center of most talk among newspapers' readers, yet most newspapers merely tap the wire services for news from remote or less controversial areas.

When most papers do turn to their local scenes, what do they cover? In too many cities and on too many papers, it's the easy way out that editors seek. They take the news the press agents bring in. They cover meetings and speeches and good causes that come easy and that no one can find any fault with. They blurb the friend at Union Club, where the editor eats lunch every day . . . It's easy to cover the annual meeting of the Welfare Federation, but it's tough to tell about the veteran probate judge who is stealing from the estates in his trust. It's easy to reprint the police chief's report on how crime has declined each year, but rugged when you set out to document and illustrate how policemen are mooching from the refrigerators of brothels. It's easy to talk about desegregation far away, but not right at home . . . Nobody's going to do the local digging and reporting if newspapers don't. Magazines won't come into smaller towns . . . nor will radio and television do it . . . all this makes the newspapers more important than ever locally.⁶⁰

Another major change in the relation of mass media to the industry-community context is the decline of competing daily newspapers. Daily newspaper competition in the full economic meaning of the word has almost been eliminated. Newspapers have changed from a profession open to men of small means into a business requiring millions. The large newspaper owner holds property which places him within the financial, economic, and social setting of the corporate business community. The number of newspapers has declined drastically, and their operation has become highly standardized.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

In contrast, radio and television stations have mushroomed, and no community is without access to these new forms of communication. However, their field of activity has become mostly entertainment. To advertisers who supply the major revenue, radio and television are looked upon as "selling machines." Of total air time of about 18 hours a day, each of the national television networks carry one 15-minute news program. There is slightly more attention given to news by the radio networks. The National Broadcasting System has five minutes of news every hour on the hour and some news features. Most commentators agree that the time allotted is inadequate to inform the public of the meaning and significance of the news.⁶¹

The Trend Toward the Neutralized Model

A projection of current trends indicates the emergence of the neutralized Model D as the dominant structure of the press in the future. We have pointed out that newspaper costs require mass subscription in urban environments. The fear of losing circulation may intimidate the publisher and editor from involvement in controversial issues. Neutral reporting is practiced with the blessing of the absentee owners who are primarily concerned with sound financial operation.

The business-dominated Model A is also likely as cities increasingly lose the last of their competing dailies. The increasing cost of establishing a competing daily will work against the possibility of another newspaper entering a community. As shown in Table 14, the monopoly newspaper often buys radio and television stations. The absence of a strong union or other protest element may put the community into a position where freedom of the press is a hollow slogan of an earlier era.

Variations in Contemporary Communities

In Salt Lake City, *The Deseret News* is owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormons). It has been in existence since 1850, the first successful church-sponsored daily published in English. Other church-sponsored papers of national importance include the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston and the *Catholic Daily Tribune* of Dubuque, Iowa. These newspapers try to set objective standards for reporting news and interpreting opinion according to Christian ideals.

One independent publisher, E. W. Scripps, tried to eliminate advertising influence in the daily newspaper when he began the *San Francisco News* in 1903. In 1911 Scripps began another adless daily in Chicago with the *Day Book*. Scripps wanted to prove that it was possible for a community to have

⁶¹ Eric Sevareid, Martin Agronsky, and Louis Lyons, *The Television News Commentator*, Fund for the Republic, 1959.

a free press without having it subsidized or endowed. When World War I caused a sharp rise in costs of newsprint, the *Day Book* closed.⁶² However, Marshall Field tried to establish *P.M.* in New York with a minimum of advertising revenue. *P.M.* existed only from October, 1940, to April, 1948. It was a thoroughly adult newspaper, but it did not win a mass circulation. Other efforts to gain control of adless newspapers have been made by minority political parties (Communist *Daily Worker* and Socialist *Call*), by municipal ownership, and by racial and foreign-language groups. The efforts of labor groups to establish a daily press has a long history. The first labor dailies date from the *New York Man's Advocate* of 1829-1830. This paper and others which were started could not compete with the sensationalism and labor policies of general circulation penny papers (tabloids).

The Union Press as Countervailing Force

Labor unions usually have had to satisfy themselves with monthly or weekly periodicals.⁶³ That is largely the case today, but the labor press has proved an important and countervailing force to the various dailies. The labor papers are of significance to this discussion because of the role they have demonstrated in the treatment of news. Labor-management relations, domestic issues, and international issues are at the edge of a democracy's main concerns. The countervailing force is vital to a free press. The *Michigan CIO News*, in its editorial of January 12, 1956, illustrates this counteraction:

THE PLOT TO SMEAR CIO

This is Newspaper Week throughout the country.

This is a week during which newspapers publish reams of special copy about freedom of the press.

The Detroit Free Press calls this special period of observance a "Right-to-Know Week." We like the label the *Free Press* cooked up because we'd like to see the three Detroit newspapers come through on the public's right to know about the latest smear against the CIO, a prize example of shockingly irresponsible journalism.

About two weeks ago, the front pages of *The Detroit News* blazoned its first headlines about a CIO "plot" to take over the Detroit school system. That and subsequent stories detailed charges by a teacher that the Board of Education was holding "secret" meetings and that these meetings were designed by the CIO to effect "capture" of the school system.

The charge was a most serious one and certainly deserved newspaper attention. But a good newspaper isn't concerned only with charges . . . it asks for proof. *The Detroit News* didn't ask for proof, has yet to produce any.

⁶² A. M. Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America*, Macmillan, 1937, pp. 190-191.

⁶³ Robert Lasch, "P.M. Post Mortem," *The Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1948, pp. 44-49.

The reason the *News* did not ask for proof was that the *News* knew there was no proof, that the story was a complete phony.

The *News* knew full well that there have been no "secret" meetings of the Board of Education. Although it called them "secret" in its headlines, it kept the stories straight by referring to "informal" meetings of the Board. These informal meetings were anything but secret.

They were well-published in *The Detroit News*—and the other two dailies—because the reporters from all three newspapers were present at the informal sessions and reported on them.

There was never a CIO representative present at any of the meetings. The informal sessions dealt with educational practices and philosophies. The newspapers reported so.

Yet, when very serious charges were made regarding the informal sessions—charges that have yet to be substantiated—the *News* gave them page one headlines. No proof, just charges. Charges cooked up, actually, by the *News* itself.

When the *News* popped the phony charges, the *Detroit Times* quickly scrambled onto the bandwagon. The *Times* didn't ask for proof of the charges either. *The Detroit Free Press*, which was editorially "skeptical" of the charges, went ahead anyhow in its news columns to give the unproved charges further publicity.

The struggle for a community platform is a many-sided one in which business, labor, and the wider public have a large stake. For business and labor it becomes a struggle to get their story told in a favorable manner. This may involve them in ownership and operation of mass media, in political action, in public relations, in attempts to monopolize and censor, or crusade and exhort.

The American labor movement has been seriously urged to study the possibilities of financing liberal daily newspapers which would strive to compete effectively with existing dailies. This proposal was advanced recently by James A. Wechsler, editor of the *New York Post*. He told the annual convention of the Eastern Labor Press Conference, "I know of no other source from which the necessary financing for new liberal daily newspapers could be expected to come. The number of dailies in the country as a whole is dwindling steadily, with more and more cities becoming one-paper or monopoly ownership communities. This situation could become very much worse in the next ten years."⁶⁴

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⁶⁴ AFL-CIO *News*, March 28, 1959, p. 2.

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FIELD PROJECTS

1. Make a content analysis of a serious labor-management controversy, as reported in a selected daily newspaper. If there is a competing daily, compare the treatment of the news. Graduate students should apply the techniques of content analysis, as reported in Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, Free Press, 1952.
2. Analyze the editorial position taken in regard to political parties or candidates prior to election. Compare two or more daily papers.
3. Analyze the themes occurring in a number of issues of a trade or company newspaper or magazine. Compare with a union newspaper or magazine.
4. Use *Who's Who* or other appropriate reference book to find the social background and career history of the publisher and editor of a few selected newspapers. For a list of reference books, see Appendix A for *Important Sources of Community Information* (see pages 685-687).
5. Compare the presentation of news from a commercial and a labor-owned radio station. Make a content analysis of themes.

Chapter 7

EDUCATION: THE CONTEST OF LABOR AND BUSINESS INTERESTS

HISTORY OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND EDUCATION

STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Components of the Interinstitutional Complex

Organizational Values of Business, Labor, and Education

Major Value Orientations of Business

Major Value Orientations of Labor

Major Value Orientations of Education

Power Models of Business, Labor, and Education

The Business-Dominated Model in Contemporary American Communities

Pattern of Control

Composition of Boards of Education

Sources of Funds

Middle-Class Control of Parents and Teachers

Compromising Pressures on the School Superintendent

CUSTOMARY AND CONFLICT RELATIONS

Customary Reciprocal Role Relations

Business and Education at the Community Level

Businessmen as employers; teachers as industrial trainers

Businessmen as sellers; school administrators as buyers

Businessmen as treasury watchdogs; school administrators as promoters

Businessmen as social partner in adult education; educators as guardian of youth

Unions and Education at the Community Level

Union officials as training accreditors; teachers as apprentice trainers

Union officials as placement overseers; school officials as employment and training officers

Union members as board members; school officials as administrative subordinates

The Relation of Educators to Business and Labor at the Community Level

Teachers as educators of citizens; businessmen and union members as partisans

Reciprocal Relations of Business, Labor, and Education at the Plant or Local Level

As possessors of different educational backgrounds

Use of adult education for career advancement

Educators transfer to industry

Talks and tours

Labor's local interaction with education

Conflict Relationships of Business, Labor, and Education

Influence Network of the Business-Labor-Education Complex

Common Power Arrangements for Three Typical Issues

Organizational Resources Which Can Be Brought into Play

Dynamics of Issue Resolution

Analysis of a Case Issue

The affirmative campaign

The opposition campaign

The forces of community decision

Issue vector analysis

CHANGES IN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

New Trends

Rising Importance of Education in an Era of Technological Change

Increasing Size of Educational Bureaucracies

Increasing Interest of Labor Unions in Education

Emergence of Community-Centered School

Trend Toward the Representative Model

Variations in Contemporary Communities

Growth of the Private School Movement

Growth of Labor Participation and Control

Growth of Parochial Schools and Demands for Public Support

HISTORY OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND EDUCATION

In preindustrial society in America, the task of inducting the child into the life of the group was largely the responsibility of the family, assisted by the neighborhood or community. Agriculture was the chief industry, and the farmer scarcely required proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic, or

extensive knowledge of distant places and peoples. A high school or college education was monopolized by the specially privileged classes, and possession of such an education became a badge of aristocracy. In many influential quarters, schooling for the common lot of men was regarded as undesirable and perhaps dangerous, since it tended to put "unsound" notions of social equality into their heads and encouraged them to forget their place and manners. Anyway, it was alleged there was no time for education. The work of a farm or a shop required attention of all family members. On the farm, the boy performed innumerable chores having to do with fuel and water supply, the care of animals, the tilling of fields, the harvesting of crops, and the practice of manual arts; the girl helped to prepare the meals, wash the dishes, do the laundry, preserve fruits, vegetables, and meats, and perform various industrial activities carried on in the home. Gradually, the youngster acquired all the occupational skills and knowledge appropriate to the sex. Civic, social, and moral training were communicated as the child lived and worked in family and community. Education was primarily a by-product of the life of family and neighborhood.

The coming of industrial society changed the educational situation most profoundly. The changes in industry which were brought in by the Industrial Revolution catapulted the school into the position of a major social institution. The separation of home and work place brought the school new responsibilities for occupational training that the family could no longer provide. The labor force began to show an increasing proportion of industrial workers, while the proportion of farm owners and farm laborers declined. Urbanization increased with each passing year. The expansion of the social world in which the individual lived brought a new need to understand what was happening beyond the local community. As old agencies like the home, the neighborhood, and the church were weakened, larger and larger burdens were placed upon the school. Popular faith in education arose. The extension of equal educational opportunities to the children of all the people, regardless of the accidents of birth or fortune, became a cherished ideal of the American people. The struggle to attain this ideal is one of the great themes of current life in America. It may be discerned in the struggle for nonsegregated schools and in the effort to bring all schools to a high standard regardless of inequalities in the local economy.

A striking assertion of the democratic principle was the abandonment early in the nineteenth century of the dual-educational system of Europe, which separated the children into a private and state school system according to a social class ability to pay. In America, a single educational system was emphasized, composed of elementary school, secondary school, and college or university, and legally open to all classes alike from the kindergarten to the last year of the graduate school. While this kind of opportunity has not been completely realized for all persons, no society in history ever

extended the opportunities of schooling so widely and so fully to the general population.

Two conflicting social demands struggle for expression within our democratic conception of education. These forces may be called the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian philosophies, and they run through educational thinking like two major axes.¹ Jeffersonianism refers to the discovering and giving of opportunity to the gifted student; Jacksonianism refers to the raising of the level of the average student. The cultural roots of these philosophies run deep. They may be best discerned in the traditions of English Republicanism and French Mass Democracy. In English Republicanism, emphasis is placed upon developing selective leadership; in the French revolutionary tradition, emphasis was placed on increasing the role of the average man. These distinctions in educational philosophy become differentiated in such matters as educational goals, curriculum, grouping of students, teaching procedures, and grading. A résumé of these differences is shown in Table 18. Business-class members commonly align themselves with the Jeffersonian philosophy, while labor identifies with Jacksonian. Public school administrators and teachers are largely Jacksonian in outlook, while private school administrators are generally Jeffersonian.

The control of education has been placed in the hands of an elective school board which exercises its authority by appointing a superintendent of schools as its chief administrative officer. In small school systems, a superintendent's authority is usually narrow and closely supervised. In many small towns, boards of education interview, hire, and fire the teachers. Some boards determine the curriculum and select the textbooks. In city systems of public education and in large universities, more power concentrates in the hands of administrative officials. Big education is now said to be big business. The curricular offerings of high school and college have proliferated with many vocational and professional courses "until, at the present time, the inquirer may find practically anything taught in the high schools and universities of the country from radio mechanics to Sanskrit . . . The curriculum would seem to be based upon the assumption that the school was under obligation to offer any program of study that the individual thought would help him on the road to success."²

The school as an organic agency of society reflects the casual patterning of a pluralistic industrial society. The modern urban center is composed of numerous conflicting groups and organizations. Society is divided into sects, parties, classes, and special interests, each of which, in proportion to its strength, strives to incorporate its viewpoint into the curriculum. The phenomenal expansion of public education, which has accompanied the

¹ Report of the Harvard Committee, *General Education in a Free Society*, Harvard University Press, 1946, p. 27.

² George S. Counts, *The Social Foundations of Education*, Scribner, 1934, p. 271.

TABLE 18. Two Contrasting Philosophies of Education

	Jeffersonianism	Jacksonianism
Goal of educative process	Selective discovery and enriched treatment of the gifted student. Early elimination of the less gifted. (Jefferson proposed a compulsory educational system of three years.) Emphasis is upon learning achievement.	A lengthy formal period of educational experience to develop the individual for roles as citizen, parent, and worker. Emphasis is upon social adjustment and vocational guidance.
Curriculum	Composed of academic (college-preparatory) courses.	Composed of wide-range offering of academic and vocational courses with curricular and extracurricular work in art, music, and crafts.
Grouping of students	Homogeneous grouping, segregating students by ability groups. Students are placed in separate classes and, perhaps, separate schools.	Heterogeneous grouping. All ability streams contained in a comprehensive school with a minimum of segregated grouping.
Teaching procedure	Lecture and drill. Use of formal discipline with learning achievement foremost.	Classroom discussion and project methods with emphasis on social adjustment and democratic procedure.
Grades	Intense competition for grades with examinations setting very high standards.	Use of grades minimized and greater priority given to the development of coöperative and democratic attitudes.

process of industrialization, has sharpened this struggle. The school has become a major social institution and, potentially, one of society's most powerful agencies of propaganda. That rival groups should strive to possess it is entirely to be expected. The curriculum at any moment is to some extent a resultant of the play of these battling forces upon the school—professional educators within and conflicting interests without.

During the nineteenth century and the first 35 years of the twentieth, the business classes dominated the policies of community organizations without serious opposition. The beginning of strong union organization is generally considered to have arisen with the Wagner Act of 1935. The recognition of collective bargaining in federal legislation was the legal foundation on which labor rose to power as a major political and social force. It is labor organization which forms the clearest body of opposition to any discriminatory

practices in education. As wage earners with limited property, the economic and social needs of labor put unions in a position that contrasts with the property interests of many middle- and upper-class groups. Good public schools are essential to labor families, for private schooling is denied to most. Costs of school operation are less per capita for most labor families than for most members of the business classes because property tax is usually the major source of local revenue. This difference in economic interest can be a source of major conflict in working out school finance. A considerably lower proportion of young people from laboring families go on to college; thus, the secondary education needs of labor families often require good vocational and general programs, while middle-class groups may be more concerned with college-preparatory programs. Policies toward instruction in the social studies are of especial interest. Indeed, labor protests that an antilabor outlook is habitually taught in the schools.³ These and many other areas of interest in the schools provide latent conflicts between business, labor, and education. The common desire of all parties for good schools provides a sound basis for coöperation.

STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Components of the Interinstitutional Complex

Customary relations arise around the formal programs of business, labor, and education, and the values which each seeks to inculcate. An inventory of the educational activities engaged in by business, labor, and educational institutions includes the components illustrated in Figure 7.1.

Note that the educational activities of business and labor divide into four types: training for employees (or union members), training for teachers and students, research, and information to the public. The educational institution has two distinct types of function: educational and research services which are rendered to those who come to the institution, and services carried to the community by educators on request of various resident groups.

Much of the training carried on by all three parties is purely informative and technical. However, an important part of it is concerned with the instilling of a point of view or at least with a particular emphasis.

Organizational Values of Business, Labor, and Education

MAJOR VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF BUSINESS

Business wants (1) efficient educational administration with low tax rates (generally, business wants schools to be financed by sales and excise taxes with a maximum of state support; when property is taxed, it seeks lower rates

³ Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* Scribner, 1936, pp. 134-142.

BUSINESS	LABOR	EDUCATION
Induction	Steward training	Educational programs of schools and universities (public, private, and industry-sponsored)
On-the-job training	Short courses for union members and leaders	
Employee training	Summer camps	
Supervisory training	Union counselor training	Research investigations
Management training		Specialized curricula
Research and development	Time and motion training; productivity research, development of apprentice training	Institutes for labor and management
Scholarships, grants		
Business-Education Day	Scholarships, grants	
	Conferences for teachers	

FIGURE 7.1. Components of the Business, Labor, and Educational Organizational Complex.

for business property; it strongly opposes federal aid to education); (2) the teachers to endorse actively the American free enterprise system and to convey facts relative to the contribution of business to the community and nation; (3) to provide academic education of the highest quality for their children in order to prepare them for business, professional, and white-collar careers; (4) to secure suitable vocational training for future manual and clerical workers; (5) to get youth trained to be law-abiding, industrious, and well mannered.

An excellent example of value implementation is the economic training conducted widely by industry for its managers and employees. HOBSON—an abbreviation for How Our Business System Operates—is a training course for employees in the elements of business economics designed according to free enterprise (classical) theories of economics. Industry believes every worker should have this training and wants the school to undertake this kind of training responsibility. The Steel Improvement Company of Cleveland, Ohio, reports that, on the strength of findings gained by HOBSON, the training director gave the course to all employees. The results are shown in Table 19.

MAJOR VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF LABOR

Labor wants (1) school budgets based on educational needs and urges use of the progressive income tax and business property tax as major means of

raising revenue; it strongly supports the principle of federal aid to education; (2) a high quality of vocational education for youth of worker families who will not be going to college; (3) the school system to teach the dignity of labor and the achievements of labor unions; (4) unionization of teachers and school employees with collective bargaining rights; (5) workers' children to have ample opportunity to climb the occupational ladder; (6) the school

TABLE 19. Change in Opinions Fostered by a Course in HOBSO

Changes in Opinion	Before N = 51	After ^a N = 92
Companies seek profits by lowering prices, not keeping them high	71%	87%
Companies grow big through service, not through unfair use of economic power	51	64
Machines have done most to improve living standards in this country	41	55
The most practical way for workers to increase their standard of living is to produce more	51	64
Industrial growth in this country depends on saving money and investing it	51	68
It is not the government's responsibility to see that everyone has a job	14	32

^a A report on the Steel Improvement Company, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1956. Inclusion of new cases with 51 original throws doubt on the validity of the change in the subjects. However, the belief on the part of company officials that a change in opinion had taken place and in the desired direction is significant.

to control youth and prevent delinquency. These values are implemented by training and participation in community life. Hundreds of labor-study groups participate in educational programs each year. The Steelworkers and Pennsylvania State University have developed a four-year program. Courses are based on the relation of the steelworker to his union, to his job, to community, to government, and, finally, to international relations.

MAJOR VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF EDUCATION

Education wants (1) higher salaries for its teachers and administrators; (2) plant equipment adequate to the goals of a professional program; (3) to develop the pupil as a person who shall participate as fully as his talents permit in a future vocation, in citizenship, family life, and leisure pursuits. (The public school program has two facets: the basic fundamental education required of all pupils, and the special program for development skills and talents which permit each person to grow into a definite personality.

The educational institution is concerned especially with the core curriculum through which the individual may acquire a common tradition and a common language.) Education also wants (4) freedom to teach and behave according to professional standards; and (5) access to industries, labor unions, and other community resources available for teaching purposes.

Each of these value orientations of business, labor, and education is exhibited in various kinds of behavior as officials play roles consistent with the structural pattern of this organizational complex in the local community.

Power Models of Business, Labor, and Education

Various patterns of relationship may be observed between business, labor, and education in different communities, depending upon their power and stratification structures. The accompanying ideal-typical models (see Figure 7.2) may be observed with the corresponding organizational behavior.

1. Model A. The business-dominated model appears when business is the only organized group in the community or where other groups do not have power or interest in the educational institution; it arises often in one-industry communities or communities dominated by one industry. Decisions governing educational policy are made in accordance with the value orientation of business as described. The orientation is Jeffersonian in outlook.

2. Model B. The labor-dominated model appears when labor unions are powerful and achieve control of the board of education. Decisions governing educational policy are made in accordance with the value orientation of labor as described. The orientation is Jacksonian in outlook.

3. Model C. The religion-dominated school varies with the denomination in control. It attempts to infuse all training with religious and ethical concerns, and to insulate the child from the secular values of the public school system.

This model appears where a religious denomination wants to establish a separate identity and is able to support a separate school system; also when a denomination feels that public schools ignore or subvert religious doctrines.

4. Model D. Private schools are usually characterized by greater emphasis on style of life preparation, leadership training, and emphasis on traditional scholarship and college preparation.

This model appears when a military, aristocratic, or intellectual elite feels that public education is geared for the masses and is not enough concerned with the style of life and academic concerns of a select group. It epitomizes Jeffersonian ideas of selective training.

5. Model E. The educator-dominated model is characterized by Jacksonian notions of social education for citizenship. This model stresses the importance of a comprehensive range of abilities and interests with a wide-ranging curriculum and heterogeneous groupings of ability; is concerned

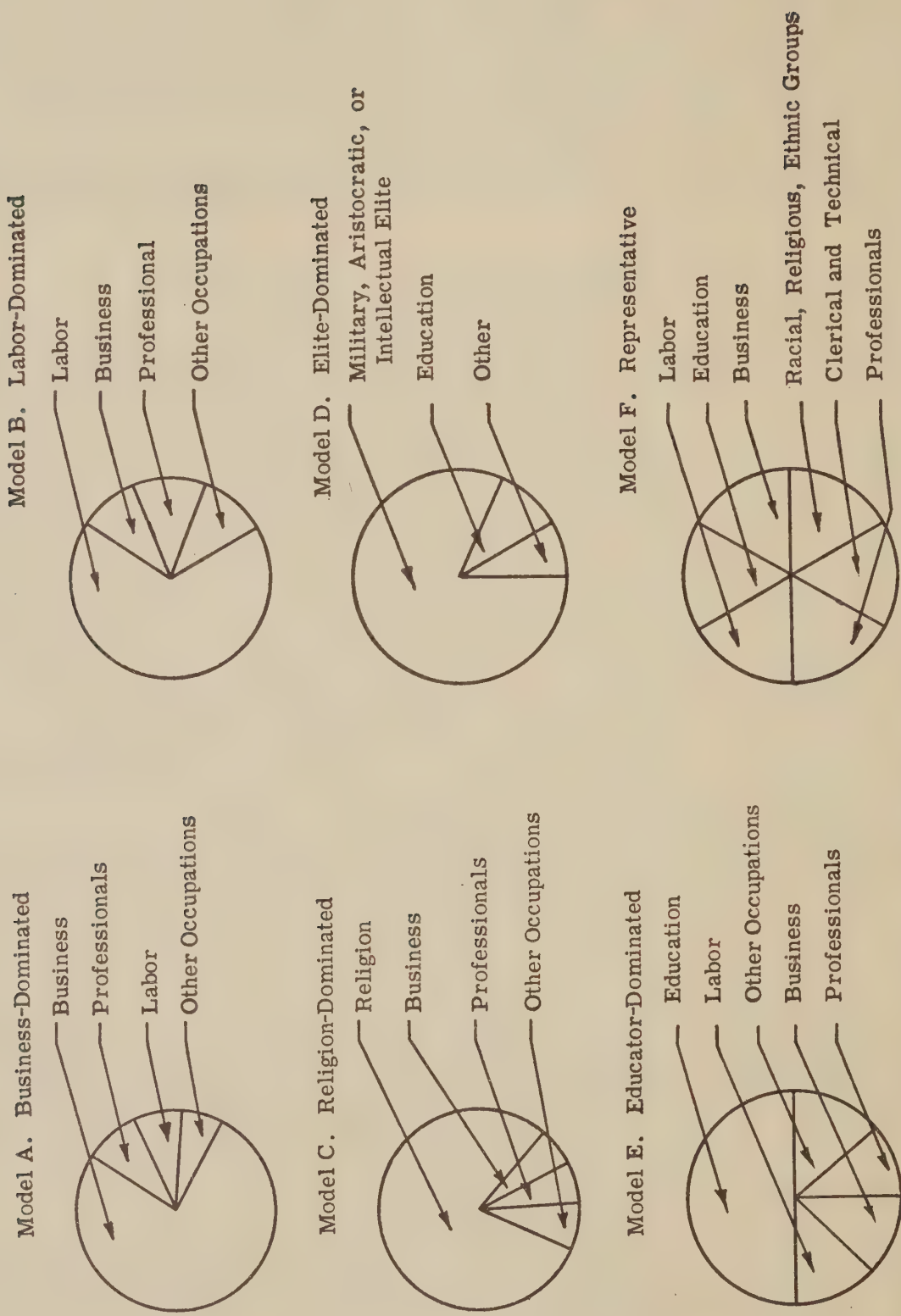


FIGURE 7.2. Six Power Complex Models of Business, Labor, and Education Relations.

with the development of the whole personality; believes that the school should be an active agent in defining the "good" society.

Educators dominate when power groups have confidence that competent educators can run the schools in the best interest of the community; the model also appears when apathy concerning education exists.

6. Model F. Representative education is characterized by proportional representation of all economic and occupational interests in policy formulation. No one group, ideology, or value dominates. Policy is determined by parliamentary and political resolution of issues.

This representative case may be found when labor, business, professions, and educators are all active and powerful and have the dominant ideology that the schools should serve all interests.

The Business-Dominated Model in Contemporary American Communities

Evidence from numerous communities indicates that the model of maximum likelihood is the business-dominated model. This model incorporates business control reinforced and shared by other professionals, educators, and lay groups from the middle and upper classes. Organizational behavior predicted for this model includes the following:

1. Educational policy will emphasize endorsement of the free enterprise system and concern that teachers have loyalty to it.
2. If funds are derived from local general property tax, there will be constant pressure to keep down educational expenditures. Attempts to secure increasing state support will be made.
3. Constant examination of the curriculum for its utility to young people planning to become future managers and professionals; however, the total program will provide for the training of industrial and clerical workers needed in local industry.
4. Homogeneous grouping by ability streams will be encouraged. Educational policy will be directed toward concentration on "solid" subjects with a minimum of "frills." Formal discipline will be encouraged.
5. Nonbusiness groups serving as policy-making representatives will have less consensus than groups from business because of their social heterogeneity.
6. Professional educators will tend to be spokesmen for the nonbusiness interests and constitute a second power group.
7. Labor will demand more representation and a larger voice in determining policy.
8. Women representing general and PTA interests will be more concerned with the nontechnical subjects and with a broad curriculum.

This model of maximum likelihood achieves structural stability through a pattern of control which gives business a dominance in most American communities.

Pattern of Control

The evolution of great city systems of public education out of the narrow local units of an agrarian society and the development of large universities from small colleges have been accompanied by concentration of power in the hands of administrative officials. In many communities, general authority as distinguished from administration has passed into the hands of businessmen serving as members of boards of control. Education itself has come to be regarded, in many minds, as a form of business enterprise. Some observers have seen the principals of the schools as a bond of contact with the businessmen and the politicians on boards of education. To them, in authority, administration, and curriculum, the public school and the university have been "bent like a reed—to an age of industry."⁴

COMPOSITION OF BOARDS OF EDUCATION

In the United States, almost all public schools are controlled by boards of education, of which 85 percent are elected and 15 percent appointed by public officials. These boards select a superintendent and pass upon all teaching and administrative personnel. It is estimated that there are nearly 200,000 members of school boards for the public elementary and secondary schools. They decide whether children shall study from textbooks which deal honestly and vigorously with current problems. They decide whether the school shall be responsible for developing nondiscriminatory attitudes toward minority groups. They decide whether teachers shall be free to act as full citizens of the community by joining labor unions, political parties, community coöperatives, or any other voluntary associations. They decide whether the schools shall be used by adult groups for forum discussions of social problems and whether films and pamphlets dealing with these issues shall be made available through the schools. They determine the rate of taxes needed for school support. They approve budgets, salaries, and expansion of physical facilities. They decide, in short, the standard of education for the community.

The studies of school board members reveal a heavy predominance of business and professional men. W. W. Charters, Jr., indicates that he has located 62 separate studies which have investigated board member occupations in a wide variety of school districts, including two replications of Counts' nation-wide research, and none departs in any important way from

⁴ Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, Macmillan, 1935, p. 825.

the finding that over three-quarters of city school boards are composed of business and professional men.⁵ A brief summary of a few major studies is assembled in Table 20 to present a picture of the occupational composition of school boards.

It is apparent that school boards in most communities are composed largely of members from business and professional groups representing about 15 percent of the community. It is commonly held that such individuals are conservative and defensive in the face of change and that American public school systems support the values of the dominant class of their constituent

TABLE 20. A Compilation of Studies Showing Occupational Background of School Board Members

Study of	Sample	Percentage of Businessmen and Professionals	Percentage of Labor
967 School board members by ^a	104 cities	75%	4%
6390 School board members by George S. Counts ^b	National sample	76	3
300 School board members by W. W. Ludeman ^c	South Dakota	70	less than 3
1025 school board members by James L. Snell ^d	205 of 298 high school districts in California	73 (including farm owners)	6
444 Illinois school board members by Roy W. Caughran ^e	Illinois	66	6

^a *School and Society*, January 20, 1937.
^b George S. Counts, *The Social Composition of Boards of Education*, University of Chicago Supplementary Educational Monographs, No. 53, 1927, p. 58.
^c W. W. Ludeman, *American School Board Journal*, February, 1939.
^d James L. Snell, unpublished M.A. thesis, Stanford University, 1938.
^e Roy W. Caughran, "The School Board Member Today," *American School Board Journal*, November, 1956, pp. 39-40.

communities. Charters has challenged this assumption by pointing out that there is a distinct lack of research on the question of whether the schools are under the direction of persons who actually reflect the conservative attitudes associated with "favored" class membership.⁶ Arnett found, in one of the

⁵ W. W. Charters, Jr., "Social Class Analysis and the Control of Public Education," *Harvard Educational Review*, Fall, 1953, p. 270.
⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 271-283.

few relevant studies, that a relatively high level of conservatism prevails among board members across the nation. However, certain of his findings are antithetical to the assumption of an association between conservatism and favored class groups. He reports that professional men are more progressive in their attitudes toward social issues than any other occupational group represented on school boards; clerical workers are least progressive.⁷ Caughran also studied attitudes of 444 Illinois school board members and concluded that board members have become increasingly less conservative. He found that board members showed great faith in education and that they would oppose seriously any move to reduce the extent of public education in the state of Illinois. Caughran believes that the higher level of education possessed by board members and the public at large is bringing about a more liberal interpretation of educational practice.⁸

The selective forces inducing a citizen to run for the office of school board member constitutes a challenging research subject. One school board member who runs a funeral home netting him \$25,000 a year says with frankness that it is only because he makes so much a year that he feels he can be on the school board. "A board member has to take a big gamble when he puts up his name to run. And after you get elected people try to divorce you from what is naturally yours. A person running for the board has to have a sense of humor. He runs an awful chance of having his name smirched, and I can't afford that because I have sixteen or eighteen people working for me in the business . . . and I'm entirely dependent on the good will of the people."⁹

Such a statement invites the question as to whether such a board member is especially amenable to conservative pressures and to what extent the predominant business members and independent professionals on school boards are equally open to similar persuasions.

Members from comparatively privileged economic groups may bring an enlightened view of educational needs, but they may fail to represent the experience and needs of all elements in the community. A pattern of business and professional control may result in the kind of criticism delivered by Dr. Floyd W. Reeves: "There are certain very important things in our social, economic, and political life that we hardly touch upon in our public schools—such things as the organization of labor unions and consumer cooperatives. I know of only one state in the United States that has any

⁷ Claude E. Arnett, *Social Beliefs and Attitudes of School Board Members*, Emporia Gazette Press, 1932.

⁸ Roy W. Caughran, "The School Board Member Today," *American School Board Journal*, December, 1956, pp. 25-26. Cf. William C. Bruce, "The Unpopular School Board Member," *American School Board Journal*, February, 1957, p. 66.

⁹ Quoted by David Hulburd, *This Happened in Pasadena*, Macmillan, 1951, p. 31. This is a documentary account of how an aroused group brought pressure upon the school board to dismiss a school superintendent.

systematic program of instruction in the cooperative movement; and I don't know of any state that has systematic instruction with reference to the organization of the workers of this nation."¹⁰

Labor groups have called for a fair share of representatives on boards of education. "To have this, organized labor will have to enter politics on the local level—nominate and elect its friends to boards of education, or nominate and elect a mayor who will appoint labor members to the board, in proportion to labor's membership in the community. It is also essential that labor interest itself in the composition of the boards of trustees which administer our state universities and teacher training institutions."¹¹

SOURCES OF FUNDS

Control of educational policy bears a correlation with the source of school funds. School funds are gathered from federal, state, and county governments as well as from the local school district. The major sources in many states are the property taxes of the school district and the state sales or income tax from the state level. The property tax has been the principal source of tax revenue for local governments. In the state of Washington, the secular trend of the proportion of property tax levied for the school district has been upward. In the 1920's it took about 25 percent of the property tax levy, in the 1930's about 30 percent, in the 1940's about 35 percent, and in 1953 about 42.8 percent.¹² This means that any increase in local school expenditures above that granted by federal or state funds must be paid for by local property owners. The larger holders of real estate view any increase of taxes as another cost to be carried on their investment. Industrial establishments, commercial investment houses, banks, apartment house owners, and property holders of all kinds may form a common-interest group to fight against increases in property taxes. Therefore, the taxpayers' associations are commonly opposed to increased school expenditures assessed by local levy. They prefer to see the money raised by the state through a general sales tax, declaring it is unfair to make property holders carry the local tax burden. The property tax is said to be a regressive tax, putting a proportionately lighter burden on the large holder of intangible property. Those of moderate means have a higher proportion of their investments in realty than those with more substantial means and would therefore have to pay more property tax in relation to their wealth.¹³ Further evidence of regressivity has been

¹⁰ Broadcast of University of Chicago Roundtable, "What Should We Teach Our Youth Now?"

¹¹ Department of Research and Education, *Labor and Education*, Washington, D.C., Congress of Industrial Organization, 1942.

¹² William Eugene Torget, *Financing the Common Schools in the State of Washington*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1954, p. 70.

¹³ James R. Hall, *A Study of Probated Estates in Washington with References to the State Tax System (Seattle)*, unpublished paper, University of Washington, 1939, p. 24.

manifested by many studies that relatively low-value homes are assessed at a higher ratio of assessment to true value than homes of greater value. The tax on business may be borne by the owner, shifted forward to the consumer, backward to the producer, or distributed among all three. The home owner occupying his own home cannot shift the taxes for the simple reason there is no one down the line to shift them to. Business, on the other hand, may be able to shift a substantial portion of its property tax on to consumers in the form of higher prices. In spite of these differences among property holders, no one likes to pay higher taxes, and every property owner is potentially an ally in any campaign to oppose increased taxes, even for schools, which are generally regarded as worthy. In a recent school levy campaign, the editor of a small city newspaper received letters that had the following excerpts:

Public officials just holler for more funds from the already overburdened taxpayer.

Let's all try to reduce taxes instead of increasing them.

My taxes have increased 140 per cent since the so-called revaluation. If this is typical of the general increase, the school board should be wallowing in money.

It is not necessary to comment on the inefficient way the school board has handled the people's money in the past.

There is even less need in voting an 11-mill levy than there was in voting a 15-mill levy which was turned down by the voters.

I should like to know why the Taxpayer's Association is attacking the schools. Why is it we hear from them only when a school levy is to be voted?¹⁴

These comments might arise in any community as property holders react to a request for additional taxes. This group is apt to be the most active in registering their votes in a school levy election. In voting against measures for the increased financial support of the schools, they may lower the quality of teaching and, hence, the educational achievement of the children in the community. It is always the hope that local services may be improved without paying a direct price or by shifting the burden. Increased state and federal support is often encouraged for this reason. States which have a light property tax have a high level of state support. Washington ranks relatively high in state taxes and among the lowest half dozen in local taxes.¹⁵ At the state level, it relies heavily upon sales and gross receipt taxes to secure 83 percent of its revenue taxing necessities, perhaps more heavily than other states.¹⁶ This means that the burden of supporting the schools has been progressively shifted to consumers with less charge upon the property holder. Attempts to replace the sales tax with an income tax have always been defeated. This indicates there is a three-way power struggle built

¹⁴ James P. Steffenson, *A Study of the May 26, 1953, Special School Elections in Bremerton*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1954, pp. 61-62.

¹⁵ Torget, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

into a tax structure which surrounds the support of the local schools. Property tax increases will be opposed by real estate holders; sales tax increases will be opposed by consumer groups; income tax increases will be opposed by holders of "intangibles" (stocks and bonds) and recipients of large earned incomes; and local property groups will seek to transfer school costs to state and federal sources. Moreover, the large taxpayers will take a large interest in the financial administration of the schools and may seek to impose their philosophies of education upon the local school system.

MIDDLE-CLASS CONTROL OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS

Another subtle form of control is that exercised by the middle-class composition of parent-teacher organizations and the lower-middle-class background of most teachers. PTA groups tend to reinforce middle-class standards in curricula, in teacher performance and conduct, and in requirements for school policy. This may mean emphasis on all those personal qualities which will assist their children to become upwardly mobile. The school performs this function by giving children an opportunity to (1) associate with children of middle and upper social status, (2) learn the social skills of middle and upper status, and (3) learn the vocational skills of middle and upper economic status.¹⁷ Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb have shown that the class system definitely exercises a control over the pupils' choices of curricula, expectation of a college education, and choice of college.¹⁸ Goetsch found that the hierarchy of family income was reflected in a hierarchy of courses pursued by students in higher institutions of education. Table 21 shows the relation between parental income and college courses.

TABLE 21. Parental Income and College Courses

Curriculum	Rank of Median Parental Income
Law	1
Medicine and dentistry	2
Liberal arts	3
Journalism	4
Engineering	5
Teaching	6
Commercial	7
Nursing	8
Industrial trades	9

SOURCE: Helen B. Goetsch, *Parental Income and College Opportunities*, Teachers College Contributions to Education No. 795, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940, p. 23.

¹⁷ W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?* Harper, 1944, p. 57.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-72.

It may be noted that teachers come from homes with relatively less income. In his study of the American schoolteaching profession, Elsbree shows that, for the past hundred years, schoolteachers have come mainly from a single socioeconomic group which he calls "lower middle."¹⁹ Many, probably most, teachers are using their profession to "get ahead in the world." Middle-class standards of refinement and ambition mean a great deal to them. They train or seek to train children in the middle-class manners and skills. And they select those children from the middle and lower classes who appear to be the best candidates for promotion in the social hierarchy.

Warner and his associates have concluded that:

It is difficult to conceive the teacher's social role in America as being anything but an expression of middle-class values. Unless there is a social revolution which upsets the middle class, teachers will continue to act as exemplars for this social class. But the middle-class viewpoint will change a great deal during the social changes of the next few decades. The naive ideal of unlimited material progress for the society and unending social climbing for all its members who are industrious and ambitious is bound to give way to a more realistic view of society and of human nature, combined with greater faith in spiritual as opposed to material values. The role of the teacher as the exemplar for this philosophy will become more subtle and more creative.²⁰

COMPROMISING PRESSURES ON THE SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT

There is a growing evidence that the school administrator responds not only to the school board and their fellow representatives of the dominant class in the community but also to pressures within the school and to his own professional standards with which he must live. This can be illustrated by the 105 Massachusetts school superintendents in a recent Harvard study who perceived many incompatible expectations from various groups and individuals with respect to their budget recommendations. The superintendents were asked to state what priority they perceived was given the school budget by various groups in the community. They further were asked whether they were expected to give greater priority to the financial resources of the community than to its educational needs in preparing their budget requests. Nine out of ten of the superintendents said they were exposed to incompatible expectations. Their perceptions are shown in Table 22. This table shows that a majority of the superintendents perceived that the taxpayers' associations, local politicians, town finance committees or city councils, and economic influentials in the community expected them to give

¹⁹ Willard S. Elsbree, *The American Teacher*, American Book, 1939, p. 555. Cf. M'Ledge Moffett, *The Social Background and Activities of Teachers' College Students*, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929, p. 26.

²⁰ Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

TABLE 22. Percentage of Superintendents Who Perceived Particular Expectations from Specified Groups and Individuals with Respect to Their Budget Recommendations

Group or Individual	Priority to Education Expectation	Priority to Finance Expectation	Mixed Expectation	No Expectation	N ^a
Politicians	8.6%	75.2%	2.9%	13.3%	105
Church or religious groups	57.7	1.0	1.9	39.4	104
Farm organizations	19.4	22.6	0.0	58.0	62
Business or commercial organizations	11.4	50.5	4.8	33.3	105
Labor organizations	50.1	11.3	0.0	38.6	53
Parents (PTA)	96.1	0.0	2.9	1.0	105
Teachers	98.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	105
Personal friends	65.7	0.0	3.8	30.5	105
Taxpayers' association	4.9	88.5	3.3	3.3	61
Individuals influential for economic reasons	17.1	57.1	4.8	21.0	105
Service clubs	54.1	9.2	5.7	31.0	87
Fraternal organizations	29.0	3.2	2.2	65.6	93
Veterans' organizations	41.3	3.8	3.8	51.0	104
Individual school committee members	72.3	6.7	20.0	1.0	105
Town finance committee or city council	23.3	68.0	6.8	1.9	103
My wife-family	73.8	1.0	0.0	25.2	103
Chamber of commerce	27.7	29.2	9.2	33.9	65
The press	31.8	25.0	9.1	34.1	88

^a When N is less than 105, it is usually because the group or individual did not exist in certain communities; the no answers when the group or individual did exist are also excluded.

SOURCE: Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern, *Explorations in Role Analysis, Studies of the School Superintendency Role*, Wiley, 1958, p. 273. Cf. Neal Gross, *Who Runs Our Schools?* Wiley, 1958, pp. 5-44.

greater weight to the financial resources of the town or city. On the other hand, over 95 percent of the superintendents perceived that their PTA and teacher groups expected that educational needs should have the highest priority. Further support for priority of educational needs is indicated from labor organizations, business organizations, church groups, and service clubs. Interestingly enough, 72 percent perceived that their school boards also gave educational needs first priority, while 20 percent perceived incompatible expectations among their board members.

Gross suggests that decision-making in the school system is influenced not only by the social class membership of the school board but also by the nature of the community power system, the degree of activity and influence of such organizations as the PTA and the League of Women Voters, the religious composition of the community, the manner in which superintendents and school board members define their roles, and the extent to which local politics and politicians have an impact on school affairs.²¹

CUSTOMARY AND CONFLICT RELATIONS

Customary Reciprocal Role Relations

BUSINESS AND EDUCATION AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

Businessmen as Employers; Teachers as Industrial Trainers. Industry needs well-trained people and recognizes that the educational system is the source of its manpower supply. President William Allen of the Boeing Airplane Company has written that "the relationship between the quality of an industry's product and the skills and training of the people who produce the product is direct. Equally direct is the relationship between the quality of a school system, as reflected by the qualifications of its teachers and the calibre of the students who are graduated from the schools."²²

Management provides a job market and educators are asked to train young people so that they may make quick and satisfactory placement in this market. A study of 2115 high school graduates in Seattle, Washington, ten months after graduation, showed that 69 percent were enrolled in a university, college, or institute for advanced training. A minority sought and secured full-time jobs (see the table on the following page).

Employers are especially critical of the writing and spelling of graduates who have become predominantly white-collar workers. Educators point out that these graduates represent only one segment of the graduates—a segment

²¹ Neal Gross, "A Critique of Social Class Structure and American Education," *Harvard Educational Review*, Fall, 1953, p. 324.

²² Seattle Citizens School Levy Committee in *Keep Seattle Schools Strong*, Seattle Board of Education, 1957, p. 2.

Clerical	59.7%
Sales	12.7
Trade apprentices and helpers	12.6
Miscellaneous	6.8
Service	3.3

SOURCE: Research Department, *Seattle Public Schools Look at Their 1947 Graduates*, Seattle Board of Education, 1948, p. 3.

which has significantly lower intelligence and achievement scores than the college-attending group. Nonetheless, immediate management concern centers about the personnel officer when market demands call for large numbers of white-collar and semiskilled jobs. The public school system of a large city supports job counselors, testing services, placement and work-experience coördinators. No part of the job market is neglected, as courses exist in practically all vocational pursuits with vocational and technical schools organized to fit into the needs of the market.

Businessmen work with the schools in their vocational guidance programs, which assist students to select and prepare for their future field of work.²³ Employer groups, when faced with labor shortages, ask the schools to step up their training in skills that will reduce plant training costs. This is especially desired in such jobs as machinists and tool makers, stenographers, typists, and bookkeepers. And, in all the prospective labor force, management wants the schools to inculcate “proper work attitudes,” such as punctuality, regularity, and persistent application.

Businessmen as Sellers; School Administrators as Buyers. Business seeks to sell goods, services, and supplies for the contruction and operation of educational facilities. This is a market of substantial size, and the school must have purchasing officials to deal with businessmen in securing school material. This relationship may involve pressures from business firms or various political bodies, and perhaps from members of the city council and the board of education to remain honest. The superintendent of schools may be placed in a position where resisting pressure is necessary. If he wants to “line his pockets,” he may practice collusion with interests who can “make it worth his while.”

Businessmen as Treasury Watchdogs; School Administrators as Promoters. Business wants to keep educational expenses down and to urge the school system to operate with ever greater efficiency. The school administrator often seeks to expand his program to give the curriculum more scope, to reduce the size of classes, to increase teachers’ salaries, and to increase space and facilities for overcrowded activities. All of these things require money and tax revenues. Business representatives think of the burden

²³ Education Department, *Activities and Services to Industry*, National Association of Manufacturers, 1955, p. 8.

these school needs may impose on industrial and personal holdings.²⁴ This often puts industry in the ambiguous position of wanting and calling for a better school program, but being disinclined to pay the higher taxes required to secure it. Since the higher tax rates put a major burden on business, this ambiguity is understandable. In some instances, business people send their children to private schools and allow the public schools to operate at mediocre or low levels of educational efficiency, while excoriating the quality of teaching and school administration in the community. Labor may take the lead in such a situation and demand a better school system. In other community situations, business may be observed as the leader in the struggle to raise the educational standards, sometimes against the apathy of labor and other segments of the community. In either instance, positions on the school board are sought in order to exercise the closest control of school funds.

Businessmen as Social Partners in Adult Education; Educators as Guardian of Youth. Business representatives and school officials and teachers have many common contacts in such community associations as service clubs, churches, PTA, etc. These common contacts give business and education people a chance to get better acquainted as total personalities. Many community organizations like the Chamber of Commerce and the service clubs may deliberately set up membership quotas to induce a certain number of school people to join and give a community balance to their membership. Many school officials and businessmen regard these centers of social contact as their most important communication centers.

The schools are regarded by many business groups as instruments of democracy and free enterprise. The political freedoms of democracy are assumed to be interlocked with the economic freedoms of free enterprise. Teachers are expected to give attention to the values of free enterprise and to give instruction in the classical theory of economics. Faith in the "American" economic system is often said to have been weakened by the circulation of such ideas as the following: "(a) 2 per cent of the people own 80 per cent of the national wealth; (b) 2,000 directors of big business concerns do the bidding of the Morgans and other bankers; (c) presidents of big companies are really 'stuffed shirts' and are paid far more than they are really worth; (d) international bankers and munitions makers foment wars for personal gain; (e) monopolistic combines exploit the public through high prices and stock rigging."²⁵ To counteract grave misconceptions about our economic society, the National Chamber of Commerce is currently urging every local chamber to organize groups of employees inside the plant and groups of

²⁴ Seattle Citizens School Levy Committee in *Keep Seattle Schools Strong*, Seattle Board of Education, 1957, p. 2.

²⁵ Leila A. Sussman, "The Personal Ideology of Public Relations," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Winter, 1948-1949, pp. 697-708.

citizens in the community to participate in economic discussion groups. These groups meet for a period of 17 weeks under the direction of a trained discussion leader who has a specially designed series in *The American Competitive Enterprise Economy*, in which pamphlets, tape recordings, and questionnaires are provided. Schools are encouraged to make use of these materials.²⁶ The National Association of Manufacturers will provide its own specialists to train teachers in their course, "How Our Business System Operates," a flannel-board conference-type program for high school students.²⁷

Business groups are concerned with the failure of many youth to achieve respect for property and law. Delinquency in the community is a threat to industrial property and to the protection of persons in the community. Failure to inculcate moral standards leads to such in-plant problems as drinking, marital infidelity, poor discipline, spoilage, lowered productivity, absenteeism, and turnover.

UNIONS AND EDUCATION AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

Union Officials as Training Accreditors; Teachers as Apprentice Trainers. The vocational high school or technical institute provides job training for young students and sometimes adults. Various unions have a special interest in the standards maintained by apprentice programs. Many youngsters of union members enroll in the vocational courses. Teachers are often former union members who have worked in one of the trades. In war emergencies, many adult union members are trained in the schools for factory and office work.

Union Officials as Placement Overseers; School Officials as Employment and Training Officers. A supply of trained and available labor can be a source of threat to existing labor organizations. There is always the prospect that such labor will tend to create an oversupply with the possibility of depressing wage rates and displacing seasoned workmen. Union officials and school officials often work together to forecast needs and plan the training to be offered in various crafts. The union is also concerned that the new labor supply is not left unorganized. When the union shop prevails, the union is concerned that young people understand the aims and needs of working labor as they take their places in the labor force.

Union Members as Board Members; School Officials as Administrative Subordinates. Union members or lay personnel sympathetic to labor sometimes win seats on the board of education. Here they interact with other

²⁶ Economic Research Department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1615 H Street, NW, Washington 6, D.C. A complete kit costs \$8500. Vocational guidance pamphlets, educational kits, and films are available through the National Association of Manufacturers.

²⁷ National Association of Manufacturers, *Activities and Services Available to Industry*, NAM, 1955, p. 8.

board members and with the school superintendent. Such representation gives a union representative an opportunity to explain and press for labor goals. Unions want a school system that offers equal opportunity to all children and adults in the community. Organized labor often calls out loudly for an improved school program with higher teacher salaries, but, like business groups, it dislikes the higher taxes which may be required. Since blue-collar labor represents many of the lower-income producers and the larger part of the taxpaying group, an increased sales or property tax often falls as a proportionately heavier burden on them than on many other members of the community. They seek progressive income or corporate tax programs that bear most heavily on those with "ability to pay." The public school system is continually asked by both business and labor groups to be more "efficient." New school buildings may be criticized for being too "extravagant" and the curriculum too "fancy." Tax burdens create common bedfellows when school levies are to be voted upon.

Labor shares with business groups the common concern with the three R's in the curriculum and with provision for vocational training. The control of delinquency is also of common interest. The special desire of labor groups is that their children will have an equal opportunity to advance in the system so that they may rise in their occupational achievement. The school becomes increasingly the elevator by which occupational advance and social mobility may be attained. This creates a pressure on the schools to provide the children of labor families with middle-class avenues of social elevation. This means the schools must avoid economic and social discrimination in curricular and especially extracurricular activities. Labor wants its unions regarded as respectable and important social institutions. It wants the teachers to be free to point out the "facts" of the economic system.

Labor groups seek to have labor leaders receive training in labor-management relations. The Ohio CIO points out that state universities

. . . provide training for professional people, research and a multitude of conferences for business interests, administers an educational extension service for farmers, but the million or more organized workers in Ohio who also pay taxes to support the universities are provided no specific services. What organized labor needs is an extension service similar to that provided the farmers with a staff of experts on the technical subjects, such as labor law, industrial hygiene, time studies, etc., who are free to go into local communities where workers live with educational programs. Workers cannot give up their jobs to attend college so on-campus programs are not feasible.²⁸

A Bill to Extend Labor Education has been introduced in Congress, but has never passed. The bill has been endorsed by most labor unions, by several hundred Senators and Representatives, and by both educators and

²⁸ Ohio CIO Council, *Keep Them Free*, Columbus CIO Headquarters, 1952.

businessmen. It would provide \$10 million a year for workers' education programs patterned after the far more expensive extension programs for farm families. It envisages a program undertaken coöperatively by labor unions, federal and state departments, and the universities and school systems of the states.

Labor wants the public school plant to be kept open 12 months a year with recreational facilities—gyms, swimming pools, playgrounds, and auditoriums—always available to the boys and girls. It wants a coördination of the recreational program of city parks and playgrounds with that of the schools.²⁹ Labor organizations believe that there is a great need for more nursery schools for preschool children and supervision for children of school age. The number of women working is rising, and the number of children needing care is pointed to as a major community responsibility.

Federal aid to education is desired by all labor organizations as a requisite to equalize educational opportunity between the states.³⁰ Labor has been a major support of the National Education Association and American Federation of Teachers in their joint desire to accomplish this goal.

THE RELATION OF EDUCATORS TO BUSINESS AND LABOR AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

Teachers as Educators of Citizens; Businessmen and Union Members as Partisans. Teachers and administrators are professionally trained persons, the bulk of whom are employees of a municipal or state school system. They are paid entirely by salary and have no ownership rights whatsoever in the school plant. They want above all else a salary which they define as in line with other trained professional personnel. Good plant and equipment are regarded as important to do a good job, but freedom to teach and behave according to professional standards is the first demand of a career teacher. This requires close support by the community of the school program. It means parents who work with teachers in maintaining a good home and school environment for their children and assisting in discipline when necessary. It means businessmen who open their plants for visits; it means labor organizations who provide support when a teacher or a curriculum introduces "unpopular" or "controversial" ideas. The school needs help from business and labor in setting up vocational training and in placing its graduates in work positions. From all the community, the school seeks the constructive support of a well-rounded educational program that develops pupils to become citizens and parents as well as workers.

Usually, the school administrator has been trained as a teacher and has served as a teacher. He is partly professional educator and partly politician.

²⁹ Department of Research and Education, *Labor and Education*, Washington, D.C., Congress of Industrial Organizations, 1949, p. 16.

³⁰ AFL-CIO News, March 14, 1959, p. 5.

As administrator, he is subjected to the pressures which come to him from the community. If he is a superintendent, he must respond to the policy requirements and informal pressures of the school board. He often faces serious problems of role identification in the midst of controversial issues. He may identify with the partisan groups who determine his job security or with the teachers who may represent his own loyalties. Even in the calmer moments of his work life, he may find himself a marginal man—a person who is neither accepted completely by the powerful industrial or labor groups of the community nor by the teachers who suspect he would compromise the ideals of the teaching profession whenever the pressure of the partisan groups threatened his hold on his own job. Needless to say, the school administrator wants understanding, and he often needs support from segments of the community who will protect him in maintaining a “professional” school system. He must institute reforms that his constituents and perhaps his board feel unnecessary. He is criticized by sponsors of good teaching if he retains inefficient teachers, and yet may be attacked by the teachers’ influential friends and often by teachers’ organizations if he dismisses them. Necessity then makes superintendents play politics and yield to expediency in many a case where they would rather not.³¹

RECIPROCAL RELATIONS OF BUSINESS, LABOR, AND EDUCATION AT THE PLANT OR LOCAL LEVEL

As Possessors of Different Educational Backgrounds. Education is a differentiating characteristic of labor and management in any plant. This is so because occupation tends to be differentiated by the education of the holders. Educational differences are also social status differences. Still more important for social interaction are the interest and communication differences introduced by educational differentiation. Table 23 shows the percentage distribution of workers in major occupation groups for a large manufacturing corporation.

The table shows that a college background is common among managers and professionals, a high school background dominates among clerical and skilled workers, while semiskilled and unskilled labor have generally received elementary school education. This educational stratification pattern may be considered the most likely one to be found in work plants employing workers from all the occupational categories.

Use of Adult Education for Career Advancement. Educational training has become increasingly important for promotional advances within a work organization. The sharpest break occurs between the so-called “white-collar–blue-collar line.” The strategic position is that of foreman, for a person who starts at the bottom in a large corporation today and climbs on the

³¹ Beale, *op. cit.*, pp. 613–620.

basis of initiative and skill becomes increasingly blocked at the foreman's position. The possession of a college or specialized education is generally required for further advance.

Warner and Low point out that one result of this blocking of social mobility has been the use of union organization, another has been the increased use of the schools. The union is the worker's organization in which he seeks prestige as well as bargaining power. The school is seen to be the place

TABLE 23. Percentage Distribution of Major Occupation Groups of Employed Persons 18 to 64 Years of Age by Years of School Completed for a Large Manufacturing Corporation in a Midwestern City

Major Occupation Group	Elementary School Education	High School Education	College Education	Total
Managers	5.6	38.1	56.3	100
Professional and semiprofessional	4.7	21.3	74.0 ^a	100
Clerical	15.2	58.5 ^a	26.3	100
Skilled workers and foremen	43.7	49.7 ^a	6.6	100
Semiskilled workers	48.4 ^a	47.5	4.1	100
Unskilled labor	77.2 ^a	20.8	2.0	100

^a Modal group in each occupational category.

where his child may climb upward and, with hard work, reach positions of power and prestige in the ranks of industry, business, and other social hierarchies. The school is made to take the place of the factory for the mobile and ambitious children of the workers.³² Figure 7.3 is called "Social Mobility in the School; Blocked Mobility in Business." The educational ladder on the right represents the levels of advancement which are ordinarily present in a large enterprise. The downward pointing arrows tell the story of thwarted worker mobility in the manual, white-collar, staff, and supervisory levels. The arrows running from each of the business levels to the educational ladder indicate the tendency of those who are both at the bottom and top of each level to speed their advance through additional schooling. The ultimate return of the arrows from the educational ladder to the top levels of the business ladder tells the story of upward mobility through the school.

The extension of secondary and higher education to an even greater proportion of the young adult population is a firm manifestation of this drive

³² W. L. Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of a Modern Factory*, Yale University Press, 1947.

for occupational betterment via the social ladder. Adult education is rapidly increasing, and this too is, in large part, derived from these same career aspirations arising in adult life. In many companies, employee and supervisory performance reviews are conducted periodically to help the employees see how their work is judged by their company superiors. In many

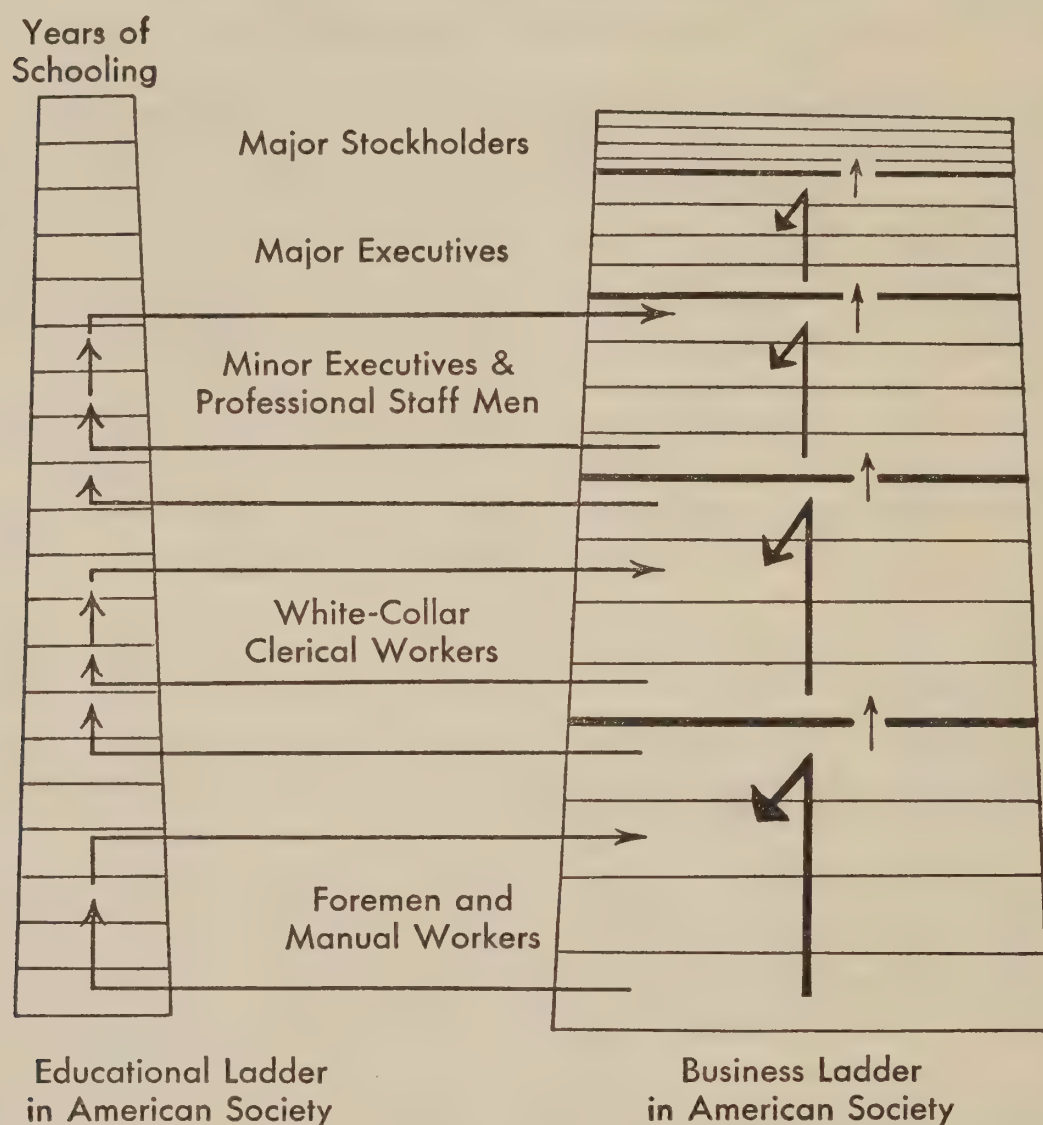


FIGURE 7.3. Social Mobility in the School; Blocked Mobility in Business. (Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, Harper, 1951, p. 601.)

such programs, the employee is asked to make a plan for his improvement, and the question of additional educational training often arises. Sometimes these individual plans lead to a requirement for in-plant training courses, sometimes they point to a need for more training in the schools and colleges of the community. Industry becomes, in effect, a recruiter for education or, at least, a major user of education.

This use of education is increasing at all levels. Hundreds of management

executives now go "back to school" each year, spending from one week to a year in universities as part of a management development program. Likewise, educators are brought into some of the corporations to discuss and learn about the operation and policy of business. The DuPont Company, Standard Oil, Ford Motor Company, and General Motors Corporation have established such programs as continuing features of their public relations activity. Colleges and universities have increased their use of visiting committees of businessmen, have held conferences in which educators and businessmen have been able to exchange views, and have extended their facilities to industry for all manner of research programs.

Educators Transfer to Industry. There has been a considerable flow of people from education into industry over recent years. Most large companies employ economists, engineers, scientists, and other faculty members on a consulting basis. Many companies have made a special effort to employ high school and college teachers of science and mathematics during the summer months to give them a pay supplement to help keep teaching an attractive career. Student internship in industry has brought the schools together. For three decades now, colleges like Antioch and Cincinnati have been placing their students in industry for short periods of the year, alternating work experience with classroom study.

Talks and Tours. The United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers have encouraged their local chapters to sponsor a Business-Education Day devoted to the study of business and industrial firms by the teachers of the area who are released from teaching duties for the day. Assigned in small groups, they spend the morning in seeing business establishments in action. Conferences with top executives are held during the afternoon. Most B-E Day programs operate like the following schedule:

General Program: B-E Day is a purposeful study of the entire commercial and industrial community; "Whole City Becomes a Laboratory for Teachers."

Morning

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 8:30 | All teachers of host representatives assemble in centrally located auditorium. |
| 8:30-8:45 | Chamber executives greet teachers and give last-minute instructions. |
| 8:45-9:00 | Superintendent of Schools reviews "The Purpose of B-E Day." |
| 9:00-9:30 | Teachers travel to selected store or plant. |
| 9:30-10:00 | Introductory meeting of teachers and top executives at each establishment. President discusses the firm's (a) origin, growth, policies, leadership; (b) present organization, product, services, and outlook for future. |
| 10:00-10:15 | Preview of tour. Questions and discussions. |

- 10:15-Noon Tour in small groups with well-informed guides explaining operations. Large industries should include department most pertinent to education.
- Noon-1:30 Luncheon—a time for teachers and their hosts to become better acquainted. Whenever possible, should be held in host plant or store. One host representative for every two teachers is recommended.
- Discussion of how business operates, to be led by top executives of major departments.
- Subjects listed should be varied to interpret particular business or industry.

Afternoon

- 1:30-2:00 Employment procedures (applications, interview, tests, ratings, etc.). Occupational adjustment (attitudes, work experiences, skills, education, training).
- 2:00-2:30 Employee relations (morale and incentive-vacation pay, health and safety services, recreational facilities, profit sharing, etc.).
- 2:30-3:00 Public relations (methods, personnel, costs).
- 3:00-3:15 Rest period.
- 3:15-3:45 Production or merchandising.
- 3:45-4:15 Distribution or sales management. Methods and Problems—finance, wages, taxes, materials, other costs; profit and loss.
- 4:15-4:45 Cooperation of the company with schools (cooperative activities, interpretation through curriculum of management problems, community occupation).

Each of these presentations should schedule half the allotted time to discussion. *Each* should conclude with implication for schools.

- Dinner School staff and school board as guests of the business and industry organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce, service clubs and other similar groups. Speaker or panel representing both education and business.³³

A guide for host firms was published by the Seattle Chamber of Commerce which made suggestions for telling industry's story on B-E Day. These included:

1. Important points or themes which can be emphasized:
 - a. *What Business and Industry Contribute to Our Community.*
 - Taxes—schools, sanitation, police, streets, and parks.
 - Charity—Community Chest, youth groups, orphan homes.
 - Donations.
 - Cultural—libraries, museums, opera, and lectures.
 - Employment—jobs for men and women, including the physically handicapped and aged workers.
 - Pay Rolls—brings to the community more doctors, ministers, and other

³³ Committee on Education, *How to Plan a Business-Education Day*, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, p. 8.

professional men. Also brings better standard of living through more retail stores, greater selection of products, more transportation facilities, and more varied entertainment and recreation.

Civic Leadership—businessmen contribute their know-how and resources to civic betterment.

Pensions—a new and rising cost for large industrial establishments.

b. *The Functions of Business and Management Must Satisfy Consumers, Investors, and Employees.*

Management must make decisions on production, sales, finance, and research.

Management must be responsible to the Board of Directors representing stockholders.

c. *The Current and Long Range Problems for Industry in Community and Throughout the Country.*

Profits—adequate provision for providing for cost of materials, wages, distribution, earnings for investors, replacement for machinery, and future expansion.

Production and Productivity—greater production means lower costs per unit and cheaper prices, as well as more sales and more jobs.

Human Relations—America has mastered assembly line production techniques. Human engineering is now being improved to give employees recognition, better working conditions, and other work satisfactions.

Trend toward Collectivism—in recent years, government has become more important in business and industry through stricter controls, operation of competing business, and taxing to provide social benefits.

Government Taxation and Spending—at present, individuals pay 32 per cent of their income in various taxes. Business firms also pay high taxes. Government spending for hundreds of projects is subject to question.

d. *The Importance of Maintaining Freedom in America.*

Freedom guaranteed by Constitution, including the Bill of Rights.

America provides opportunity for everyone willing to work.

Initiative, hard work, ingenuity, and intelligence pay off in America.

Free competition must be preserved in our enterprise system.³⁴

Business-education programs have been held in over 150 communities and are having increasing acceptance. In many cities, these programs for the teachers have been followed by a similar study of the schools by businessmen. The program usually follows a schedule similar to B-E Day with a tour of classrooms in various departments and general discussions of education objectives, such as:

personnel policies
professional problems
research

apprentice training
cafeteria
supplies

³⁴ Education Division, Seattle Business-Education Day, April 28, 1955, *A Guide for Host Firms, B-E Day in Seattle*, Seattle Chamber of Commerce, 1955, pp. 13-15.

supervision
transportation

libraries
on-the-job training

School administrators usually try to plan their programming so that businessmen learn:

How the three R's, history, science, etc., are taught;
How and why the curriculum has expanded;
How student interests and aptitudes are determined;
Why many cities have established kindergartens and junior colleges;
How controversial subjects are handled;
How the schools are staffed and equipped;
How individual ability and enterprise are encouraged;
What sources of revenue support education;
Why elementary teachers are scarce;
What improvements are needed in school plant;
How school policies are established;
How school budgets are set up; and
How business and education can coöperate
 in distributive education,
 in apprentice training,
 in vocational guidance,
 in modernizing the school plant, and
 in combating delinquency.

In addition to the reciprocal visitation program, industry has learned that the B-E Day is an excellent opportunity to further additional contacts by arranging plant tours with the teachers for future class visits, providing the visiting teachers with classroom aids, such as charts, graphs, statistics, maps, and booklets about their particular field of operation. Films based on the work of the firm may be loaned to the school. Business speakers may be made available to talk to student assemblies on "the importance of education, the American way of life, or the story of American business."³⁵

Labor's Local Interaction with Education. Labor too has been building closer ties with educators. Intellectuals have been entering the labor union as staff personnel. Most large unions hire accountants, lawyers, journalists, economists, and public relations advisors.³⁶ Labor has been working closely with many universities in seeking research personnel to help them in education work.³⁷ Some unions have organized speakers' bureaus to contact

³⁵ Chamber of Commerce of the United States, *How to Plan a B-E Day*, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

³⁶ Harold L. Wilensky, *Intellectuals in Labor Unions*, Free Press, 1956.

³⁷ A partial list of universities conducting labor education programs includes the University of California, Berkeley and Los Angeles; the University of Chicago; the University of Connecticut; Cornell University; the University of Denver; Howard University; Indiana University; the University of Illinois; Loyola University; Massachusetts Institute of Tech-

schools and community groups. However, the contacts between labor representatives and teachers are limited. Union-education programs are almost nonexistent as planned efforts to make contacts with the schools. However, some steps have been taken. Muskegon, Michigan, unions play host to all the teachers in the community one day a year. Flint locals have the ministers of the community in for a luncheon once a year for an exchange of views. Michigan locals have farmer-labor institutes. The teachers' unions represent one point of contact of potential significance. However, only 51,000 (4.5 percent) of the country's 1.2 million teachers are members of the American Federation of Teachers. This small fraction of teachers inside the union movement diminishes importance of teacher-union contacts. Indeed, a suspicion of intellectuals is especially deep in local union ranks. Manual work experience and union experience gained in the ranks is commonly regarded as essential for the understanding of unionization and for personal accreditation of union loyalty. A belief persists in some quarters that workers' education in the universities is conducted in the fear of corporation criticism and is, at worst, dishonest and hostile to union goals. However, it must be noted that the AFL-CIO and its affiliates are investing more than half a million dollars each year in scholarship programs as an expression of labor's continuing interest in broadening educational opportunities in the United States.³⁸

Education is mandatory business for many unions. The United Auto Workers have a clause in their constitution making education a mandatory part of the business of the International Union and of each local union, particularly education in labor history, labor problems, the objectives of the International Union and the problems of the International Union, its members, and their families. Each local union must set up an education committee to promote all branches of education affecting the welfare of individual members, and to accomplish this work each local union must set aside a separate fund of 3 cents per month per dues-paying member.³⁹

About 1 out of 20 UAW members takes part in a UAW class, institute, or summer school. These classes are held in safety methods, collective bargaining for stewards, radio, public speaking, time study, pension administration, etc. The courses are set up to train the union member to help run the local union. Of the 300,000 members in the UAW, about 1 in every 15 (75,000 in all) is an officer, a steward, a member of a bargaining committee, or a mem-

nology; McGill University; the University of Michigan; Michigan State University; the University of Minnesota; New School for Social Research; New York University; the University of North Carolina; Ohio State University; Pennsylvania State University; the University of Pennsylvania; Purdue University; Roosevelt College; Rutgers University; St. Joseph's College; the University of St. Louis; the University of Washington; Wayne State University; Western Reserve University; and the University of Wisconsin.

³⁸ *AFL-CIO News*, February 14, 1959, p. 12.

³⁹ *Ammunition*, January-February, 1957, pp. 2-4.

ber of a union committee. Leaders must be found to run more than 400 newspapers and more than 500 credit unions.⁴⁰

Conflict Relationships of Business, Labor, and Education

INFLUENCE NETWORK FOR THE BUSINESS-LABOR-EDUCATION COMPLEX

It has been pointed out that customary relationships between business, labor, and education rest upon an equilibrium of interest groups. Any of these customary relationships may be challenged and issues contested.

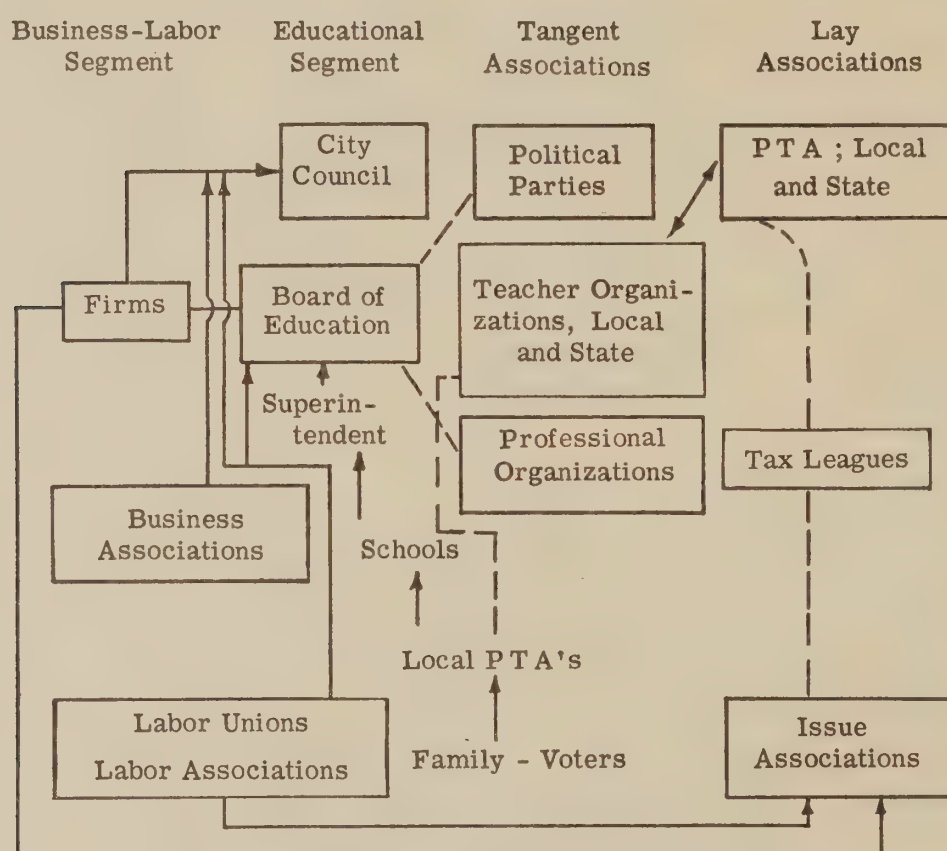


FIGURE 7.4. Influence Network in the Business-Labor-Education Complex. Dotted lines reveal possible relationships.

Business firms and allied associations vie with labor unions and sympathetic associations for representation and control in the city council and board of education. In certain cities, as in Pittsburgh and Chicago, there is a recognized representative of organized labor on the school board. In some cities, a definite antilabor attitude is found among school board members owing to the middle-class and wealthier class support which they enjoy. Occasionally, a school official or a member of a board will report that organized labor has made no headway among the janitors or that there is

⁴⁰ *Ammunition*, May, 1957, p. 32.

no affiliation of the teachers with the American Federation of Teachers.⁴¹ The council and board of education are enmeshed in a set of influences and pressures from such tangent associations as the political parties, teachers' organizations, and professional organizations. Lay associations like the PTA, the tax leagues, and various committee or issue associations also constitute important parts of the community power complex which bears upon the school. Industry and labor may choose to work through these issue associations to accomplish their ends.

George S. Counts has written that

The insulating barriers which the state has set up to protect the agencies of popular education from the impact of social forces are relatively ineffective. The school operates and must always operate in a social medium . . . In our great cities, scarcely a day passes that fails to see some interest in the community seeking in one way or another to influence the program of the schools. Minor educational pronouncements may emerge from the board of education, but the more important policies are the product of the clash of the organized and articulate minorities that compose a modern society . . . Society is divided into sects, parties, and classes which must, by some means, fashion an educational program . . . Among these contrary elements, the lot of the school is cast.⁴²

America has a Jacksonian tradition that assumes anyone with normal intelligence can exercise good judgment in deciding upon school matters and all that is important is that the person be honest and willing to give conscientious service. Our elective school boards, our political parties, and our government officers are part of a common philosophy. The feelings and interests of various groups coalesce and collide about the public schools, where innumerable motives are brought to play.

Issue conflicts bring about readjustments in the equilibrium, which may be observed as new alignments in the structure or a reestablishment of the previous structure. Let us examine the organizational behavior which may occur in the case of maximum likelihood when certain issues arise.

COMMON POWER ARRANGEMENTS FOR THREE TYPICAL ISSUES

Issue 1: A Tax Increase to Build New Schools, Raise Teachers' Salaries, or Provide New Services. This kind of issue is usually initiated by the board of education, which makes a request for a tax increase as a last resort. It will have asked for more money from the council, from the state, and perhaps from the federal government. If unsuccessful in finding revenue, it will appeal to the people. Business groups are sounded out, and the PTA

⁴¹ N. B. Henry and J. G. Kerwin, *School and City Government*, University of Chicago Press, 1938, p. 29.

⁴² George S. Counts, *School and Society in Chicago*, Harcourt, Brace, 1928, pp. 343, 352-353, 345-346.

may be consulted. The board usually passes a strong resolution of support for its request for more taxes. The Chamber of Commerce may follow with an endorsement, but individual firms may hold back and actively work against the proposed tax. The taxpayers' league will oppose the tax, unless it is a crash program demonstrating an urgent need. Or, it may approve if the tax is to be levied on sales rather than upon property. Organized labor may urge support, but the taxpayers' league will appeal to home owners to oppose the additional tax. An especial appeal will be made to those older adults who have no children in the public schools. The mayor may speak of the need for more local revenue to support the schools, and the PTA may strongly endorse the levy and initiate a telephone campaign. The political parties may swing into action, getting certain political leaders to put their views before the people. Often, this is done through various voluntary bodies like the Americans for Democratic Action, the municipal leagues, and the Young Republicans. The teacher organizations urge their members to "talk it up" and to get as much publicity as possible in support of the tax levy. Newspapers are given information and are urged to lend support in passage. Eventually, the winning or losing votes will rest upon the size of the turnout and the way in which the small property holder makes up his mind. The greater the vote, the more likely it will be that the smaller or nonholding property holder will be present to cast a favorable vote. If the economy groups fail to win the local election, they may press through the state legislature restrictive legislation on the spending powers of the schools.

Issue 2: Changes in the Curriculum. There is considerable criticism of the school curriculum that contains a wide variety of subjects and extra-curricular activities. It is alleged that this variety is being secured at the expense of the taxpayers and is withdrawing emphasis on the basic school subjects, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic. At the high school level, the current emphasis is upon a stiffer college preparatory course, especially in science and mathematics. When the curriculum becomes an issue, a storm of protest breaks about the head of the school superintendents. A business or professional group is most likely to initiate the protests in a fear that their children may not be able to succeed in school and in upward social mobility because of failure to master the basic subjects necessary for higher education. College merit examinations, aptitude tests, fellowship requirements, and admission standards to colleges and universities loom over parents to threaten their egos as their children are forced into more demanding competition. Business groups, worried by the shortcomings of white-collar stenographers, typists, and clerks, may join in the outcry that "Johnny Can't Read." Political parties may try to embarrass the city government and the opposing party by making this issue a basis for political capital. Newspapers come in with good coverage and newspaper circulation responds to the public interest. The taxpayers' league may point to the squandering of school

funds that are being expended on fads or frills while reading, writing, and arithmetic are allowed to suffer. The league asks for a thoroughgoing investigation. The PTA may be split. It may ask the superintendent and principal to talk with them and perhaps arrange for a teacher to show them how reading instruction is given. Finally, the PTA gives a lukewarm endorsement of the present program. The teachers' groups back up the superintendent in defense of the present curriculum. Certain leading citizens step forth to speak about the aims of modern education. The school board supports the modern curriculum, although dissenters on the board are vigorous in opposition. Labor, fearing the cancellation of vocational and technical training, may offer support to the proponents of the modern curriculum. Professional organizations like the bar association and medical society may swing their influence toward the modern curriculum. When all parties have been heard, the superintendent may have weathered the storm with a promise to stress the three R's and to play down extracurricular activities. The teachers continue to behave very much the same. The school board and the superintendent hasten to mend political fences.

Issue 3: The Hiring of a School Superintendent. The superintendent of schools is the chief administrative officer. He recommends the appointment of teachers, the expenditure of funds, the content of the curriculum. He himself is hired by a school board and must get approval of recommendations from his board. In a community where politics has made the schools a captive of the spoils system, there is a rich resource to exploit. A school board controls teaching appointments, building contracts, textbooks, and supply orders, as well as hundreds of nonteaching jobs. The school board wants to exert primary control over these matters and may therefore consider it very important to have an amenable superintendent. The kind of superintendent a community gets depends on the school board.

In cities with a population over 50,000, school boards are selected in the following ways: by popular election, by the courts, and by officers of the city government (usually the mayor). In most cities where the voters select the school board members, the election is at-large on a nonpartisan ballot. These elections have their issues. Their favorite slogans are "Americanism" and "economize." On these safe issues, middle-class politicians can usually get together and dominate school affairs, unless the "best people," organized in their parent-teacher groups, are ever watchful. Two educational researchers point out that "the politics with which the schools are beset at the present time are injected into the schools just as frequently by school boards or by representatives of the legislative or executive branches of political government. In addition, there are instances of tampering with schools which involve the collusion between the school board and a political machine. In fact, there is ground for the contention that an independent school board merely provides two possible sources of political interference instead of

one."⁴³ In some cities, one finds evidence of racial and religious issues forming part of a whispering campaign. As is usually the case, Catholics, Jews, and Negroes suffer, and they may never win representation on the school board or a position as school superintendent.⁴⁴

The hiring of a city superintendent may be a part of a power complex in which control over the superintendent may be a more important matter to the interested parties than his qualifications for operating a school system. Such an issue may bring both political parties forward as active contestants in naming the new superintendent. The PTA may try to exert an influence for good schools and the naming of a qualified superintendent only to find that their choice is sidetracked. The press may take a neutral position. The teachers' organizations line up with the PTA, and other professional groups announce support of a qualified, nonpolitical appointment. Business groups are split, but all are agreed they want a man who will line up soundly in support of free enterprise. Labor unions put their support behind the Municipal League and the PTA. Patriotic organizations call for a superintendent who will insist on "solid American teachers" and who will support a loyalty oath. They will call for use of textbooks that do not disparage America's military history or defense efforts. The service clubs ask for a man who can restore peace and harmony to the strife-ridden school system. And, in the midst of these pressures, the school board hires a school superintendent. The same pressures, even more nakedly revealed, may be observed in the firing of a superintendent.⁴⁵

ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES WHICH CAN BE BROUGHT INTO PLAY

There are many other issues that can arise about the schools. Issues spring up about the freedom of teachers to speak on controversial issues in and out of the classroom, use of controversial textbooks, the moral conduct of teachers in and out of the classroom, the right of teachers to belong to organizations of their own choosing (including political and professional organizations), how schools shall buy supplies, and what facilities the new school buildings shall have. In struggles over these issues, industry has the financial and prestige resources of the individual firms and the business associations. It has contacts on the city council, in the political parties, service clubs, interest groups, lobbies, etc. Labor resources are centered in its own organizations, contacts on the council, and in the political parties. Its primary resource is votes and, generally, it can exert its major influence as it

⁴³ Henry and Kerwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66. Mosely contends the bipartisan board is most likely to do direct harm to the schools because it can play party politics without party responsibility. See Nicholas Mosely, "Politics and School Administration," in C. M. Hill (ed.), *Educational Progress and School Administration*, Yale University Press, 1936, p. 73.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴⁵ Cf. Hulburd, *op. cit.* This book is a documentary account of Mr. Willard Goslin's removal from the superintendency of Pasadena's public schools in the fall of 1950.

is able to arouse organized and unorganized labor. By sheer voting proportion, it can often command the dominant power. Educators have resources in their professional associations, the PTA, and in support from parents of children now in school. Their political position is one of relative isolation. In any effort waged for the schools, teachers are open to the charge they are merely pushing their own self-interests. As a result, they are told to "lie low."

Dynamics of Issue Resolution

ANALYSIS OF A CASE ISSUE

Bremerton, Washington, is located on the Olympic Peninsula, one hour's ferry ride west of Seattle. It has a population of 35,000 and is the site of the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard. Its school system is composed of 13 elementary schools, 2 junior high schools, and 1 high school. On May 26, 1953, the city of Bremerton held a special school election to decide upon three separate propositions. The first sought a mandate to levy a 5-mill tax levy for an increase in teachers' salaries; the second, to levy a 3-mill levy for restoring instruction in elementary school music, health services, intramural sports, and extraclass activities. The third sought to levy 3 mills for restoration of kindergarten instruction.

Twice during the 1952-1953 school year, special elections had been held seeking tax levy authorization for the local schools, and defeats were suffered both times. In April, 1952, at a joint meeting of the Bremerton Education Association and the Principals' Association, it was agreed that the board would be asked for salary increases amounting to an average of \$448 per year with a special tax levy if necessary. The local newspaper reported that "in suggesting that a special tax be sought for salaries, the teachers are following a pattern set by the legislature at the recent session. It was clearly indicated during the session that the majority of the legislators are of the opinion that more of the costs for schools should be borne at the local district level."⁴⁶

The article then estimated that such a raise would require \$123,000, or a 5-mill levy on the district's assessed valuation of \$24,000,000.

The school directors decided to try a third time to get public consent for the tax levy, which they offered in the three propositions described above. The campaign for and against the levies was conducted largely by the Bremerton Professional Education Associations and the Kitsap County Taxpayers Association with other groups falling in to support them according to their beliefs.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ *The Bremerton Sun*, April, 1952.

⁴⁷ This campaign was analyzed by James Peter Steffenson, *A Study of the May 26, 1953, Special School Election in Bremerton, Washington*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1954. Cf. Hulburd, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-98.

The Affirmative Campaign. The school groups were composed of the Bremerton Education Association, Bremerton Federation of Teachers, the Principals' Association, and Building Service Employees Local 114. The school groups endorsed all three levies and placed 11 advertisements in *The Bremerton Sun*, costing \$300. The Bremerton Central Labor Council and the Bremerton Metal Trades Council both offered their support and placed large advertisements in the newspaper, proclaiming their endorsement.

Eleven days before the election, the school board took a public stand urging passage of the 5-mill levy for salaries, but passed along to the voters "a milder" recommendation for the two 3-mill levies for kindergartens and the "restorative programs." The impact of this announcement was to face the professional teachers' organization with the burden of campaigning for all three levies.

The Opposition Campaign. The Kitsap County Taxpayers Association was the spearhead of the opposition. It ran a series of 11 newspaper advertisements, aimed primarily at the defeat of the 5-mill levy for salary increases. They said that (1) the teachers' per diem wages were sufficiently high, (2) the teachers would receive pay increases next year, even if the levy failed, (3) the total levy meant a 25-percent increase in taxes, and (4) the present board was not administering the available funds properly. In addition to this type of opposition, it placed many small advertisements urging a large turnout, pointing out that, because of a change in the law, "a handful of voters can now pass special tax levies for school operation purposes. It is possible for as few as 360 yes votes to raise your taxes by as much as 25 per cent next year."⁴⁸

The Taxpayers' Association never identified its personnel but presented itself as "nonpartisan and nonpolitical."

The Forces of Community Decision. There are many group influences which are difficult to estimate. What was the impact of the newspaper? Where did the PTA groups stand? What did the Board of Education really want?

The Bremerton Sun wrote a series of four articles on the school levies. These articles were factual reports. The newspaper editor put himself on record the night before the election with an editorial which decried the "irresponsible and slurring remarks that have been directed at the school board. An unthinking few have even accused the school directors of engaging in tactics not in the best interests of the community . . . Whatever the outcome of tomorrow's special levy election, it is time for a basic change to be made in the scurrilous thinking of some citizens with respect to the school board." Some members of the community felt that these contributions of the newspaper helped the levies. The teachers and others believed the *Sun*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

did not help the levies and had a decidedly negative effect.⁴⁹ The teachers replied to a survey in the fall of 1953 as follows:

In one word, what would you consider to be the attitude of the local newspaper toward the Bremerton schools?

Positive	26%
Negative	67
No comment	6 ⁵⁰

The Bremerton Council of the PTA took no part in the campaign other than to offer their regular meetings as an opportunity for those in favor of the levies to present their views. The absence of their endorsement of the levies either in the advertisements or otherwise in the *Sun* was conspicuous.⁵¹ However, districts with high PTA membership voted significantly more in favor of the levy.

The Board of Education took the view that they were passing the problem over to the voters, and, although they urged passage of the 5-mill levy, they said the other two were only *desirable*. This stand seriously weakened the support for all the levies. The election vote was as follows:

	Yes	No
Proposition No. 1	3151	4521
Proposition No. 2	2938	4712
Proposition No. 3	3141	4523

Issue Vector Analysis. The vote defeated all three levies. Could such a defeat have been predicted by an appraisal of the power relations? Figure 7.5 depicts the forces for and against the levy and shows the resolution.

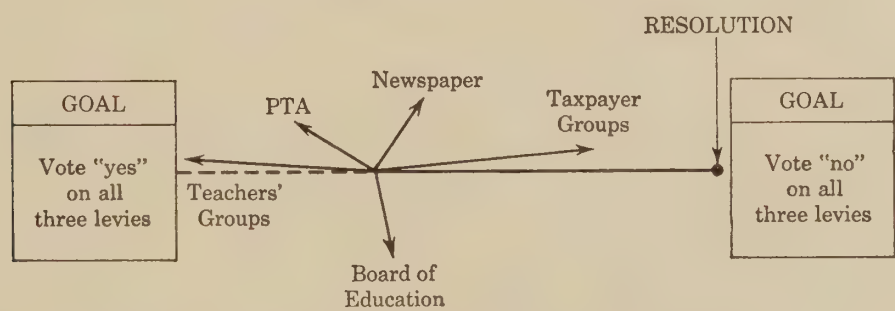


FIGURE 7.5. Vector Analysis of Three School Levy Issues.

The opposition groups won because they made a case for the heavy burden of taxes. This appeal can always evoke wide support. One writer has explained this by pointing out that “opposition to education is not always open and avowed, but sometimes takes the form of Fabian resistance, which

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 87–88.
⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 941.
⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

shows only at the polls when approval is sought for a bond issue. Statistics show that nonparents comprise the bulk of the taxpayers concerned with school issues. Yet, the schools concentrate on winning over those already having every reason to offer their support—the parents.”⁵²

Other reasons given by 105 persons in the community who were interviewed include a criticism of “frills” in schools and a criticism of the school administration. The opposition group exploited all of these grievances. The teachers’ organizations were not strong enough without substantial help from the remainder of the community to win. Organized labor did not bring its members into a strong support. The PTA and the Board of Education were not a strong force, and it may be estimated that the Board actually provided an influence for the opposition.

CHANGES IN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

New Trends

RIISING IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION IN AN ERA OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

The advance of technology is changing the face of the labor force, and this in turn is changing the character and emphasis of secondary and college education. The changes in the occupational structure over the past 50 years in the United States are shown in Table 24.

This table shows that there is a marked decline in the proportion of the labor force engaged in agriculture, with a contrasting increase in urban occupation. Within manual-labor groups of the urban labor force, the decline of unskilled labor and the rising skill requirements can be noted in the long-run demand for proportionately more semiskilled and skilled workers. Mechanization has eliminated many arduous tasks and has absorbed a large number of manual operations into machine processes. An increasing volume of sales has created opportunities for clerical workers, as shown in their ever increasing proportion. Another indication of the increasing technical organization of society may be observed in the rising proportion of proprietors, managers, and officials. Most of the growth is in the manager and official occupations. The relative number of proprietors has declined. However, the increase of professional workers bears further testimony to the rise of a specialized economy.

These changes in occupational demand require an ever greater extension

⁵² Robert Arthur Seffre, *A Study of the Development of Public School Newspaper Relations in the State of Washington with Analyses of Significant Post World War II Controversies*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1953, p. 147.

of educational training for almost all workers, with very specialized training for the skilled managerial and professional workers. The enrollments by college students in various fields of study definitely reflect these massive shifts.

TABLE 24. Percentage Distribution of Employed Workers by Socioeconomic Groups in United States, 1910-1950

Socioeconomic Group	1910 ^a	1920 ^a	1930 ^a	1940 ^a	1950 ^b
Nonfarm	67.6%	74.6%	78.7%	82.5%	87.9%
Professional and semiprofessional	4.3%	4.9%	6.0%	6.9%	7.2%
Proprietors, managers, and officials	6.4	6.7	7.5	7.8	10.4
Clerical	10.4	13.7	16.3	17.2	19.0
Skilled workers and foremen	11.4	13.4	12.9	12.8	12.9
Semiskilled workers	14.1	16.0	16.3	17.9	20.9
Unskilled workers	21.0	19.9	19.7	19.9	17.5
Farm owners, operators, and laborers	32.4%	25.4%	21.3%	17.5%	12.1%
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

^a Alba M. Edwards, *Comparative Occupation Statistics, 1870-1940*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943.

^b *United States Census of the Population, 1950*, Vol. II, Part I, Summary, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953.

Havemann and West point out that there has been a substantial rise in the proportion of graduates trained in the social sciences and a really spectacular rise in the proportion who have studied business administration. Among the graduates over 50, only 1 in 100, male and female, majored in this field. Among those under 30, the figure jumped to 15 men out of 100 and 7 women out of 100. In the oldest group of male graduates, there were 18 men who took premedical, prelegal, and predental courses for every specialist in business administration. In the youngest group, there are about 4 business majors for every man who majored in those three professions. The position of the humanities has been declining steadily among both men and women. Among the newest crop of graduates, only 16 men out of 100, and 37 women out of 100, have majored in this old traditional field.⁵³

⁵³ Ernest Havemann and Patricia Salter West, *They Went to College*, Harcourt, Brace, 1952, p. 22. (Based on a survey of United States college graduates made by *Time* magazine and analyzed by the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research.)

INCREASING SIZE OF EDUCATIONAL BUREAUCRACIES

The population of the United States increased by 34,000,000 between 1941 and 1956 and is expected to increase by more than 40,000,000 in the next 20 years. These new people must all be provided for in the schools. This means great expansion of the public and private schools at all levels. Enrollment in institutions at the college and university level is over 3,000,000. By 1970, it is expected to be 4,500,000. The demand for teachers in the physical sciences and engineering is so great that it has been suggested that industry release competent professionals on a part-time basis to teach sciences when shortages exist. David A. Shepard, a director of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), has suggested that industry people might be released for a semester or an entire school year to devote their full time to educational activity. He points out that industry has been lending men to government, and the precedent of leaves of absence for work not directly related to industry is well established.⁵⁴

The problem of staffing the school is only one confronted by the superintendent of a local school or the president of a college. There has been an amazing degree of expansion in the amount and character of educational service. These include a wide variety of courses to care for individual differences and occupational specializations, the development of health services in coöperation with the public health department, participation in community recreation programs, assisting in caring for cases of juvenile maladjustment and delinquency, developing safety education, coöperating with the public libraries, development of guidance and counseling service, building a public relations program to interpret the school to the community, etc. These activities have required an enlargement of the superintendent's office to include a corps of specially trained line and staff officers. To a line organization—assistant superintendents and principals—he must entrust power to administer special parts or functions of the system. To his staff officers—consulting and advisory specialists—he must look for the knowledge and advice essential to molding policies and directing procedures. Like the president of a large business corporation or labor union, the city school superintendent has many problems of coördination and financial management. He must deal with businessmen in buying supplies and with unions in negotiating contracts with custodians, teachers in unions, etc. A typical problem occurred in Seattle in 1957. Local 609 Operating Engineers' Union, which represents the custodians, asked for a union-security agreement clause requiring all new employees within the union's jurisdiction to become union members within 30 days. The board offered a union recognition clause designed to establish Local 609 as the custodians' bargaining agent and to pro-

⁵⁴ "Bringing Education and Industry Closer Together," a panel talk at the annual meeting of the American Council of Education, Chicago, Illinois, October 11, 1956.

tect the union's jurisdiction. This was not acceptable to the union's business representative and the matter was turned over to an assistant superintendent of schools to try to work out a compromise.⁵⁵

These many and various problems have brought the superintendent a sharply defined administrative assignment, while most school boards have accepted a legislative responsibility that requires it to meet periodically to consider and approve major policies. Board members today are lay members who know little or nothing of the details which consumed practically the full time of many of their predecessors.⁵⁶

Labor unions have shown increasing interest in education. Unions know their leaders need training, and they have coöperated with the universities to secure it. They are aware of the needs of better education for their members who do not always feel the same need for unionization that existed in the first part of the century. They are increasingly concerned with the education of children as they watch the advance of technology and automatically controlled industrial processes. Labor has become more politically powerful and has joined with political parties to secure election of candidates they have endorsed. It has joined with organized groups who have sought nonsegregated schools. It has aided groups who have opposed attacks on public education, such as have been made in Englewood, New Jersey; Pasadena, California; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Denver, Colorado; Scarsdale, New York; Ferndale, Michigan; San Angelo, Texas; Montgomery County, Maryland; Springfield, Missouri; and others. The National Educational Association has claimed that about a dozen organizations are attacking public education by using opposition to higher school taxes and misunderstanding of modern educational methods as their springboard. These dissident groups often start out as splinter groups from parent-teacher organizations. They frequently appeal for funds, and some of them have been aided financially by large corporations. The groups contain elements of business people and taxpayers' groups.⁵⁷

The United Auto Workers has denounced these groups as seeking to "convert the children of American workmen to anti-union, anti-democratic, and bigoted ideas."⁵⁸ Unions continue to urge federal aid to education. The Murray-Metcalf Bill, backed by the AFL-CIO, authorizes grants to states

⁵⁵ Reported in *Seattle Times*, May, 1957.

⁵⁶ Clyde M. Hill, *Educational Progress and School Administration*, Yale University Press, 1936, p. 19.

⁵⁷ Reported by Dr. Virgil Rogers to the National Educational Association, *Seattle Post Intelligence*, July 4, 1951, p. 12. The organizations listed are: Friends of the Public Schools of America, Inc., Washington, D.C.; Conference of American Small Business Organizations, New York; American Parents Committee on Education, New York; Church League of America, Chicago; Employers' Association of Chicago; Institute for Public Service, New York; National Association of Pro America, Seattle; American Education Association, New York; Guardian of American Education, Inc., New York.

⁵⁸ *Ammunition*, November, 1952, p. 12.

based on their number of school-age children. The states themselves would decide how much of the money would be applied to school construction and how much to school curriculum.

EMERGENCE OF THE COMMUNITY-CENTERED SCHOOL

Increasingly, the school is looked upon as the most important agency for the integration of neighborhood and community life. Many architects and city planners begin with the school as a central point in planning the development of a new community or in reconstruction of the old one. A con-

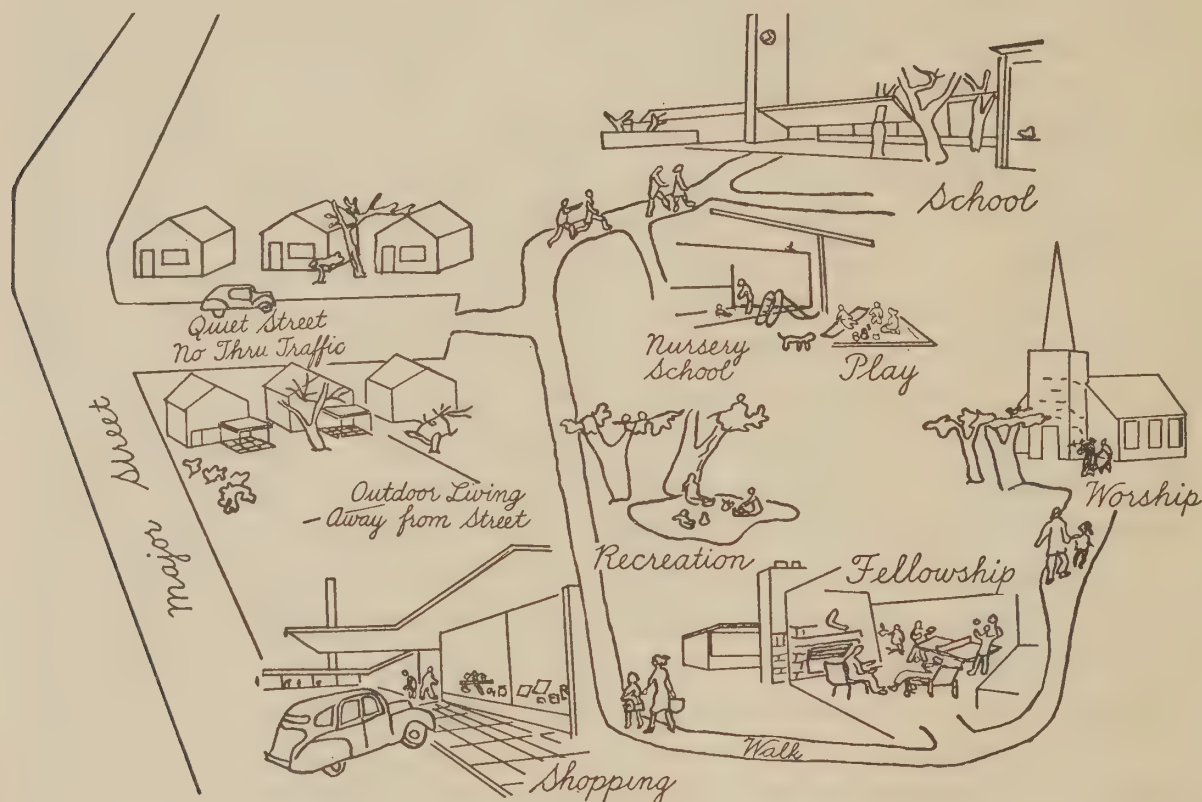


FIGURE 7.6. School and Neighborhood Needs Are Related to One Another.

ception of a planned neighborhood puts the school in the center of neighborhood life surrounded by other neighborhood needs (see Figure 7.6). Increasing leisure and the larger family have emphasized the need for such a land-use plan. Educators have been formulating the educational requirements of a community school. They have stated that the community school should (1) operate as a full-time educational center for the entire community population; (2) utilize all appropriate community resources for instructional purposes; (3) center its curriculum in the community structure, processes, and problems; (4) serve the locality through direct attack on some of its problems; and (5) lead in coordinating democratically all possible community agencies toward the common goal of more effective education in that region.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Edward G. Olsen, et al., *School and Community*, Prentice-Hall, 1945, pp. 18-19.

Such a conception of an integrated school-community complex envisages business and labor unions as laboratory and field resources for education. Industry may become an educational enterprise offering part-time training so that children may again be inducted into the life of the group through actual participation in the activities of society. Many burdens placed upon the school during the past century may be shifted to other community agencies.

This conception of the community school is not limited at any level. The community junior college is now a rapidly growing institution and includes an extension of public provisions of education in the community through two years of higher education.

Trend Toward the Representative Model

The representative model for the business-labor-education complex postulates a proportionate representation of all major economic and occupational interests in policy formulation. This case may be found when labor, business, professions, and educators are all active and powerful and have the dominant ideology that the school should serve all interests. The gradually increasing strength of labor and teachers' organizations, coupled with increased democratization of the community, set a trend in the direction of the representative model. Labor members and citizens sympathetic to labor and other minority groups are winning more seats on school boards. Even the boards of regents for universities often count a labor leader among their members.

The representative model is by no means achieved in a completed state. The struggle for nonsegregated schools is only one of the vigorous contests that indicate the conflict processes attending the shift to a fully representative model. Some educational philosophers believe the school should be more than a depository of accumulated knowledge; instead, it is argued that the school has a positive role in directing the social development of a community. Its power for influencing social change has been very much limited. The school is greatly weakened by the artificiality of its activities. Teachers, as a rule, have had relatively little contact with the real world. As a result, education has continued in its tradition of isolation. Large areas of life in capitalistic society have been reserved to the operation of business enterprise, sharply widening private from public interests. "It is this line that educators have been unable to pass. As a consequence, the school is forced into an artificial world, and organized education is pushed out upon the periphery of existence . . . The doctrine has evolved that children have interests quite unlike those of adults and should organize a society of their own."⁶⁰

There has been a gradual shift in this view as industry-government rela-

⁶⁰ Counts, *op. cit.*, p. 561.

tions have expanded. This is well demonstrated in a recent statement issued by the Board of Directors of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey):

The importance of our public school system to the growth, prosperity, peace, and security of our country can scarcely be overestimated at any time. Its significance is never more apparent than in times of emergency. At times like these, the relationship between freedom and a literate and educated population is thrown into clear focus.

American business enterprise is aware of its great debt to the public school system of this country because that system is essential to the survival and growth of business.

The right and duty of the individual to support our public school system is clear. One such duty is, of course, that of paying taxes. But it seems to us clear that the obligation of each of us as an individual runs beyond mere payment of taxes.

Over the years, many Jersey Standard employees have participated actively in their local school programs. The company would like to see more of its people take an active interest in the problems and opportunities facing the public schools in their own communities. Obviously, the conditions affecting the individual's ability to participate in school activities will vary, but our company encourages its employees, as good American citizens, to undertake this important work—where circumstances warrant—and, in line with company policy and other fields of citizenship responsibility, company time may be allowed for such activities.⁶¹

This kind of industry-education climate is conducive to the extension of an educational program for the community. However, if a representative model were to be developed around the idea that the school is the focal point of educative processes for all interests of the community, the community and the school would become increasingly indivisible. The press, cinema, and radio might become adjuncts of the educative process rather than commercial enterprises. Young people would combine economic work with classroom instruction. Directed travel might be regarded as a significant substitute for the narrow confines of library or classroom instruction. Projects completed at home under the direction of parents are a possibility. If these efforts are not made, then the school must seek to incorporate its own substitutes—laboratories, workshops, pilot operations, movie and television theaters, hospitals, hotels, home demonstration houses, etc. The first alternative offers real experience within the larger community; the second, an artificially contrived experience in a limited-purpose society.

Variations in Contemporary Communities

A number of different educational practices are to be observed in various American communities. These include (1) growth of the private school

⁶¹ Quoted in Frank W. Abrams, "The Stake of Business in Public School Education," National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, 1951, p. 11.

movement, (2) growth in labor participation, and (3) growth of parochial schools and demands for public support.

GROWTH OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL MOVEMENT

The practice of sending children to private elementary and college-preparatory schools is common among the upper classes in Europe and in the New England states in this country. The overcrowding of public schools, the lowering of educational standards, and other deficiencies of the public school in any community tend to increase the number of the upper-class families who look to the private school for the education of their children. This pattern seems to be growing in some communities as the standard of living rises and the quality of the public schools falls. The end result of this pattern is a continued worsening of the public school as a number of parents no longer support the efforts to raise the quality of the public school.

GROWTH OF LABOR PARTICIPATION AND CONTROL

Labor has increased its representation on school boards. In cities like Lorain, Ohio, it has presented its own slate of candidates. Labor is strong enough to dominate education in many communities. It has been cautious in exercising its new power lest it be charged with the same allegation that it has made against business-dominated schools. As a result, it often limits the number of candidates it represents.

GROWTH OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS AND DEMANDS FOR PUBLIC SUPPORT

The parochial school represents another kind of school system. More than 14 percent of the children in school today are in private or parochial schools, an increase of 40 percent since 1940.⁶² Most of those attending private elementary and secondary schools were enrolled in schools controlled by religious denominations. In 1954, the official Catholic Directory listed 250 Catholic colleges and universities, 1536 parochial high schools, and 8493 parochial elementary schools.⁶³ These schools provide both a secular and religious education. The public school is an outgrowth of a principle recognizing separation of church and state. Religious interaction in any sectarian faith upon public school premises has been prohibited by the United States Supreme Court.⁶⁴ However, the Supreme Court has declared that the release of school children to attend religious classes is not unconstitutional when the religious instruction takes place outside the school buildings.⁶⁵ The Court also has sustained the right of New Jersey to reimburse parents

⁶² *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958, p. 109.

⁶³ From the *General Summary of Statistics*, supplement to *The Official Catholic Directory*, Kennedy, 1954.

⁶⁴ *McCollum Decision*, 1948.

⁶⁵ *Zorach vs. Clauson*, 1952.

for their children's bus fares to Roman Catholic parochial schools.⁶⁶ This issue of public support of school buses to transport parochial children has been the object of much friction in some communities because parochial school supporters must pay taxes to support the public schools in addition to the support of the parochial school. The parochial school educates a large number of children—a large proportion from the homes of manual workers—with no support from public sources.⁶⁷

The parochial school is organized by the church and is commonly staffed with teachers who are members of a church order and are trained by the church. The curriculum is organized by the church, and the school is supervised by a member of the church organization. The outcome is a school system which approximates the power model of the religious-dominated school so typical of the dominant school systems of Medieval and Renaissance Europe and early America, each of which emphasized the synthesis of religious and secular instruction.

The desire of religious groups to maintain and expand their school system in the face of a growing school population will undoubtedly plague school and church relations for some time to come. Although the first amendment clearly prohibits a state religion, it actually says nothing about education, and certainly it can easily be construed as allowing for church-state coöperation in various areas of mutual concern.⁶⁸ Yet the Protestant demand for separation of church and state is a deep-rooted American tradition, and since many labor members belong to the Catholic Church, there is a potential cleavage between business and labor interests on the Catholic parochial school issue.

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⁶⁶ *Everson vs. Board of Education*, 1949.

⁶⁷ The total number of students under Catholic instruction is listed as 5,934,016 (1954). See supplement to *The Official Catholic Directory*, *op. cit.*

⁶⁸ Myles W. Rodehaver, William B. Axtell, and Richard E. Gross, *The Sociology of the School*, Crowell, 1957, pp. 239-244.

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FIELD PROJECTS

1. Analyze occupational and industrial background of school board members for a selected community. If possible, draw some time samples by examining composition of the board five years ago, ten years ago, or at some other convenient interval of time.
2. Analyze occupational composition of actively enrolled members who are parents in the PTA of a selected school. Note social class position of the officers.
3. Make a study of the coördination programs which are being carried out by business and labor organizations with education. These programs commonly include such activities as Business-Education Day, Labor-Education Day, vocational seminars, and labor apprentice training programs.
4. Seek coöperation of a personnel manager to describe educational composition of a specific work plant. If possible, compare factory with office.
5. Using newspapers, trace the course of a community issue involving education. If a current issue presents itself, try to secure interviews to supplement newspaper coverage of the issue.
6. Study the educational background of selected business and labor leaders in a given community. If possible, find the educational background of the fathers of these men.

Chapter 8

WELFARE: ETHICAL CONCERNS FOR BUSINESS AND LABOR UNIONS

EMERGENCE OF THE URBAN SOCIAL WELFARE COMPLEX IN THE CITY

The Early Industrial Era

The Modern Era

Value Changes

Financing Changes

STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Components of the Interinstitutional Complex

Organizational Values

What Business Wants

What Labor Wants

What Welfare Agencies Want

Is There a Professional Position?

Power Complex Models

Model A. Philanthropy-Dominated

Model B. Segmented

Model C. Government-Dominated

Model D. Representational

Model of Maximum Likelihood: Representational

Predicted Relations

Pattern of Control

Strategic structures

Occupational backgrounds

Financial dependencies

CUSTOMARY AND CONFLICT RELATIONS

Customary Relations in the Plant

Union-Plant Level

Emergency services

- Direct administration of welfare programs

- Counseling and referral services

- Securing essential services

- Providing community services

- Business-Plant Level

- Specific management programs

- Customary Relations in the Community*

- The Avoidant Response

- Reluctant Entry

- Partnership

- The Annual Fund Drive

- Conflict Relationships*

- Power Relations in the Case of Maximum Likelihood

- Budget control

- Policy control

- Representation

- Recurrent Types of Power Arrangements

- Issue vector analysis

- Labor wants in—again and again

- Labor initiates a program

- Business and charity skirmish

CHANGES IN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND WELFARE RELATIONS

- New Trends*

- Alternative Models*

- Segmented Model

- Rise of Government-Dominated Model

- Representational Types

EMERGENCE OF THE URBAN SOCIAL WELFARE COMPLEX IN THE CITY

An enumeration of the agencies and activities dedicated to the welfare of the inhabitants of a modern city would be a long and somewhat arduous task. What agencies and activities should be included and excluded? Some students have been so impressed by the proliferation of welfare activities they conclude that the United States is a “welfare state.” While other nations have developed further along this line than the United States, the latter has experienced a significant growth of eleemosynary agencies over the last century. This growth has been accompanied by changes in the definition, social organization, and financing of social welfare. These in turn have resulted from changes in technology, institutional structures, and organization of social life.

In the preindustrial era, responsibility for the welfare of the individual resided essentially in the family and neighborhood. If inordinate misfortunes struck the person, kin and neighbors were expected to assume responsibility. There was no development of specific welfare organizations, for kinship and neighborhood groups were expected to assume welfare functions.

THE EARLY INDUSTRIAL ERA

As indicated elsewhere,¹ the development of the factory system promoted the general growth of cities and new institutional patterns. In a very real sense, the new industrial, institutional, and community structure aggravated the risks of life without providing organizational resources to reduce these risks.² Workers, in becoming mobile, not only severed their local sources of security but exposed themselves to a fluctuating wage market. Employers, bound only by wage contracts, were not *obliged* to assume responsibility for the health and welfare of the workers. Yet welfare responsibility was not one which the family was structurally equipped to assume. Caring for the aged, supporting the unemployed, securing adequate housing, and caring for the sick became impossible burdens for the mobile, nuclear lower-class family in the city.

To be sure, employers in the early industrial cities did not entirely ignore the welfare of their workers. Many who responded to religious norms of piety exhibited a great deal of charity and compassion for their workers.³ Charity varied from vague paternalistic gestures (giving Christmas baskets, lending money, visiting the sick) to utopian ventures which assumed almost all community functions (education, government, health, and religion). Other employers, while following humanitarian rather than religious impulses, provided many welfare services. Whether employers responded willingly or not to religious and humanitarian impulses, conditions demanded welfare action.⁴ The industrial labor force, restive under sporadic suffering, threatened economic stability by absenteeism, strikes, sabotage, and political protest movements.⁵ Threats of legal action, competition for workers when labor was scarce, and threats from competing ideologies stimulated many employers to set up welfare machinery both inside and outside the factory.

The growth of welfare activities and agencies was especially rapid after

¹ See Chapters 2 and 3.

² Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare*, Russell Sage Foundation, 1958, chaps. 2, 3.

³ John B. Knox, *The Sociology of Industrial Relations*, Random House, 1955, pp. 67-71.

⁴ Harriet L. Herring describes some of these early welfare efforts in detail in *Welfare Work in Mill Villages*, University of North Carolina Press, 1929, especially chaps. 16-18.

⁵ Wilensky and Lebeaux, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

1880. Generally, the welfare institution's structure accommodated to the growth of industrial, commercial, and professional associations. To be sure, the charity efforts of individual businessmen not only persisted but grew as business grew. The appearance of merchant associations, such as the Chamber of Commerce of the United States (1890), Rotary (1905), and Kiwanis, reflected the rising internal integration of the business community. Not infrequently these associations broadened their functions to include welfare activities. As they became accustomed to joint action in the business arena, they engaged in joint welfare activities. Their first welfare efforts took the form of contributing to special worthy projects, such as providing Thanksgiving baskets, Christmas toys, and eyeglasses for poor students. From 1880 on, individual, private welfare agencies multiplied rapidly. These agencies generally also attempted to satisfy particular needs; e.g., to help the unemployed of a particular faith, tuberculosis patients, crippled children, neglected children, immigrant families, slum dwellers, unwed mothers, and others. At the same time, the emerging labor unions began to furnish welfare aid to their members, primarily in the form of catastrophe insurance (death and burial).

The Modern Era

The inability of private citizens, business associations, and welfare agencies to meet the rising local welfare loads, especially during economic depressions, became apparent. Several trends after 1910 may be thought of as responses to this situation. These were the growth of public welfare, the appearance of social work as a profession, the centralizing of private welfare, and the broadening of both the concept and clientele of welfare. While these trends were apparent before 1930, only after that time was the philosophy abandoned that welfare must be minimal, deterrent, private, and local. Thus, during and since the Great Depression, the federal government assumed the primary responsibility for the welfare of the mass of the population—in the form of unemployment, old-age, survivors, and disability insurance. It not only developed gigantic programs on its own but helped the states to develop programs for child welfare, vocational rehabilitation, public health, slum clearance, and public recreation. State governments, besides coöperating with the federal government, also developed welfare programs, such as workmen's compensation, corrections, mental health programs, and school social services. Local governments, in contrast to state and federal governments, have assumed relatively small welfare loads.⁶

Yet, strangely enough, local private welfare efforts continue to receive the largest amount of attention, publicity, and citizen involvement. Most of these grew after the turn of the century to serve special clienteles, such as

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 148–152.

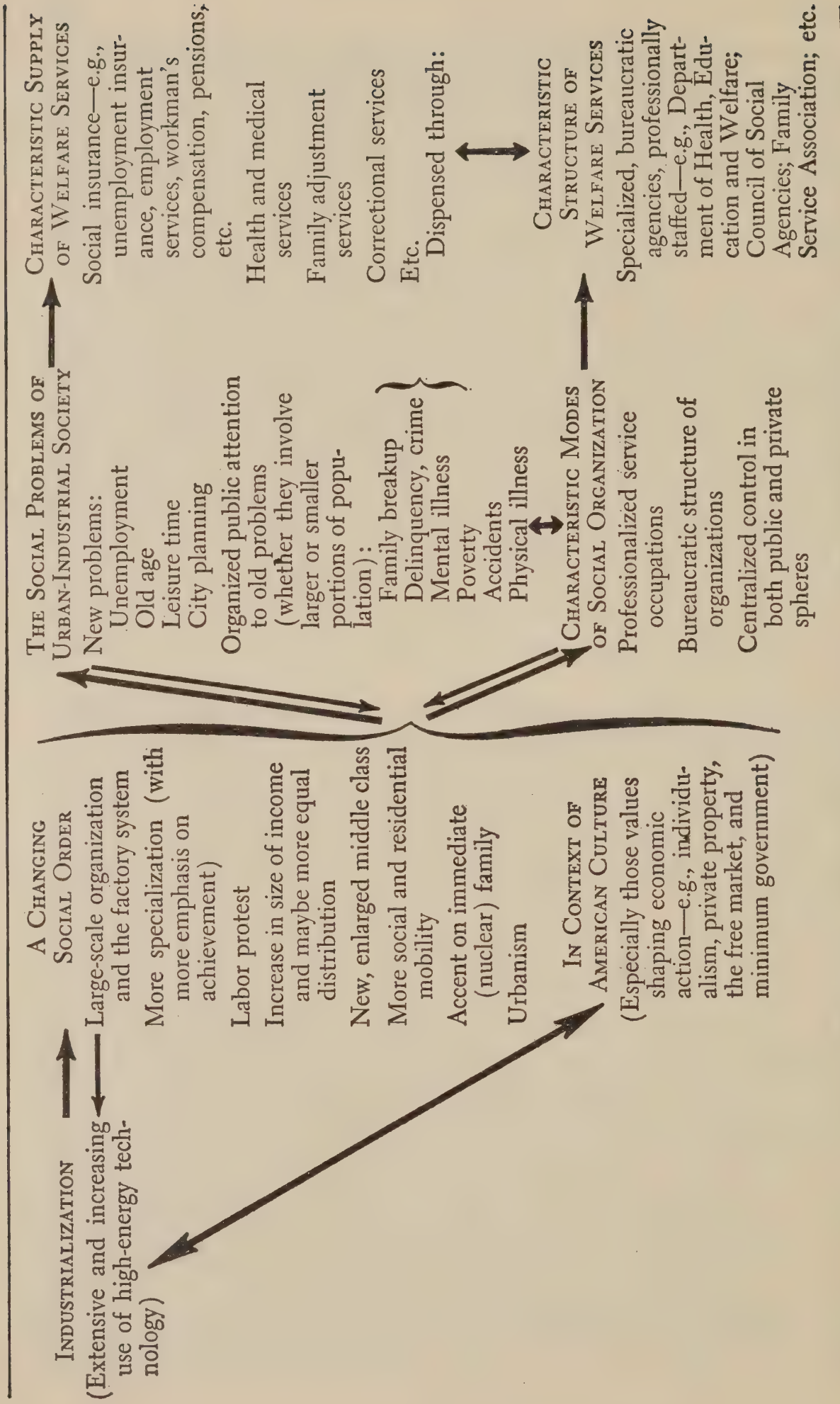


FIGURE 8.1. Impact of Industrialization on Social Welfare. (Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare*, Russell Sage Foundation, 1958, p. 230.)

indigent Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish families. Others were established to Americanize children of foreign-born, to “build character” among children in the slums, to provide recreational facilities for the underprivileged, and to help those suffering from special physical or mental diseases. At first, these agencies had their own staffs and solicited funds independently. Gradually, they became affiliated with national organizations. These “independent, private welfare agencies” were, of course, in addition to the welfare and philanthropic efforts sponsored by individual corporations, labor unions, and business and professional associations. Apparently, there was no end to the variety of special welfare agencies which could emerge to meet the endless needs of urban dwellers.

During World War I, the YMCA campaign technique for raising funds was applied for the total community. This was a “short, intensive campaign with a definite goal, under the leadership of well-known financiers, industrialists, and merchants—appeals on behalf of War Services made to the whole community, treating it as if it were a constituency.”⁷ Labor unions participated in these and other war drives for the first time. The federated principle of centralized money raising at the local level was soon established, as was a new profession, the fund-raiser. Modeled after this pattern, community chests, with a coordinated pattern of fund-raising for many agencies, were quickly established in many cities. This pattern was soon followed by the establishment of the councils of social agencies, which coordinated and centralized welfare activities of the member agencies. Thus, a genuine institutionalized complex for social welfare had become established in most American cities. Of course, many welfare and philanthropic agencies remained outside of this centralized complex. For example, religion, education, industry, and government not only retained but enlarged their welfare activities. This chapter will focus primarily on the “independent” and centralized private welfare agencies as they relate to the organization of business and the unions.

Figure 8.1 summarizes the impact of industrialization on social welfare. It shows how increasing industrialization, in the context of American economic values, stimulated changes in the organization of the family, factory, community, and the social classes. The social problems in the new urban-industrial society demanded new types of welfare agencies and activities which were alluded to above.

VALUE CHANGES

This abbreviated history does not consider the changes in welfare beliefs, ends, and norms which accompanied changes in welfare organization. As Moore suggests, the basic norms of American capitalism have stressed private

⁷ John R. Seeley *et al.*, *Community Chest: A Case Study in Philanthropy*, University of Toronto Press, 1957, p. 20.

property, the free market, individualism, laissez-faire, and minimum government interferences in the lives of men.⁸ In this context, the risks of life were to be borne by self-reliant individuals seeking to "improve" themselves. To be sure, humanitarian and religious norms also demanded that those who had suffered catastrophes should be helped and that even the slothful should be shown the way to help themselves. Compassion for the less fortunate was also considered appropriate. However, in general, welfare should be minimal, individual, private, and temporary. If not, recipients might become lazy and permanently dependent.

Contemporary welfare philosophy has moved a long way from this position. Wilensky and Lebeaux indicate that two main concepts are currently found. First, the *residual* concept suggests that only when the family and economy are unable to function adequately should social welfare structures be utilized. The second concept, which has grown with the social work profession, is an *institutional* point of view which stresses that social services are designed to help individuals and groups to attain satisfying standards of life and health and to encourage them to develop their fullest capacities in harmony with community needs. This latter view not only removes stigma from welfare services but defines them as legitimate functions of a society which helps its citizens to achieve self-fulfillment.⁹ Obviously, such a definition defines no institutional boundaries to welfare, since almost all agencies function to enable people to develop their potentialities. Wilensky and Lebeaux suggest that the following criteria may be used to delineate social welfare:

1. Formal organization
2. Social sponsorship and accountability
3. Absence of profit motive as the dominant program purpose
4. An integrative view of human needs
5. Direct concern with human consumption needs¹⁰

Such a view of welfare excludes education, commercialized recreation, profit-making insurance schemes, private medicine, and most governmental services. It is clear, however, that the distinction between welfare and other institutions is becoming blurred. The new institutional view of welfare is expressed in several trends. First, direct aid to needy families is a decreasing part of the total welfare load, especially for local private agencies. Secondly, and as a corollary movement, the clientele of local private agencies is moving up the scale of social status. With the enlarging middle class, more clients of higher status are using the services of social agencies. It may well be that, within a decade, almost all urban families will make traditional use of some

⁸ Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order*, Macmillan, 1951, especially chap. XVIII.

⁹ Wilensky and Lebeaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-140.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-147.

agency service. The third trend, which emphasizes the institutional conception of welfare, is the broadening conception of service. Development of referral services, encouraging the development of preventive medicine and mental health clinics, sponsoring recreational services, stimulating research into mental and physical health are just a few areas which attract general community concern. The fourth trend is the change from religious to broad humanitarian motives in welfare. In accord with this trend, the training of professional welfare workers and the development of welfare programs now moves from an improvised to an adequate social science base.

FINANCING CHANGES¹¹

Changes in the financing of welfare services have paralleled changes in welfare norms and welfare structures. The shift in general has been away from individual contributions to corporate giving; contributions by business, labor, religious, and other associations; and by government financing through taxation and organized fund drives. No accurate statistics are available concerning the amount of welfare expenditures in the United States (however welfare is defined) and the relative contribution by public and private groups. It is estimated that, in 1955, about 5 percent of the gross national product, or \$19 billion, was being spent for public welfare programs. Total private welfare expenditures at this time were estimated at approximately \$4 billion, or just over 1 percent of the gross national product. About \$1 billion of this went into the traditional charities supported by community

TABLE 25. Chest Appropriations to Local Agencies According to Type of Service for 1953, and Percent Increase for 1935 to 1953 in 27 Cities

Type of Service	Percentage of Total Appropriations for 1953	Percentage of Increase in Chest Appropriations for 1935-1939 to 1953
Care of the aged	1	210
Family service and general dependency	19	153
Care of children	18	245
Hospital care	7	148
Health other than hospital	14	191
Leisure time	40	359
Miscellaneous	1	unknown
Total	100	225

SOURCE: J. Frederic Dewhurst *et al.*, *America's Needs and Resources: A New Survey*, Twentieth Century Fund, 1955, p. 89. These figures exclude administrative costs which probably absorbed one-eighth of total disbursements.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-167, *passim*.

TABLE 26. Distribution of Community Chest Funds for Lansing, Michigan

<i>Local Agencies</i>			
Family and Child Services		Health and Safety Services	
Catholic Social Service	\$49,551	American Red Cross	\$143,115
Community Nursery		Better Hearing Society	8,390
School	12,089	Child Guidance Clinic	15,359
Family Service Agency	80,168	Curative Workshop	12,662
Children's Aid Society	56,184	Mental Health Center	9,380
Retarded Children		Rehabilitation Industries	10,800
Association	5,260	Visiting Nurse Association	34,306
Salvation Army	19,924	Community Services and Planning	
Volunteers of America	14,809	Area Communities	12,000
Recreational and Character Development		Capital Reserve Funds	18,000
Big Brothers	16,285	Community Chest Central	
Boy Scouts	71,090	Ser.	56,749
Girl Scouts	50,508	Community Services	
Lincoln Community Center	2,208	Council	46,416
YMCA—Lansing	72,548	Campaign Expense	16,625
YWCA—Lansing	90,598	Reserve for loss due to death,	
YMCA—University	4,907	removal, loss of employ-	
YWCA—University	4,577	ment	31,230
<i>State Agencies</i>			
Arthritis & Rheumatism Foundation		Council on Social Work Education	
Cerebral Palsy Association		Jackson Memorial Laboratory	
Epilepsy Center		National Child Labor Committee	
Association for Better Hearing		National Federation of Settlement	
Heart Association		and Neighborhood Centers	
Leader Dogs for the Blind		National Legal Aid Association	
Mental Health Society		National League for Nursing	
Michigan Children's Aid Society		(DPHN)	
Multiple Sclerosis Society		National Probation and Parole	
Nephrosis Foundation		Association	
Nursing League		National Recreation Association	
Retarded Children Association		National Social Welfare Assembly	
Sister Kenny Foundation		National Travelers Aid Association	
Welfare League		National Urban League	
American Social Hygiene Association		United Seamen's Service	
Big Brothers of America		United Service Organizations (USO)	
Child Welfare League of America			
<i>National Agencies</i>			
American Branch International Social		American Federation of International	
Service		Institutes	
Local Services			\$965,738
State and National Agencies (Michigan United Fund)			\$106,468
Total 1958 need			\$1,072,206

chest agencies. The remainder was associated with the activities of corporations; foundations; and private health, welfare, and pension funds.¹²

The changes in the proportion of expenditures by local agencies in the Community Chest document changes in norms of social welfare. Table 25 reveals that the major share, two-fifths of Chest funds, went to leisure and recreational services. Family services and general dependency (the traditional functions of agencies) absorbed one-fifth of the funds. Care of children also absorbed almost one-fifth of the disbursements, followed closely by health services other than hospital. The spectacular rise in Chest appropriations has occurred most in the fields of leisure and child care.

Table 26 shows how such funds are disbursed in Lansing, Michigan, a Midwestern industrial city. It is apparent that the recreational and leisure agencies are primarily for children and young people—YMCA, YWCA, Boy Scouts, and Girl Scouts. The Michigan Children's Aid Society, Retarded Children Association, and Child Welfare League of America further emphasize the accent on youth. All told, these agencies probably receive about two-fifths of the budget.

STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Components of the Interinstitutional Complex

The history of the development of welfare activities reveals that organizations once developed are rarely dropped. They are retained while other special and coördinating associations are piled on top of them. The typical result is a mass of sometimes supplementary, sometimes competing, sometimes overlapping public, private, and jointly sponsored structures.¹³ Figure 8.2 lists some of the components of the welfare structure of a typical metropolis.

Table 26 provides some of the names of the specific agencies which appear as part of the welfare complex in Figure 8.2. It is important to note that business and union representatives serve on the boards of directors of almost all of the individual welfare agencies and on the councils of social agencies.

Several interesting conclusions may be drawn from Figure 8.2. In the first place, management has a more elaborate and larger structure of welfare organizations, while that of labor is smaller, more highly centralized, and integrated. Secondly, the welfare activities of organized labor are more internally directed. Third, the pattern of welfare sponsorship varies tremendously, with the greatest variability appearing within the welfare complex itself, followed by business and the professions, with the unions exhibiting

¹² Richard Ells, *Corporation Giving in a Free Society*, Harper, 1956, p. 4.

¹³ For a status approach to the components of health and welfare system, see Irwin T. Sanders, *The Community, An Introduction to a Social System*, Ronald, 1958, chap. 16.

the least variation. Fourth, single industries and businesses sponsor a wide range of internal and external welfare programs which are rarely paralleled by individual union locals. Fifth, welfare activities which are sponsored by both management and labor are almost altogether directed at only the workers. Joint structures are rarely found in the community arena. Sixth,

BUSINESS-PROFESSIONALS	UNIONS	WELFARE COMPLEX
1. Individual firms Internal plant welfare Health insurance Credit unions Recreation facilities Medical facilities Community welfare Foundations Facilities like pools, art galleries, audi- toriums, etc.	1. Individual locals Local projects 2. AFL-CIO Council Internal welfare Credit union Health insurance Recreational pro- gram Community welfare Community Services Council Representation on Community Chest	Individual agencies Council of Social Agencies Community Chest Religious welfare agencies Medical welfare agencies Governmentally sponsored agencies Relief Recreation Housing Health care Others
2. Business associations Internal welfare pro- grams Service clubs—Jr. C. of C. Foundations Joint union welfare plans	Health and welfare funds	
3. Professional associations Offer services to com- munity		
4. "Society"—women's auxiliary of business		
5. Individual philanthropy Service on welfare boards		

FIGURE 8.2. Organizational Components in the Business-Union-Welfare Complex.

business and professional people may have several community welfare roles, operating through firms, business associations, individual philanthropy, "society," and other areas. Union people, typically, act only as formal union representatives in community welfare activities.

Although not apparent from Figure 8.3, many of the same functions within the welfare complex have variable sponsorship. Thus, child welfare programs are sponsored by private agencies in the councils of social agencies and by agencies outside the councils. They also are sponsored by businesses,

unions, educational, governmental, and religious agencies. This complex pattern of sponsorship is a structural source of antagonism, inefficiency, and dynamic change within the area of welfare. Change is facilitated also by interaction of beliefs, norms, and sentiments exhibited by welfare representatives of business, organized labor, religion, education, and government.

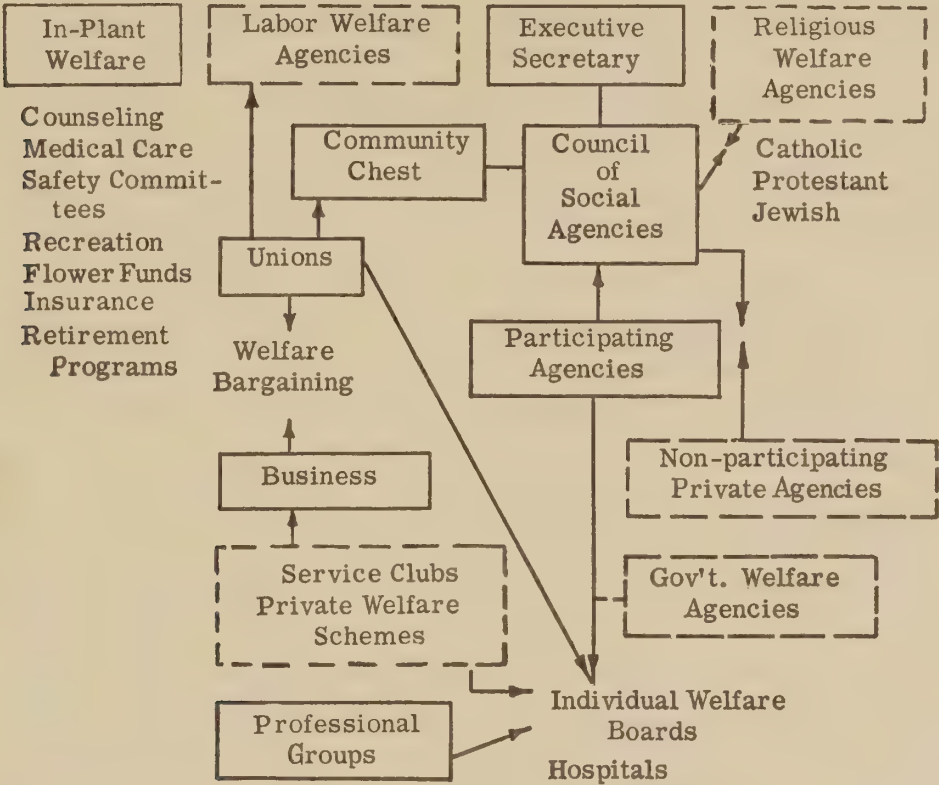


FIGURE 8.3. Customary Relations in the Business-Labor-Welfare Interinstitutional Complex. Dotted lines represent tangential agencies and relations.

Organizational Values

WHAT BUSINESS WANTS

Cynical observers interpret philanthropy as a device to increase profits and to satisfy the egoistic proclivities of businessmen.¹⁴ While this may be true for some, what businessmen and managers want to achieve in the welfare arena can best be understood in a specific organizational context. Thus, what they believe to be a good program is a function of whether they are concerned with a company welfare program, or a labor-management, business, government, or joint community program. The businessman may, on the one hand, give funds to a community welfare program because he considers this enlightened self-interest. On the other hand, he will bargain stubbornly with union representatives over a company welfare fund, condemn

¹⁴ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Modern Library, 1934.

tax increases for public welfare program, and refuse to support a slum clearance program. Thus, individual motives for participation in welfare activity vary from a calculated public relations philosophy to a genuine desire to be a good neighbor.

Yet, certain norms generally guide businessmen's evaluations of governmental and community-wide welfare programs.¹⁵ As indicated elsewhere, business wants (1) to limit government welfare spending both because it is ideologically opposed to this government activity and because it wants to limit taxation. Related norms apply to the private welfare arena. Businessmen want (2) an orderly solicitation of welfare funds in order to limit the requests for donations, and exert control over the amount of money to be raised and how it is to be spent. They want (3) to participate in fund-raising drives and be members of welfare boards in order to assure businesslike methods of administration, combat profligate tendencies of other groups, provide avenues to test administrative capacities of aspiring executives, and secure respectable status platforms which can free them from the accusation of ubiquitous self-interest.

WHAT LABOR WANTS

Union officials often feel they are closer to the welfare needs of people because their members sometimes are the recipients of welfare. This is no longer exclusively true, because welfare services are spreading rapidly to the whole population and organized labor can no longer be thought of as an economically deprived class when compared to large segments of unorganized workers. Nevertheless, it is probably true that labor officials are closer to the needs of dependent families. Union people are therefore more concerned that welfare funds are adequate for the task, irrespective of their source. They do not have an automatic aversion to government welfare spending, especially in some areas. In the private welfare area, they are not only concerned that their contributions are wisely spent but they want the richer citizens to contribute their fair share of local costs. In general, union officials are more inclined to back an expanding welfare program to fit "community" needs as defined by professional welfare workers. Businessmen, on the other hand, are somewhat suspicious of the expanding definitions of "needs."

Labor officials involved in campaign drives also want equality with business and other groups in the control and distribution of "contributions." How much of this demand is a genuine desire to participate in control mechanisms and how much is a demand for status equality is difficult to determine. While both mechanisms are probably operative, labor probably is more often concerned than business with the power relations. The follow-

¹⁵ For a detailed specification of business's position in reference to specific welfare activities, see S. G. Wennberg, *Chamber of Commerce Administration*, National Institute for Commercial and Trade Organization Executives, 1951, especially chap. XIII.

ing quotation of a labor official reveals the interplay of status and power factors:

As I look around this room, I see a bunch of fat cats. Most of you are interested in getting your pussies in the paper to tell the town what good guys you are. I ain't sure you really mean what you say about wanting to help people. You ask labor to give their dough to the fund drive and then a few of you decide how to spend it. Labor ain't in on that part of the deal. You invite me to be here, but you never put anything in the papers about the locals who help raise a big chunk of this money. If we're going to help on this thing, we want a say in how the money is spent, and we want the town to know that we helped raise the money through our locals, just like the Old State Bank is supposed to be helping or any other bunch in this town.¹⁶

When this statement was read to "the top ten" labor officials in a Midwestern industrial community, the typical reaction was, "That's the feeling of labor all over the country." When asked whether this applied to their local community, however, the typical response was that "labor is often invited [to participate], but its contribution is not recognized as much [as business's]." Apparently, status and power factors in welfare participation are closely interlocked.

WHAT WELFARE AGENCIES WANT

Policies of welfare agencies are typically made by lay welfare boards advised by professional workers. Since the boards are commonly comprised of business, professional, and union officials, they tend to reflect the norms of these occupations. What the full-time welfare administrators want most is a continual flow of funds to maintain adequate services according to professional standards. Since these standards are rarely met because the concept of welfare service is continually broadening, administrators usually press for more funds. Yet, since they are dependent on the good will of lay boards and on certain private interests in the community, they must obtain and retain good relations with individuals and organizations which may balk at welfare expansionist tendencies.

IS THERE A PROFESSIONAL POSITION?

Professionals are commonly found in large numbers on welfare boards. In Lansing, Michigan, they comprised two-fifths of the board members of all agencies belonging to the Lansing Council of Social Agencies. Governmental workers and officials and women board members typically have professional backgrounds. If the professions have ends and norms distinct from business and unions, they would comprise an important "third force" in

¹⁶ Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1953, p. 46.

policy-making. Unfortunately, adequate evidence is not available on this point.

Indirect evidence is available from a study of values of college students preparing for various business and professional occupations at Cornell University. Rosenberg and others developed a scale of values which purports to measure "faith in people." Items in this scale were concerned with the respondent's tendency to trust people, feel helpful toward strangers, see human nature as fundamentally coöperative, and similar sentiments.¹⁷ The distribution of responses by students preparing for different occupations is found in Table 27.

TABLE 27. Occupations Ranked in Order of Faith in People

Occupation	Percentage with High Faith in People	Percentage with Medium and Low Faith in People	Total Number of Cases
Social work	62	38	26
Personnel	59	41	43
Teaching	56	44	146
Science	51	49	103
Government	50	50	57
Farming	45	55	106
Art	43	57	63
Hotel administration	41	59	63
Medicine	40	60	128
Journalism—drama	39	61	23
Architecture	39	61	36
Law	39	61	54
Engineering	36	64	282
Advertising—public relations	36	64	22
Business—finance	34	66	132
Sales—promotion	22	78	37

SOURCE: Morris Rosenberg, with assistance of Edward A. Suchman and Rose K. Goldsen, *Occupation and Values*, Free Press, 1957, p. 26.

Presumably, social welfare is an area which calls for great faith in people and, indeed, students who selected it as a vocation exhibited the highest scores. On the other hand, students oriented toward business (advertising, public relations, sales, and finance) were most heavily concentrated at the low end of the scale and evidenced least faith in people. The professionally oriented by no means exhibited value consensus, except that they have higher average scores than students oriented toward business. Thus, those

¹⁷ Morris Rosenberg, with assistance of Edward A. Suchman and Rose K. Goldsen, *Occupation and Values*, Free Press, 1957, p. 26.

entering personnel, teaching, science, and government had relatively high faith-in-people scores, while those entering medicine, journalism, law, architecture, and engineering had low scores. Even though we might (falsely) assume that these values persist after entry into the world of work and that those on welfare boards accurately represent their occupational groups, the professionals could hardly be conceived *as a group as having substantially different values* than business representatives. The question then becomes whether certain types of professionals are recruited to serve on welfare boards. This is not known, but it may be concluded that there are sufficient differences in the values among the labor, business, professional, and welfare representatives on boards to provide for disagreements over policy. It is interesting to speculate how much faith in people influences important policy decisions in welfare.

Power Complex Models

It should be apparent that the ways which business, unions, and welfare agencies articulate vary from one society to another and from one community to another. Four models are depicted in Figure 8.4, which demonstrate some of the possible patterns in the interinstitutional complex dealing with welfare. These models emphasize the dominant power relationships which may be found among the constituent groups and do not reflect nor exhaust the variety of situations found in specific communities.

MODEL A. PHILANTHROPY-DOMINATED

Not infrequently, the only welfare activities in a community are those sponsored by the dominant industry or firm. In many coal-mining towns, in new communities based on extractive industries, in some utopian communities, and in some cities with one dominant industry, almost all welfare services are either directly sponsored by business or are under the control of it. In some instances, welfare does not even have a separate organizational entity. A particular branch of the business may take care of the medical, educational, housing, and other "emergency" needs of the workers. In another situation, business, being the chief if not the only philanthropist, provides services through "a foundation" which purports to meet the welfare and even "cultural needs" of the community. Under still other conditions, private welfare agencies are established, but their chief or only source of support is local business. In still other instances, local government is the instrumentality of welfare, but its main revenues are derived from business and its desires must be heeded.

Thus, the philanthropy model of welfare control is not defined by the type of administration structure, but by the degree of the dependency on the funds, personnel, and the good will of dominant business groups. This

model most often arises in isolated regions where no labor unions exist and where government is weak. Sometimes, it appears where a solitary religious group is also the dominant business group. In any event, welfare under these circumstances assumes the garb of philanthropy.

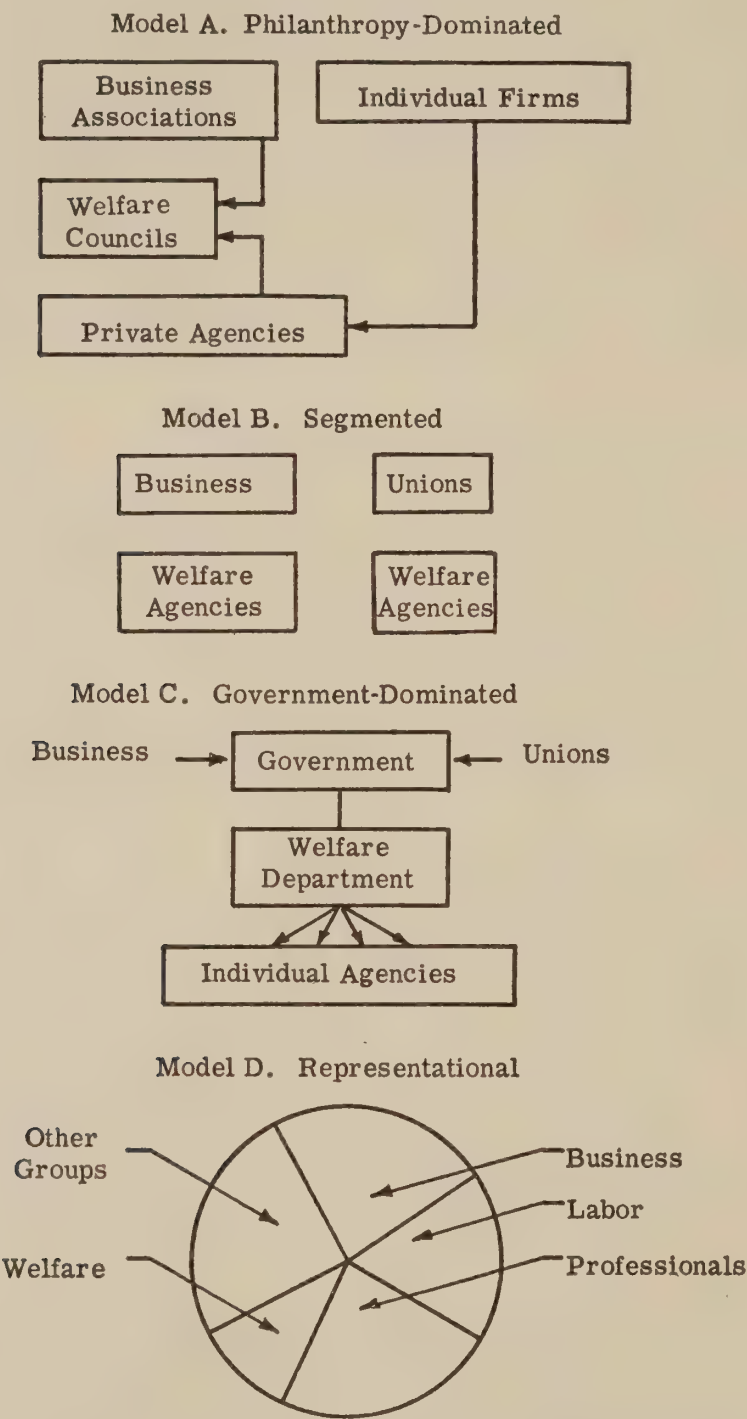


FIGURE 8.4. Four Welfare Power Complex Models.

MODEL B. SEGMENTED

In some situations, business, unions, government, and other groups develop rather elaborate welfare organizations almost independently of each other. Thus, unions may develop insurance, hospital, medical, housing, and other

welfare schemes for their members, while business may do the same for itself, and for other nonunion groups in the community. If a pattern of support for private agencies develops, some are union-sponsored, while others are business-sponsored. Adult education classes, libraries, bookstores, auditoriums, and other facilities "available to the public" have sometimes been sponsored by opposing business and labor groups. Sometimes government becomes a silent partner of one or the other.

The conditions for the appearance of this model are present when a strong cleavage exists between business and labor in the community, and especially when this cleavage coincides with other divisions, ethnic, racial, religious, or political. Thus, in polyethnic communities where Anglo-Saxon businessmen are predominantly Protestant and the workers are Catholic, union members, and immigrants, a segmented welfare program may develop. It may also arise whenever opposing groups have a high degree of internal integration and have sufficient resources to meet minimum welfare needs. Historically, this pattern also tends to emerge when a self-conscious revolutionary working class is unwilling to accept the philanthropy of its class enemies. It also develops when government is aligned with one interest which excludes the other from engaging in welfare activity.

Such a situation developed in C. Juarez, Mexico. There, unions and government, through joint control of the PRI party, had erected a rather elaborate network of local welfare activities. Business groups, under the leadership of the president of the C. Juarez Chamber of Commerce, erected a similar structure. Thus, two parallel systems arose: two hospital programs, two lecture-concert series, two school lunch programs, and two programs to care for the poor.

MODEL C. GOVERNMENT-DOMINATED

In industrialized societies, government tends to dominate welfare activities. Large welfare bureaucracies appear with their professional administrators who play important roles in policy formation. Here, labor and business attempt to influence welfare legislation and administration through the available political mechanisms. In the United States, this is the dominant pattern on the state and federal levels, but it is rarely found in the local community. An exception occurs where government installations dominate the economic life of the city, as in a seaport, an air base, an arsenal, or a fort. There, government may assume the entire local welfare load. In other situations, when the welfare burden is too large for private agencies, local government may assume some of the surplus load. Sometimes, when local residents want services which cannot be secured through voluntary fund-raising, the government-dominated model comes into its own. Thus, a community which wants an elaborate and expensive recreational program may vote to have the schools or the city recreation department support it through taxes.

MODEL D. REPRESENTATIONAL

In a sense, if the community is responsive to the welfare demands of all of its sectors, a representational model may appear. As it is applied in this case, the representational welfare model is a complex wherein union, business, and welfare groups participate directly in a wide range of joint activities—such as fund-raising, determining policy, and implementing policy. The community chests and the united funds in American cities represent the consolidated approach to fund-raising, and the councils of social agencies represent the consolidated approach to policy formation and the administration of welfare services.

Representational models dominate private welfare in the larger cities where unions, business, and professional groups are strongly developed and highly self-conscious. Where found, all-important functional groups in the city are not necessarily proportionately represented. As a matter of fact, accurate representation is rarely found. The types of agencies which develop, the amount of money each receives, the policies they follow, and their effectiveness reflect the nature of their representation patterns. This model differs basically from the others because the amount and nature of the representation is structurally subject to change. In most American cities, Model D is dominant, and it in turn is dominated by business and management groups.

Model of Maximum Likelihood: Representational

PREDICTED RELATIONS

In this model, business will be dominant because it controls the political and welfare organizations. Pressure will be continuously exerted to minimize government welfare, while business may develop a complex pattern of philanthropy independent of other groups. All groups which can collect money, including labor unions, will be represented on welfare boards which derive their support from publicly solicited funds, but business will have dominant representation and will occupy strategic offices in greater numbers due to its greater economic resources and organizational skills. Strong alliances will be built with professionals and top welfare administrators because of similar white-collar backgrounds and functional interdependencies. Some cleavage will develop between business and welfare professionals because of different welfare philosophies.

Organized labor will press for greater representation on fund-raising boards and on all boards which depend on privately solicited funds on the claim that it collects a large share of the funds and it knows how to deal with the major clientele of welfare agencies. Although its philosophy is closer to that of professional social workers, the latter will have the task of mediating the

differences among labor, management, and other occupational groups. In this task, it will be often aided by high-status women in the community ("society") and by some professionals.

PATTERN OF CONTROL

The pattern of control of private welfare is amorphous, indirect, and not immediately apparent. It is amorphous because a large number of formal structures interlock but are not hierarchically ordered. It is indirect because lay persons and groups outside or tangential to welfare may ultimately control policy-making and fund-raising. The control is not immediately apparent because it is not continually exerted in a single direction or in a consistent way. On the contrary, control is diffuse and applied intermittently in occasional crisis situations. In the following section, the structural perimeters of control are examined, to be followed later by a more intimate view of control mechanisms in concrete and critical situations.

Strategic Structures. The important formal structures through which control is exerted are the councils of social agencies, the community chests, or the united funds, the boards of directors of these coördinating agencies and their constituent agencies, and the boards of directors of agencies outside the councils. In addition, there are the crucial finance committees of all of these agencies and the professional staffs. Important control centers are found in the community which are not recognized as a part of the welfare complex. They will be analyzed later. The task here is to document the interlocking character of the welfare complex and to demonstrate its domination by a management-representational coalition.

Figure 8.5 portrays the interlocking character of the council of social agencies, the community chest, and some tangent welfare agencies. For the uninitiated, it should be pointed out that the council is an organization created to coördinate welfare activities, while the chest is an agency to coördinate fund-raising. Individual welfare agencies determine and execute their own policies. Although they may have some independent sources of income, they are largely dependent on the chest and its strategic budget and distribution committee for much of their operating funds. The interdependency of these structures can be noted by the broken lines in Figure 8.5, which indicate how each segment may affect the operations of the other through an interlocking nomination system. Thus, the board of directors of the chest is nominated from the campaign committee and delegates of the agencies themselves. Labor union members, businessmen, professionals, and "society" women are found in many places in this complex structure. The full-time professional staff members of the council and chest are dependent on the coöperation and financial support of these diversified groups. The occupational background and financial resources of the sponsoring groups provide some cues to the controls which can be exerted. Of course, some

agencies prefer to remain outside this network and conduct their own fund drives separately (e.g., Red Cross, Polio, etc.), while other independent agencies (such as hospitals) occasionally tie into the coördinated structure. Not infrequently, the same influential persons and organizations in the chest and council control these “independent” agencies.

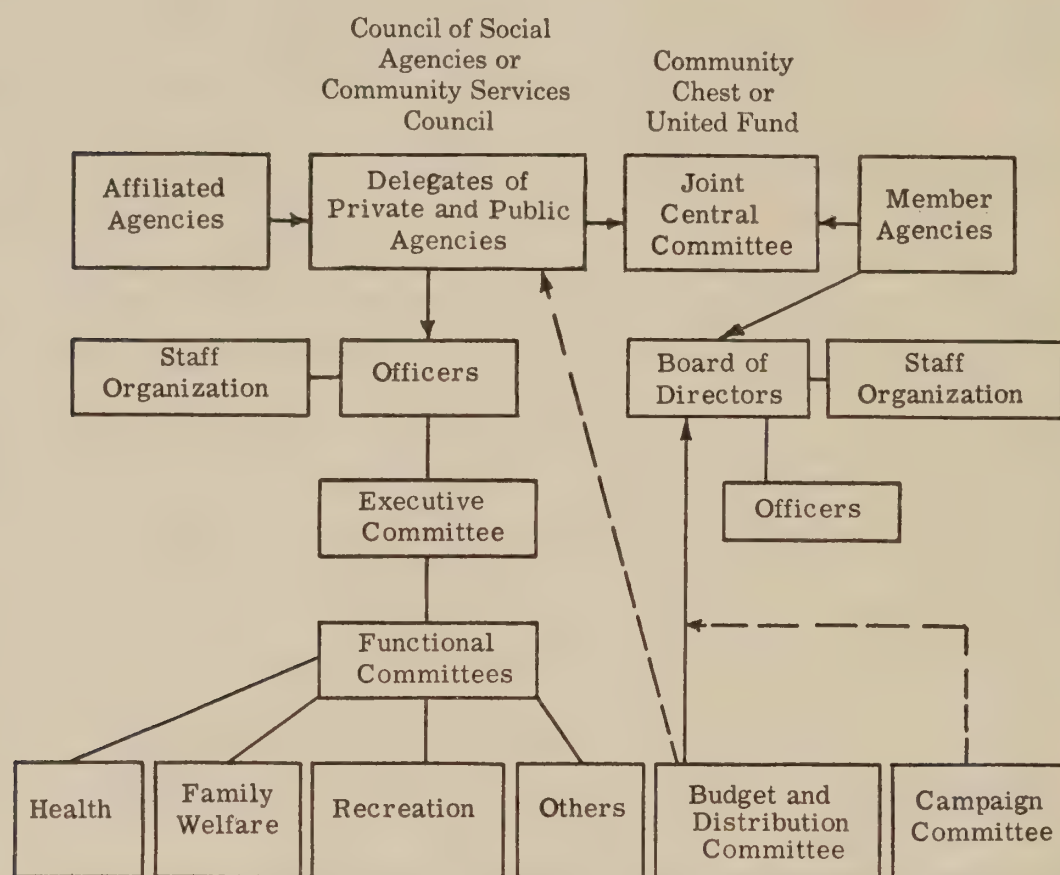


FIGURE 8.5. The Interinstitutional Welfare Complex. Dotted lines represent privilege of nomination. (Adapted from John R. Seeley *et al.*, *Community Chest, A Case Study of Philanthropy*, University of Toronto Press, 1957, p. 92.)

Occupational Backgrounds. The occupational and social class backgrounds of board members in the welfare agencies reveals the outline of potential control in the welfare complex. Table 28 indicates that fully three-quarters of the board members of the member agencies of the council were either professional workers, independent businessmen or their immediate managerial subordinates. Only one-tenth of the members could, by any stretch of the definition, be considered “working class.” Looked at differently, almost two-fifths of the members were professional persons, who roughly equaled the proportion from business and management. Also, 6 percent of the group were staff members of the individual agencies, and only 3 percent were labor union representatives.

Seeley and others have made a significant and detailed study of the community chest organization in Indianapolis. From Figure 8.6, it is possible

TABLE 28. Occupational Composition of Board Members of 32 Health and Welfare Boards in Ingham County (Lansing), Michigan, 1953

Occupation	Men	Women ^a	Total
Employees of agencies	6%	1%	6%
Professional workers	39	34	37
Proprietors and managers	34	27	32
Junior executives and supervisors	5	8	6
Governmental officials	3	5	2
Manual workers	3	5	4
Labor union representatives	5	—	3
Not ascertained	3	12	6
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases	427	182	609

^a Occupation of husband, or of self, if single.

to compare the social class composition of the city with that of the board of directors (elder statesmen) of the community chest, its permanent staff organization, and the members of the campaign drive. It is immediately apparent that all segments of the interrelated organizations are heavily over-represented in the upper half of the social class range. The campaign structure, since it has to contact the total community, appears to be more representative of it. However, almost four-fifths of its members derive from the

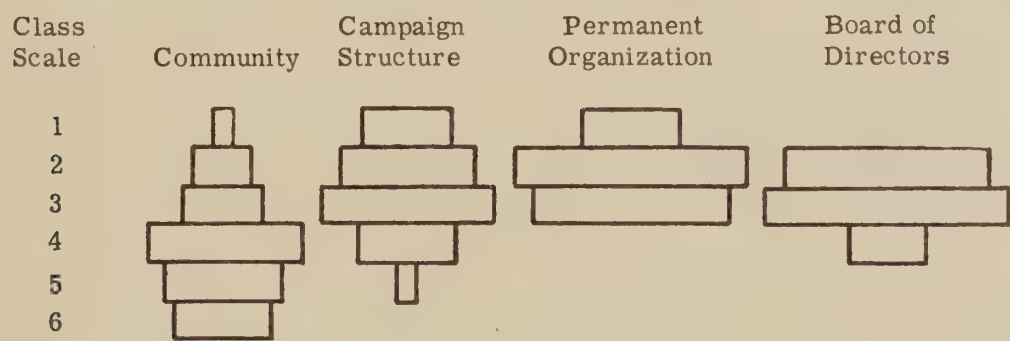


FIGURE 8.6. Social Class Composition of Indianapolis Community Chest Campaign Structure, Its Permanent Organization, and Its Board of Directors.

upper half of the class structure in contrast to the 15 percent who actually comprise this segment in the community. The board of directors is even more selective. About two-fifths of its members belong to the upper class, which make up less than 3 percent of the city population. The permanent staff organization is even more overrepresented with upper-class people.

Seeley reports that the very highest-status people in Indianapolis have withdrawn from community chest activities. The same conclusions have

been reported by Schulze in the satellite city of Cibola.²⁰ Mills and Ullmer also confirm this finding.²¹ However, as Wilensky's, Fowler's, and our own findings suggest this is not the case in cities that have a large share of locally owned industry and in fast-growing cities which are not dominated by absentee-owned corporations.²² Thus, in Lansing, Michigan, no person holding a secondary position in business has ever headed a chest drive without his boss having first done so. The top of the union hierarchies are represented in the chest organization. Top community influentials head all important financial drives in the city such as the hospital expansion drive.

Financial Dependencies. The success of the campaign, the adequacy of services, and even the tenure of the professional staffs are dependent on an adequate flow of contributions. The latter are derived primarily from small individual contributions of employees, large personal contributions, and contributions from corporations and foundations. While there is no unilinear correlation between size of contribution and control of welfare, a general relationship exists. In Indianapolis, Seeley and others found that business firms and foundations provided from two-fifths to three-fifths of the funds for the Red Cross, community chest, and hospital drives, while employees and private individuals provided the remainder.²³ Thus, the dependency on large impersonal donors is readily apparent. Of course, many individuals who make large gifts are known to the welfare administrator. Not infrequently, he has in his possession a confidential list of those donors whom he may call upon from time to time for supplementary financial or policy-making assistance. These people, known as the "Club 200" or a similar designation, constitute a roster of the top influentials in the community. Since many small donors are labor union members, union officials are frequently made co-chairmen of the labor-industry section of the fund drive. In some industrial centers, the unions may be responsible for collecting one-half of the total funds. Therefore, agencies and their professional staffs cannot afford to antagonize labor officials who are increasingly demanding a voice in welfare policy-making and administration. A labor participation committee is usually found in the chest organization of large cities. Made up of representatives of management, unions, and the public, this committee is both a source of power and potential conflict within the organization.

It must not be assumed that welfare agencies and their staffs are unilaterally dependent on large donors and unions. Since it is difficult to establish a

²⁰ Robert O. Schulze, "Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1958.

²¹ C. W. Mills and Melville J. Ullmer, "Small Business and Civic Welfare," U.S. Senate, Seventy-ninth Congress, 2nd Session, Document 135, United States Government Printing Office, 1946.

²² Wilensky and Lebeaux, *op. cit.*, p. 279; see also Irvin Fowler, "Local Industrial Structures, Economic Power, and Community Welfare," *Social Problems*, Summer, 1958.

²³ Seeley *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

satisfactory definition of what is an adequate contribution for wealthy people, for firms, and for foundations, fund-raising experts sometimes "milk" large donors by stimulating invidious "competitive giving." In return for such large gifts, positions on prestigious boards are offered. However, there is no guarantee that donors will know what is going on when confronted by shrewd and clever administrators. For this reason, Seeley and others have suggested the formation of a donors' association to match the organized strength of the receivers' association; i.e., the community chest.

CUSTOMARY AND CONFLICT RELATIONS

Customary Relations in the Plant

UNION-PLANT LEVEL

"The typical union today is in serious competition with all those men and organizations whose task it is to bring the fuller, richer, and more satisfying life to the American people. From the fetal stage, where a union mother's pregnancy may be confirmed by the doctor at the union health center to old age where a union pensioner may be living in a union-financed home; from banking to classical music; from bowling to libraries; from a Broadway show or movie to a college scholarship; unions have taken the jobs of promotion, arrangement, financing, or administration."²⁴

This quotation provides some notion of the range of welfare activities unions are undertaking today, and there appears to be no limit to the new tasks they will assume. Although all unions are not providing a large range of welfare services, the pattern of widening services is nevertheless clear. With the impending shortening of the work week, unions will undoubtedly seek to fill the expanding leisure time of workers with new activities. A classification of services and activities which take place at the local level may be useful:

1. Emergency welfare—personal and organizational
2. Direct administration of welfare programs, including negotiated programs with management
3. Counseling and referral services
4. Securing essential services
5. Providing community services

1. *Emergency Services.* Workers, whether unionized or not, are typically concerned with the fate of their co-workers. In times of emergency—such as illness, injury, or death—the work group often expresses its solidarity by offering the victim direct aid. This may be sending flowers to a sick mem-

²⁴ "Extra-Curricular Union Activity," *Industrial Bulletin*, August, 1957, pp. 10-15.

ber, visiting him, and doing some of his family chores. Usually, the union assigns a person or a committee to insure that this kind of help is given. On occasion, disaster strikes—such as the destruction of a home by fire or storm, or the death of the breadwinner, or a serious injury. Union newspapers report that a common response to these situations may be a building bee, a painting bee, collection of funds to pay for a mortgage of a widow, and related efforts.

2. *Direct Welfare Services.* Unions try to minimize the need for spontaneous help by creating internal welfare structures. It is literally impossible to review all of these efforts, but the following list will indicate some of the more common ones. While these facilities usually are supported by the International union, locals must attend to their daily administration.

Abraham Weiss reported in 1953 that 73 Internationals disbursed in 1949 \$67 million in benefit services for death, sickness, unemployment, old-age, disability, and other emergencies.²⁵ Health, welfare, and retirement benefits in collective bargaining agreements in 1950 cover 7.5 million workers. In addition, some unions have their own funded plans. One of the most elaborate health plans was instituted by the United Mine Workers of America. It set up ten area medical offices to furnish most of the medical and hospital care for union members.²⁶ The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union locals in New York City provided 40 medical services through a pre-paid medical plan in 1950.

Although unions have ventured into banking, their primary success in the finance area has been with credit unions. In 1950, it was estimated that 500–1000 labor credit unions had been established to provide loans to members at reasonable rates and to provide modest interest to savers.²⁷ Oregon unions have pioneered low-cost auto insurance. Perhaps the most exciting venture of unions has been in the area of housing. Housing aid has ranged from providing loans and advice to actually building coöperative housing developments. In New York City, 2500 wage-earning families live in their own coöperative apartment houses, sponsored by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.²⁸

In addition to these, unions have sponsored many other projects in the area of recreation—drop-in centers for the retired, hobby centers, choral societies, nurseries, *ad infinitum*. Another important, though indirect, welfare service is providing members through their newspapers with information on how to improve general living. Union publications are full of advice to the consumer on how to shop, prepare foods, detect fraudulent services, and evaluate advertising. These daily welfare functions, which receive little

²⁵ Abraham Weiss, "Union Welfare Plans," in J. B. S. Hardman and Maurice F. Neufeld (eds.), *The House of Labor*, Prentice-Hall, 1951, p. 280.

²⁶ Warren F. Draper, "Health Programs of the United Mine Workers," *ibid.*

²⁷ Maurice F. Neufeld, "Banks and Credit Unions," *ibid.*

²⁸ M. S. Novik, "Union Cooperative Housing," *ibid.*

attention from outside observers, must be routinely administered by union locals and by a hired staff.

3. *Counseling and Referral Services.* As Alice Cook explains, today's cities have large bodies of mobile workers who live in widely scattered neighborhoods and suburbs. Since many workers who need welfare services may be unaware of their existence or how to locate them, unions have found it necessary to establish a counseling or referral service to get the client to the proper agency. The union counselor must be trained to know the full range of private and public services which are available. He is sometimes helped in this task by a full-time union member who is on the staff of the council of social agencies. His task is to serve as liaison between the union locals, the council, and public agencies.²⁹

4. *Securing Essential Services.* Unions attempt to get representation on all the public and private health and welfare boards in the community. These board members report monthly to the AFL-CIO Council on the activities of the agencies which they represent, and these activities are evaluated in terms of unions' emerging needs. Recently, unions have gone beyond this evaluative process and endeavored to secure services which the community does not possess. Locals have been encouraged to form community affairs committees to parallel their political affairs committees. The former endeavor to survey community facilities and discover what unfulfilled needs exist. After a period of study, an educational program is launched to train union counselors and potential board members concerning community goals and financial support needed to achieve them. In addition, the community affairs committee advises the union of fund-raising policies, and later represents the union on planning groups which actually attempt to realize the recommended services.³⁰

5. *Providing Community Services.* Occasionally, unions offer the community free services, such as lending the union hall to worthy causes, sponsoring an old-age drop-in center, paying for polio shots for a general inoculation program, building a nursery school, or sponsoring a recreational program.

BUSINESS-PLANT LEVEL

It is sometimes difficult to separate management's internal plant welfare activities from those which it sponsors for the community. This is especially the case when a company is the main or only employer. Furthermore, the dividing line between an expected service and a welfare service may be thin. Thus, providing showers, excellent cafeterias, noontime recreation, and physical examinations border on normally expected employee services. In

²⁹ Alice H. Cook, *Labor's Role in Community Affairs*, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1956, Bulletin 13, p. 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

other instances, management provides a very elaborate program for its own employees which is undeniably a welfare program.

In the above section dealing with the history of industrial welfare, a wide variety of business welfare programs were mentioned. The full range of programs—from none at all to complete care—has been offered by businesses, both in the United States and abroad. All of the programs initiated by organized labor for its members described above have their counterpart. Sometimes, broad programs have been directed to all employees, including management; at other times, one program has been designed for the workers *and* another for management. Several illustrations of some types of management-directed internal welfare programs are described below.

After World War I, a “welfare in industry” program was launched, the alleged purpose of which was to adjust welfare work to business plans. The best review of these plans and those which preceded them both in the United States and in Europe is provided by Boettiger.³¹ There, the programs of United States Steel, Ford, National Cash Register, International Harvester, and other companies are reviewed. Despite their range, a common focus of these programs was an attempt to relate the welfare directly with managerial objectives of plant efficiency. Moreover, the programs were designed to make the promises offered by organized labor less attractive. In this sense, they were conceived as antidotes to unionization and collective bargaining.

Several important observations about these programs need to be made. First, many companies have kept them virtually intact to this day. Second, others were eventually forced to adopt some features of these programs by state legislation. Third, these programs had the effect of legitimizing worker and union demands for better working conditions, better housing, and better medical care. These objectives not only became part of collective bargaining, they stimulated companies to embark on ever widening programs for both management and the workers. A virtual social movement to expand welfare for management was launched—and the disparity between these benefits and those provided for workers further stimulated employee demands.

Specific Management Programs. Programs which result from collective bargaining and are jointly administered by labor and management are not usually considered welfare programs. Services provided over and above these may be legitimately so conceived. The bifurcation of the list of services provided by Ansul Chemical demonstrates this point.

Traditional Bargaining Goals:

- Good pay
- Good working conditions

³¹ Louis A. Boettiger, *Employee Welfare Work*, Ronald, 1923, Part IV.

- Good opportunity for advancement
- Liberalized hospitalization and surgical program
- Liberalized pension program
- Paid vacations
- Paid holidays
- Premium pay for shift work
- Seniority procedures
- Safety program

Additional Welfare Services:

- Profit-sharing
- Non-occupational health and accident insurance plan
- Health and medical program with emphasis on preventive medicine
- Recreational program
- Annual picnic, an additional paid holiday
- Turkeys to each employee at Christmas
- Birthday card and package of Wisconsin cheese to each employee on his birthday
- Loyalty case awards to each employee with five or more years of service
- Educational assistance—up to three-fourths of tuition costs defrayed by company for all employee self-improvement courses
- Underwriting a share of individual life insurance
- Annuity premiums
- Annual harvest show ³²

In the above list, it is apparent that all functions of union welfare programs are also found under management. Emergency welfare, direct administration of welfare programs, counseling and referral services, securing essential services, and providing community services are provided by modern business. It is probably correct to state that management provided many models which unions later adopted for their own use. This is especially the case, for example, in the area of employee counseling, which was first organized by management and later applied by organized labor.³³

Customary Relations in the Community

The separation between the welfare activities at the plant level and the community level is, of course, arbitrary. Many routine welfare-related functions are carried on undramatically by both union officers and businessmen. Much of their time is spent attending meetings of welfare boards and committees. Participation varies from occasionally and perfunctorily dropping in on a committee meeting to active administration of the agency. Thus, businesses which sponsor trusts and foundations may require executives to devote their

³² Business Relations Department, *Effective Employee and Community Relations*, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1956, p. 11.

³³ Nathaniel Cantor, *Employee Counseling*, McGraw-Hill, 1945, p. 63.

full time to supervise their activities. Not infrequently, intense preoccupation with welfare functions occurs in cyclical fashion so that, in a given year, almost all of one's "spare" time is devoted to community welfare; involvement other years may be minimal. The primary function of participation is, of course, to keep informed about agency activities and report them back to the company or union council, as the case may be. On the basis of these reports, the organizations "get a feel" of agency performance.

In addition to attendance, there are the constant public relations functions to be performed. Union officers pose for photographers eating Girl Scout cookies on the eve of the annual cookie sale, and the president of the chief industry pitches the first ball in the Little League baseball season. Such activity is designed to give public recognition to community welfare and to make it more attractive and honorable. This is an important function because many recruits and volunteers are needed to man many agency activities. Studies have indicated that the most reliable volunteers are the wives of union and management leaders. As ladies' auxiliaries, they do a mammoth welfare job, often in the name of their husbands' unions, firms, or professions.³⁴ The second pool of "volunteers" comes from within business and unions, where effective sanctions for participation may be applied.³⁵

Of course, new agencies are constantly emerging in the city, and old agencies want to increase their budgets. They constantly press unions and businesses to help them financially or in their campaigns to increase community interest in their activities. In large cities where General Motors has several plants, a plant-city committee, made up of representatives from each plant, meets regularly to consider problems of plant-community relations. Much of their deliberations concern requests for donations. In all cases, the committee weighs all the requests for what they do for the community, the company, and its employees. Although labor unions do not have the reserves to commit to projects as they arise, decisions whether to coöperate in a fund drive, provide volunteers, and related requests must be considered in council meetings.

THE AVOIDANT RESPONSE

Lest the reader feel that all industries are committed to enthusiastic support of welfare activities, a contrary report of a rugged individualistic attitude toward corporate giving is described by *Fortune*. Rayonier executives have questioned some of industry's well-intentioned public relations activities as fostering a paternalism which is neither rewarding nor justified. While endorsing some "valid" programs such as the Boy Scouts, Rayonier executives

³⁴ David L. Sills, *The Volunteers*, Free Press, 1957.

³⁵ Aileen D. Ross, "Organized Philanthropy in an Urban Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1953.

have declared they will not pay the bills of special factions for new gym floors, civic centers, and the like. President Clyde Morgan, who aims to reverse recent trends in industry-community relations, claims, "You can't buy good will (in company towns), and Rayonier doesn't try to. A big company cannot expect to be loved. We are used to acrimonious debates in our mill towns, and we fight it out. When a manager gives away the stockholder's money, it is the local manager, not the company, who is the hero or rather the sucker . . . Our crazy tax laws encourage corporation donations to civic causes by making them cheap, but, once you start giving away the stockholder's money, you are lost. There is no such thing as being just a little bit pregnant . . . (Moreover), if the company is tightfisted in its community relations, it is tight in its management relations too."³⁶

RELUCTANT ENTRY³⁷

In 1954, Kaiser Aluminum decided to build a plant near Ravenswood, West Virginia. It planned to keep hands off the town by allowing it to develop housing, facilities, and a social climate compatible to the needs of skilled workers and to avoid the conflict of old versus newcomers. Kaiser planned a small plant employing 200 persons and a slow, gradual growth, which would give the town opportunity to provide the needed services. However, soon after work began, a market analysis indicated that, within five years, the plant would have to hire 5000 workers. The company remained adamant that it would do everything possible to avoid making Ravenswood a company town.

However, it soon found it had paid over \$1 million in taxes and had indirectly paid for town and county planning. Fortunately, the utility companies moved in quickly to supply electricity, telephones, and other utilities. Top influentials and wealthy people in Ravenswood gave up the idea of speculation for a plan of orderly economic investment and development. They excluded shacks, trailers, and honky-tonk developments from the town. However, housing increased so slowly that 4000 construction workers had to commute from a 50-mile radius. Although housing was badly needed, real estate developers and FHA were reluctant to invest large sums for fear a "boom" or "bust" would leave them holding worthless properties. Schools were needed so desperately Kaiser had to build a 20-room school for \$500,000 and lease it to the county for one dollar a year.

Prefab builders hesitated building 4000 homes without a \$15 million underwriting. Finally, a group of outside financial interests found that FHA Code permitted management-type cooperative housing with 20 percent down and payments over a 40-year period. Money was provided by private, outside

³⁶ *Fortune*, November, 1956, p. 118.

³⁷ "With Kaiser at Ravenswood, West Virginia," *Newsweek*, September 7, 1957, pp. 189-195.

banks which the Kaiser corporation patronized. Later, Kaiser gave a planning firm \$70,000 to help plan the town's growth, and specifically indicated that Kaiser would not participate in the planning process which must be citizen-controlled. Consultants convinced the town leaders to establish a planning and zoning authority. Kaiser, meanwhile, purchased \$600,000 worth of options for land to permit town expansion, Kaiser, presumably, to be reimbursed later. Meanwhile, planning for stores, schools, commercial sites, an auditorium, and other facilities go on in a systematic way. This case illustrates that a reluctant attitude toward sponsoring welfare activities is not enough when the needs are great.

PARTNERSHIP

When a company has to begin operations in the wilderness, it has almost no choice but to erect a "company town" and meet all welfare needs. A modern and perhaps more sophisticated approach to comprehensive, internal welfare plans is illustrated by the approach of Creole and Shell Oil companies in Venezuela.³⁸ In the old pattern, when oil was found in the interior, the company in a literal sense built the town and provided the full range of institutional services. The disadvantages of this plan from an economic and employee relations point of view are obvious. The company takes full responsibility and full blame for everything that happens in the "communities," or, more properly, camps. Slums develop because the company hesitates to invest funds in "temporary camps" which tend to become permanent, as new workers and new services congregate and are attracted to the sites.

The new program now envisions turning these camps into permanent communities by systematically planning town development with the government and the employees. While still financing and building all of the dependent services (housing, sewage, schools, etc.) which are needed because of company operations, additional services are planned from the beginning for the newcomers (nonemployees) who are attracted to the community. The development of these facilities is jointly financed and controlled by the government and the company. The objective of this plan is to build permanent communities with high levels of construction. Workers are encouraged to bring their families and sink their roots in the new communities. Financial inducements enable them to buy rather than rent their houses. Private investors are brought into the towns to supply and operate stores, banks, and other services under government and company supervision. The whole aim of the program is to abolish the "welfare atmosphere" and stimulate citizen involvement in the community life.

³⁸ *Standard Oil Company Community Program in Venezuela*, Public Relations Department, Standard Oil Co., 1953.

THE ANNUAL FUND DRIVE

The campaign to collect funds for the great majority of the private welfare agencies represents the greatest area of coöperation and routine effort for both management and labor. Of course, the entire campaign is like a well-rehearsed play, carefully worked out in detail before the curtain goes up. Like good drama, it is designed to give the audience (contributors) and perhaps the players themselves a feeling that they are participating in a great personal and emotional experience; one which builds toward a crisis, the outcome of which is uncertain. How the drama of ritualistic and coöperative effort unfolds is perhaps best revealed by taking a specific case from the files of *The State Journal*, Lansing, Michigan, November 1-25, 1956. Newspaper headlines and commentary follow:

1. "Color Film Will Touch Local Heart. A color motion picture telling the story of the Community Chest efforts in the Lansing area will be shown to more than 200 clubs locally in connection with the current drive for funds. The picture, 'From the Heart,' is a 14-minute, 16-mm. film produced for the . . . Chest . . . in cooperation with Oldsmobile division of General Motors. Scenes shot in downtown Lansing and E. Lansing, in private homes, at the Curative Workshop, the YMCA and in offices of other member agencies are included in the film . . . The film gives the story behind the 1956 goal of the Chest, \$991,161." Note that the film advertises the city, Oldsmobile, as well as the Chest services.

2. "Chest Plan is Heard. The E. Lansing Chamber of Commerce recommended to split the city off as a separate division in the annual . . . campaign. Chamber officials said E. Lansing should be a separate division responsible for all solicitation in the University city. The merchants also ordered a committee set up to investigate a proposed student store to be established at the new E. Lansing high school." Here a local commercial group is seeking to assert its independence from the city interests through a welfare drive. Protection of its local economic interests is also reported. These are common themes repeated in other news releases.

3. "Kick-Off Plans Set for Community Chest. Volunteer solicitors in the . . . Red Feather drive . . . will gather Wednesday night at the Olds engineering auditorium for the official kick-off. Oldsmobile Division of G.M.C. will serve as hosts for the opening meeting of the . . . campaign. Dr. R. C. 'Scottie' Young . . . is slated as main speaker. Dr. Young [is] rated by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce as one of the ten most sought-after speakers in America. Invitations to all campaign workers . . . has been extended by J. F. Wolfram, general manager, Oldsmobile, to attend the dinner." Again the Chamber of Commerce and Oldsmobile are mentioned as primary movers in a gigantic effort.

4. On the next day photographs of the dinner were presented in the *Journal*. Heads of the various chest divisions were photographed earnestly discussing plans. All main segments of the community were mentioned as working together. "Leader, Volunteers spark Red Feather Appeal . . . *Union participation*. Elton Tubbs, president of Lansing C.I.O. Council [and] Lawrence Miller, president of Greater Lansing Central Labor Council, review union participation in the chest drives during a break at the kick-off dinner meeting at the Olds engineering auditorium. *Study Progress*. Mayors Ralph W. Grego of Lansing and Max R. Strothers of E. Lansing review with leaders of the Government and Education Division the progress in their Red Feather units. *Kick-off meet*. Francis I. Anderson, director of labor relations, Oldsmobile, Robert Rollis, general manufacturing, Oldsmobile, C. H. Baldwin, manufacturers' representative and general campaign chairman, and Elton Tubbs, president of Lansing C.I.O. Council get together during the kick-off meeting. *Review Agenda*. Edward L. Warner, Jr., publicity director, Oldsmobile Division, Community Chest vice president and general budget chairman; Lawrence Miller, president, Greater Lansing Control Labor Council, AFL, co-chairman of the Labor and Industry division; Richard B. Foster, president of the Chamber of Commerce; Mark N. Bouver, assistant to the publisher, *The State Journal*, Treasurer of the Community Chest, review the agenda of the kick-off meetings in an informal moment before the dinner meeting."

5. "Chest Drive Zeal Urged. Zeal, determination, and perspiration will bring us to victory . . . Clifford Baldwin, general chairman of the drive, told members of the individual gift division Wednesday evening. It was the second of two gatherings at the Y.W.C.A. Both were paid for by J. S. Knapp Company, Michigan National Bank, Quality Advertising Company, and the Simon Pure Iron and Steel Corporation as a 'plus contribution' in addition to their regular chest gift. Individual gifts division members solicit small business, retired persons, neighborhood businesses and other contributors not covered in other divisions." Other similar division meetings were simultaneously reported, always with the name of the sponsors who paid for the lunches.

6. A photograph of middle-aged balding men decked in football uniforms was displayed with the subcaption: "Red Feather Team Piling Up Yardage Toward Drive Goal. Red Feather Team—All togged out in Michigan State University's famous football uniforms. This portion of the Red Feather campaign squad is paying close attention to some pointers on team work and 'go-go' spirit from 'coach' C. H. Baldwin, general chairman of the current fund-raising drive. The 'players' are, . . ." Names of heads of labor and industry, government and education, individual gifts, business and professional, pacemakers, special services division followed.

7. "Community Chest Drive Gathers Momentum." Report and pic-

tures of briefing divisions of all sections are reported with appropriate encouraging and urgent remarks from all heads.

8. "Three Lead Campaign. Firms Report 100 Percent Participation in Red Feather Drive. Two building suppliers and a contractor are leading the construction section of the fall Red Feather drive. The pattern of giving in this section is based on 12 hours pay per year." Other reports of other sections reaching 100 percent goals soon followed.

9. "Community Chest Gets Good Start. First Luncheon Reports Show Drive Already Past Halfway Mark, Six Hundred Attended Thursday Luncheon, Sponsored by Sears, Roebuck and Company and Schaberg-Dietrich Hardware Company at the Civic Center."

10. "More Attain Chest Fame. 26 Firms, Departments Reach or Exceed Their Red Feather Goals."

11. "75 Percent Reached in Chest Drive. Reports Show \$743,996 In; Government-Education Unit Is Tops."

12. "Teams Win Gold Feather As Chest Tops 75 Percent. Twelve more teams joined the magic circle of gold feathers—100 percent or more—units Tuesday during the Red Feather report meeting . . . Herbert Whitecroft reported the Rotary Team of individual gift division with 111 percent, to top that division . . . Milk and ice cream were on the menu, and the Michigan dairy princess, Miss Louise Lagoy, 19, of Albion, was at the head table."

13. "Sight Goal in Chest's Fund Drive. Volunteers Report 93 Percent of Sum Sought."

14. "United Fund Campaigns May Set Record This Year. Michigan cities . . . are collecting record amounts in their 'give once for all' charitable fund drives this year." The implication is clear the community must keep up with the others in the state.

15. "Red Feather Campaigners Seek Final 7 Percent of Goal. Dinner on Thursday to Close Drive . . . C. H. Baldwin, general chairman, told the assembled volunteer solicitors that the next 48 hours is the critical period in the drive . . . The labor and industry division is missing 6 percent of its goal . . . Clinton Fair, educational representative of Region 7 of the Allied Industrial Workers A.F.L.-C.I.O., was guest speaker . . . He pointed out the role of the unions in accepting the part the Community Chest plays in the life of the community."

16. "United Fund Celebration Is Planned. Kansas City Mayor, Local Soldier to Share Civic Center Spotlight . . . Guests at the noon luncheon will be 700 volunteer and professional workers from Michigan's 89 Community Chests."

17. "City's Red Feather Campaign Hits Target. Blank Check Fund Gives Late Boost. Thanks to a last-minute special pacemakers subscription the drive went over the 100 percent mark by exactly \$1.59, Clifford Baldwin, gen-

eral campaign chairman announced . . . He said a special last-minute solicitation of about 25 local businessmen resulted in a pledge "up to \$10,000" to make up any shortage, but he pressed the hope that pledges still unaccounted for, would put the drive over its objective, 'so we won't have to touch a cent of money in this special fund . . .' Edward Ellsworth, secretary-treasurer of Motor Wheel Corporation, was announced as the campaign chairman for the 1958 drive . . . Dr. O. B. McGillicuddy, president of the United Community Chest, put the red feather necktie—traditional indication of the new fund chairman—on Edward Ellsworth."

18. "Red Feather Volunteers Celebrate Victory. 10 Nominated for Chest Board; 5 to Be Elected." The biographies of these ten persons were provided, and a ballot.

Much work of a routine character lies behind such a campaign. Much of it is supported by permanent professional workers in the chest organization who tend to stay behind the scenes during the campaign. Many items must be settled prior to the fund drive such as the size of the total drive, the budget for individual agencies, the acceptance of new agencies in the chest, giving permission to other agencies to run "special campaigns," priming new officers to take over the drive, and related tasks. Since these sometimes become controversial issues they may be better understood in the following section dealing with conflict.

Conflict Relationships

POWER RELATIONS IN THE CASE OF MAXIMUM LIKELIHOOD

Social conflict is patterned because it occurs within an organizational context. In the case of welfare, this context is the model of maximum likelihood which has been labeled "representational" (business dominated). The main characteristic of this model is that all persons and groups in the community which can contribute money to support welfare can theoretically obtain representation on the policy-making boards. Groups which contribute most money and organizational effort to welfare are business, unions, and professionals in and out of the welfare field. Business has more power than other groups because of its large financial contributions, its high representation on welfare boards, and its high prestige and power in the community. Yet it cannot completely and consistently win in all conflict situations because other groups have significant resources. Unions not only have large numbers of members from whom collections may be solicited, but they also have massive and integrated organizational resources. They have close contacts with many welfare clients and also have some representation on welfare boards. Professional welfare workers derive their power from their training and competence, the strategic administrative positions they occupy in the welfare structure, their representation on boards, and their wide range

of community contacts. Each of these functional groups has other resources in the community, i.e., they can tie into the institutional, social class, ethnic, racial, and other systems, depending on issues and occasions.

Obviously, inside this amorphous power arrangement, different types of issues forge different types of alliances. At times, business groups may align themselves against unions, professionals, and other groups. At other times, labor may be similarly isolated. On still other occasions, business and labor may coöperate against other outside groups. Illustrations representative of several types of power models will be amplified below. Variations in alignments must not be interpreted as indicating no traditional hostilities within the welfare area. On the contrary, a set of recurrent problems is ubiquitous, especially in the councils of social agencies, community chest, and united fund areas.

Budget Control. The central point of control in the private welfare agency structure is the budget committee of the community chest. The job of this committee is to determine the budgets of the individual agencies and the total budget of the annual chest drives. If partisan or other interests are to be served, they must get the committee to approve of larger expenditures. In order to understand the pressures on the committee, it is necessary to describe briefly the interlocking structures of social welfare as they impinge on the budget committee. This is clearly portrayed in Figure 8.7.

The community chest and the community services council each have separate boards of directors, but they work together on the fund campaign and budget committees.³⁹ The same people can and often do sit on both boards. There is, in addition, a joint central committee of 17 members to coördinate the work of the chest and the council. These are the only paid persons on the staffs. The chest board contains 37 members; one-half of them are elected for three-year overlapping terms at the victory dinner which concludes the annual campaign. All contributors may mail in their ballots or cast them at the victory dinners. The overwhelming and consistent results of these elections is to give at least one-half of the vacancies to the local business community. The other half of the vacancies are *one-year* terms. Six are *appointed* representatives from organized labor, which assures them some voice. Three are named by the council, and the others represent the surrounding townships. The board itself can name one member "to assure representation."

The budget committee of 152 members *includes* the boards of directors of the chest and council. It also contains representatives from the agencies who must be approved by the chest board, representatives from organizations in all "walks of life," and staff members of the chest. Thus, all segments of the welfare complex focus on this committee. The budget committee meets three times a year. In the spring, the individual agencies report on their

³⁹ The following account applies to a particular metropolitan community. Variations of the pattern apply for other communities.

expenditures and budget conditions. In midsummer, the agencies present their budget requests to the committee, which divides into six panels, each panel reviewing four agencies. Requests are carefully considered in terms of the agencies' load requirements, forecasts of needs, past performance, and related considerations. Finally, the panel and committee set budgets for the following year. The total of all the approved budgets comprises the goal of the chest campaign held in the autumn. In December, after the campaign, the actual fund allocation is made.

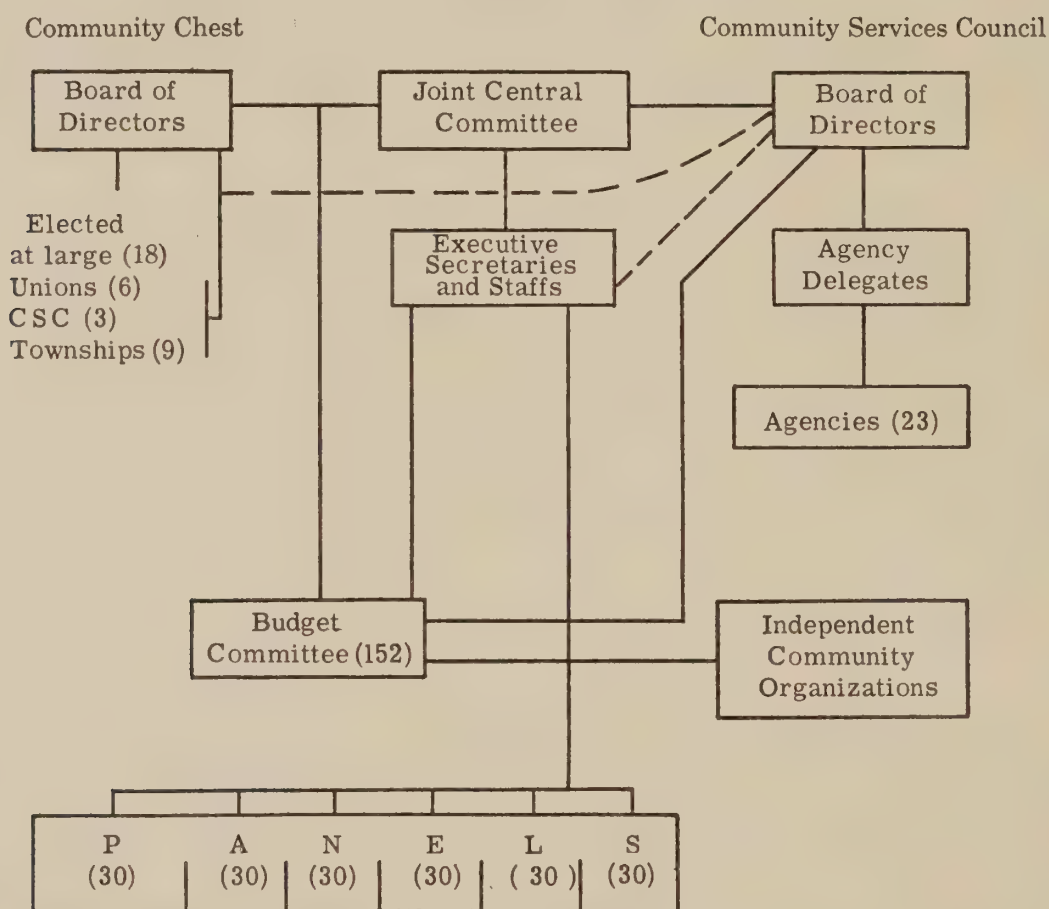


FIGURE 8.7. Influence Network of Welfare Complex Centering on Budget Committee of Community Chest. Dotted lines represent privilege of nomination.

Obviously, the crucial meetings are before the panels, which contain 30 members. If the panel is "balanced" in its representation and if the system works as designed, all agencies should receive budgets which represent the community norms. Typically, businessmen who do not have pet agencies try to keep budgets down, while welfare workers, union members, and others may respond to the "needs" of the agency. The economy-need dilemma must be resolved, and it usually follows the pattern of the previous year.

Some observers believe that, in many communities, the complex structure of budget fixing is a façade and that the actual budget decisions are made by the executive secretaries of the chest and council. One ex-secretary reported

that he would call in his staff and they would hold buzz-sessions, in which the work of each agency was evaluated according to professional standards, as were the pressures being exerted by influential people and groups for particular agencies. The staff would then decide on the budgets for each agency. Key people on each panel were then given "background information" needed to make decisions. Together with staff people, they "helped the panel" to arrive at decisions previously made in secret.

Needless to say, this procedure does not automatically reduce conflict among parties. It may merely shift the arena of issue resolution to behind the scenes. The chief problems of the panels are to respond to the agencies' definitions of a "fair share" of the chest funds, or get a new agency into the council. Labor and business sometimes take opposing views on the importance of rehabilitation of old people, the proportion of the budget to be given to recreational agencies during periods of economic recession, the size of the drive, how much religious welfare groups should receive, and related matters.

The second way of avoiding or "beating" the budgetary structure is to engage in a campaign of pressure inside and outside the council. For illustration, let us assume the YMCA wants more funds in the face of labor's opposition, which wants increased funds to go to the old-age drop-in center. The board of directors of the YMCA is made up of important business leaders in the community. They map out a campaign. The first step is to send a steady flow of news on "Y" activities to the newspaper. The second step is to place "Y" men in various places in the welfare structure and make sure they get on the proper panels. A research group is hired from the University to aid the community service council to prepare a report, with suitable charts, which describes the heroic efforts of the organization and its frustrated efforts to meet the expanding needs to serve young people. Community influentials approach welfare professionals and urge them to do what they can. Labor leaders are promised support next year for their pet project. Lastly, respected and influential people appear before the panel of the budget committee to present testimony concerning the need for the expanded budget. An increase is awarded.

Policy Control. Clearly, the powers to make policy decisions, both in the individual agencies and in the chest and council, are in the hands of lay boards. Usually, the boards and the professional administrators get along. As Wilensky and Lebeaux indicate, that is because lay boards are not really concerned with mundane problems of administration, but with "big decisions," such as housing and the preservation of the present medical system. Typically, half of the board members annually attend less than half the board meetings. Consequently, they remain relatively uninformed about what is going on, and the administrator has to give them "background information," i.e., he tells them how to vote.⁴⁰ While some administrators feel

⁴⁰ Wilensky and Lebeaux, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

uneasy about this situation, others relish it. If the latter condition persists over a period of time, administrators may begin to make big decisions which may run contrary to the wishes of the lay board. After a short conflict, the administrator may be replaced, and the cycle of neglect and crisis may be repeated. Thus, a pattern of institutionalized distrust and conflict may emerge between boards and administrators, as apparently existed in Cincinnati, Ohio.⁴¹ Such places become defined by social workers as risky areas in which to work, where a man cannot act professionally in the face of politics and pressure groups.

Only a few sources of conflict between board and staff may be noted. Hunter described a situation in Regional City in which a social worker was fired because he became involved in a "big issue" in a way antagonistic to influentials on the chest board.⁴² Crotchett was a social worker who ran a locally sponsored neighborhood club for underprivileged boys. He was a liberal person politically who often spoke out against inadequate housing and slums. When an opportunity to develop a slum-clearance program in the city was diverted by big businessmen into a paint-up, clean-up campaign, Crotchett attacked the campaign in a small bulletin he published. An aroused politician had the case reviewed by the local board. An influential businessman called together a few members of the chest board and asked them to "look into the matter." When Crotchett resisted "an investigation," the chest director was told to find ways to get rid of him. The case boiled along until the agency's appearance before the budget panel. There, a request for a salary raise for Crotchett was denied. This stimulated more conflict, which later led to Crotchett's dismissal.

On occasion, conflict develops between the labor relations secretary of the chest and the director. Seeley reports that, in Cincinnati, the labor union secretary refused to carry out chest campaign policy on the grounds that the union did not or would not approve of them. Before acting on any matter, he had to "get clearance from the union"; this, despite the fact he was an employee of the chest and not the union.⁴³ The director objected to this procedure as giving the unions direct policy and administrative control, a pattern which could hardly be followed generally.

Representation. There are two major types of problems revolving around representation. The first is getting representation on boards. The difficulty of getting a cross-section representation has been alluded to earlier. Labor unions in particular feel the working class is underrepresented, and they fight groups which deny them greater representation. Another kind of conflict develops over obtaining enough of the "pool of highly prestigious figures" to serve on one's favorite board. Crudely put, the supply

⁴¹ Seeley *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-334.

⁴² Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-194.

⁴³ Seeley *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-318.

of bigshots in the community is limited, and competition for them among various agencies is high. Moreover, as Ross maintains in a study of "Wells-ville, Canada," businessmen have "philanthropic careers" as well as business careers. For each rung on the business ladder, there is a rung on the philanthropic ladder. This suggests that agencies and offices in the welfare structure are status-graded. That is, businessmen do not want to hold welfare jobs beneath their actual positions or status aspirations. The mobility from one agency to another and from one position to another must, therefore, be accompanied by stress and strain. Agencies are constantly evaluating the careers of prospective board members, and they compete to get the money, time, and attention of the "stars." Thus, the sense of community responsibility becomes converted into the sober business of public relations on all sides.⁴⁴

RECURRENT TYPES OF POWER ARRANGEMENTS

*Business and Charity Skirmish.*⁴⁵ The community chest in Allegheny County, run by second-string businessmen, had failed to meet its goal in every campaign for 11 years. In Pittsburgh, the number of fund-raising drives had increased until there was at least one big fund-raising drive ten months out of the year. Clifford Hood, president of United States Steel, decided to do something about it. One day he called Arthur VanBuskirk, vice-president of T. Mellon and Son, on the telephone to drop in for a chat about fund drives. They explored the question about Pittsburgh adopting the united fund method used in more than 200 cities. A united fund is any community-wide federated fund-raising effort that includes one or more of the six big national agencies: American Red Cross, National Heart Institute, American Cancer Society, National Foundation, National Tuberculosis Association, and National Society for Crippled Children and Disabled Adults.

An investigation of united funds elsewhere revealed that a common denominator in every successful fund was the active participation and direction by top business and labor leadership. Another requirement was control by big givers rather than by professional social workers. In accord with these ideas, Hood, VanBuskirk, Wilson (Alcoa), Higgins (Pittsburgh Plate Glass), and Conover (Equitable Gas) gave a dinner at the Duquesne Club for two dozen Pittsburgh industrialists, bankers, and merchants to consider forming a united fund "nuclear group." This powerful group accepted the idea and agreed to raise \$15,000 to have the Pennsylvania Economy League, a private, business-sponsored research organization, do a more detailed study of the united fund concept. Toward the end of 1955, the nucleus group formally

⁴⁴ Aileen D. Ross, "Philanthropic Activity and the Business Career," *Social Forces*, March, 1954, pp. 274-280.

⁴⁵ *Fortune*, April, 1957.

decided to establish a united fund. One hundred and seventy-five leaders attended an organization luncheon and approved an impressive "power board" of directors and officers: Richard Mellon, Benjamin Fairless, David J. McDonald (steelworkers' union), Wilson Higgins, Ed Stanley (Allegheny Ludlum), Fred Foy (Koppers) were among them.

The community chest put all its facilities at their disposal. Local chapters of the Red Cross; national agencies fighting arthritis, rheumatism, cerebral palsy, and multiple sclerosis; and United Service Organizations joined almost at once. The Salvation Army joined on the last day of "eligibility." The polio, tuberculosis, and crippled children groups declined to join. The national associations for cancer and heart, convinced they could raise more money outside this united fund, decided not to affiliate. Then, after several overtures, the Pittsburgh united fund decided to raise money for these diseases and present the agencies with a *fait accompli*. A local officer of the Heart Association called this "sheer trickery which shows an amazing lack of integrity by our so-called leading citizens."

In October the big drive was on. It was inaugurated with a star-studded TV show, parades, insistent radio announcements, movie shorts, and other devices. One-third of the total was pledged by the corporations at the first meeting. Meanwhile, 35,000 volunteers contacted 400,000 contributors. Ninety percent of the county work force was covered by the chapter plan—fund units by firms. Every big corporation in Pittsburgh joined. The drive netted 113 percent of the campaign goal. Campaign costs had been held down to 4.1 percent, about half of the aggregate costs of the multiple drives in 1955. The big boys wouldn't let it fail, for corporate gifts were one-third of the total. Individual donations rose from an average of \$10.90 to \$23.45.

The heart and cancer societies flatly refused to accept the money offered by the united fund. Dr. W. Gordon, head of the local Heart Association, accused the united fund of dictatorial practices. When the polio drive began in January it ran into resistance by united fund givers and raised 75 percent as much as the previous year. On the opening day of the drive, radio and TV spot announcements reminded audiences that the united fund had already provided \$460,000 for heart and cancer—that givers had to decide whether they wanted one campaign or many. Visits to the New York headquarters of the Cancer Association by Pittsburgh influentials failed to budge them from their position. The united fund, stuck with half a million dollars of cause money, was determined to press its campaign.

Several observations for the power-action model may be made from this case. As Figure 8.8 shows, when the combined power of business and labor is applied, almost all other groups must fall in line. Despite the prestige and appeal of the private welfare agencies outside the united fund, they could

not long resist the determined efforts to bring them in. Second, the only group which could initiate this action so successfully was the top business elite in the community. It is doubtful whether organized labor could marshal sufficient power and prestige to carry off the campaign. Another important organizational resource of the fund was the community chest. The latter could apply all its staff and skill to the new campaign. Only the strong backing of some local agencies by their national groups enabled them to resist being engulfed into the Pittsburgh fund.

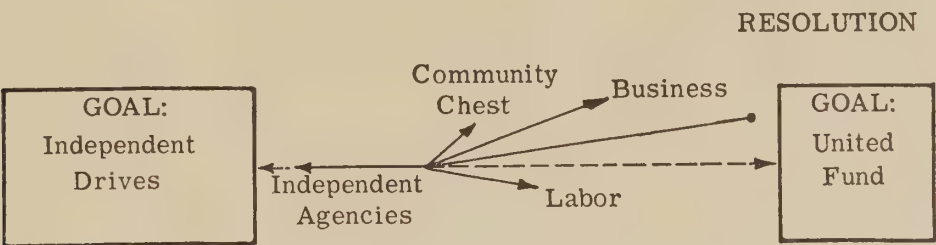


FIGURE 8.8. Vector Analysis of a United Fund Issue.

Labor Wants In—Again and Again. Three hospitals are found in a Midwestern industrial city: private, Catholic, and osteopathic. Although all of them have boards composed of prestigious people, the private hospital has more top influentials. Its board of directors decided in 1952 to expand the hospital with funds obtained by a campaign drive in the community. Rex Peters, publisher of the local newspaper and chairman of the board, privately polled other influential businessmen about their ideas. In the process he contacted Bill Murphy, a prominent industrialist who was on the board of the Catholic hospital. He informed Peters that his board was about to launch a campaign to expand St. Vincent's and that the two drives might be launched simultaneously. Nestor Wattenburg, president of a local foundry, when informed of an impending campaign, indicated that his men used the osteopathic hospital which needed to expand. A series of discussions among top community influentials convinced them of the need for a United Hospital Expansion Fund Drive. They applied pressure on the three hospital boards and finally obtained their consent. These negotiations, sometimes coöordinated by the chamber of commerce, took almost a year.

Toward the end of 1953, Peters announced in his paper the formation of the United Hospital Expansion Fund Drive to raise \$4,000,000 to get 400 beds in the three hospitals. During the next few weeks appointments to the board (all top influentials in the city) were announced in the paper. Organized labor, impatient at being ignored, began to publish articles in its local press criticizing local hospital administration and pointing to the need for coöperation from organized labor in any community-wide fund drive. Finally the heads of the AFL-CIO council were appointed to the

board. Simultaneously announcements were made of large corporation gifts amounting to over one-quarter of the goal.

After several months the executive board announced that a survey of present and future hospital needs would be conducted, and a private research organization would conduct the survey. This plan was urged by the executive director of the Community Chest, who was on the board. He insisted that the board was in no position to evaluate local hospital needs and that it had to do something to involve broader segments of the community. He advised that a citizens' advisory council be created to assist the survey team and that this council be appointed by the Community Service Council to assure a "broad base of representation" from business, industry, labor, hospital staffs, physicians, dentists, nurses, educators, clergymen, government, newspaper, radio and television staffs. Not until this time were doctors and other medical personnel given any representation or recognition in the drive. Three months later, the report was submitted to the executive board, which recommended, among other things, an increase in the fund goal of \$2,000,000.

The formal campaign to raise funds was finally launched with all the color and ritual which attend the community chest drives. While the local union newspaper backed the drive, an early editorial complained that labor was not being given adequate recognition in the collection system. Two days later, every team in the industrial division had co-chairmen, one from labor and one from industry. Although the drive was "successful," it was apparent that more funds would be needed before long.

This case is typical of labor's position in private welfare efforts. For the year of behind-the-scenes negotiations when important policy decisions were being initiated by top business groups, the unions were largely ignored. When appointments were made to the executive board, labor was added belatedly and only after a vague threat of noncoöperation. No such pressure was needed to get on the citizens' advisory committee because that was instigated by a professional fund-raiser who appreciated the need to involve all segments of the community. Even at the final collection stage, the unions had to complain before being given equal status with management on the collecting teams.

Labor Initiates a Program. The above case illustrates business's ability to initiate a vast program of private giving in the community. Some of the obstacles confronted by the unions in the same community to initiate a program are illustrated by another case. In 1954, the CIO Community Services Council inaugurated an overall program to prepare workers for retirement. The program had four objectives: preretirement counseling, retired workers' counseling, monthly meeting of retired workers, and the development of a drop-in center for all retired people in the community. The last objective was to be sponsored by local private and/or public resources.

Union leaders selected a Midwestern industrial community for a pilot city. The first step was to get the mayor's committee on aging to assess local health and welfare needs of the aged. This the committee began to do in a very desultory manner. Attempts to get the committee to recommend the establishment of a retirement center were similarly stalled. CIO decided to pursue plans independently of the mayor's committee. One of the locals close to the center of town offered its hall for a temporary drop-in center. One cent per union member per month was set aside from dues to equip and operate the center on a five-day-week basis. The center was then opened to all retired people, whether or not they had been union members. The mayor expressed the hope that the excellent program would continue and expand.

Meanwhile, the CIO council approached the community chest for a grant to handle rising expenses of the center. It was unsuccessful in marshaling sufficient support, and the grant was refused. A series of articles by the "labor reporter" in the local paper on the activities and the needs of the center began to appear. Labor officials approached aldermen on the city council personally, urging them to support the center. Almost half of the labor-backed candidates won posts to the city council that year. Soon after, the council voted to pay the local union \$500 for rental of the building for the drop-in center. Moreover, the mayor requested the ways and means committee of the council to include in the budget of the department of parks and recreation an increase to cover part of the expenses of operating the center. Not only was the budget increase approved by the council but a more suitable building was acquired by the city for the center.

Later on, an agreement was drawn up between the city recreation department and the CIO council to co-sponsor the Senior Citizen Drop-in Center. Two representatives from each group formed the overseeing committee. They agreed that the coördinator would be paid by the recreation department, while the unions would furnish the equipment, publish the monthly calendar, and furnish buildings for the monthly meetings and the monthly birthday party. One month later the center opened under joint auspices with a modest range of activities and courses. About 50 to 100 people a day use the facilities.

The case clearly demonstrates the weakness of unions in initiating action either in the public or private spheres. Success came only after labor demonstrated a "need" for the center by actually operating one successfully and by threatening to apply sanctions in the political arena and agreeing to assume a sizable part of the burden. A comparable program could have been easily launched by the chamber of commerce. This case does not so much demonstrate opposition to labor, as an inability of labor to involve other segments of the welfare complex in a worth-while welfare effort.

CHANGES IN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND WELFARE RELATIONS

New Trends

New trends in the welfare complex are found in the types of conflict alluded to above. Foremost among them is the persistent demand on the part of organized labor for increased representation and control in all welfare activities in both private and public areas. Unless unions suffer a gigantic demise, it appears they will succeed in obtaining more control, if not more recognition. Unions can secure more representation on policy boards by withdrawing or threatening to withdraw financial support. Although labor cannot guarantee higher collections, it can boycott private collection campaigns. In the public arena, labor has the strength of votes. Again, although it cannot guarantee elections, it often can "veto" candidates who might otherwise win.

In the area of public welfare, labor has made its position clear. It is in favor of government assuming welfare burdens which cannot be adequately met by local and private efforts. Here again, the trend toward increased government underwriting of the main risks of life is clearly evident. Despite the resistance of business and some professions, labor's desires are apparently being realized by the expanding welfare activities of government at all levels. As vanguard of the working class, unions are vastly expanding their own welfare programs. While government is seen as providing a minimum base of security, the actual base may be increased by two main methods. The first is to increase "fringe" benefits by traditional methods of collective bargaining. The second is to supply welfare services directly or in conjunction with other groups.

The latter is illustrated by the recent drive to do something about rising medical costs. Once seemingly assured of basic care through Blue Cross participation, unions now are convinced this plan is too expensive and has insufficient coverage. In Detroit, unions claim a major breakthrough in the battle to provide adequate care. By the formation of Group Health Services Association, labor, credit unions, and coöp representatives have worked out a plan to cover all day-to-day medical expenses of members. GHSA will fill the financial gap between what existing health insurance plans, such as Blue Cross and Blue Shield, provide and the total medical bill. The new plan will cover previously uncovered items, such as health examinations, x-rays, diagnosis, vaccines, prenatal care, and other services. The association will have access to a panel of doctors who own and operate completely equipped medical centers.

Management groups do not promise to stimulate new trends in commu-

nity welfare. To be sure, they will continue to stimulate plans for coördinated giving and will allow other groups to share in the control of welfare as long as they offer financial support. Business may find it necessary to coördinate private and public welfare efforts to decrease the total costs. Welfare professionals appear to be riding a long-term trend of increasing demand, because both the quantity and range of welfare activities are on the increase. The more complex the activities, the more their skills will be required.

Alternative Models

SEGMENTED MODELS

A parallel model of welfare is represented by a situation in which organized labor and organized management erect independent welfare organizations. Each side fashions, finances, and administers welfare sources independent of the other. The result is two welfare systems in the same community. While this situation is relatively rare, it does occur in communities and societies marked by deep and more or less permanent cleavages. Other conditions which foster the appearance of this model are strong labor-management conflict, strong feelings of self-consciousness among labor groups, the desire on the part of union leaders to capture the complete loyalty of the worker, and situations where welfare recipients feel stigmatized by traditional arrangements.

Parallel structures tend also to emerge where community cleavages extend beyond and are related to the labor-management cleavage. Thus, in C. Juarez, Mexico, organized labor backed the PRI party, the party which controlled government since the Mexican Revolution. Local governmental and labor leaders displayed a traditional antagonism and suspicion toward business. The labor-government coalition tried to meet welfare needs primarily through government aid and by "private" ancillary services. Neither government nor party financial resources were sufficiently large to meet the expanding needs. Businessmen, through the C. Juarez Chamber of Commerce, and religious leaders, through the Catholic church, formed an opposing coalition. They erected a parallel welfare system, a series of uncoördinated and more or less spontaneously conceived welfare projects. At times, welfare schemes were designed to discredit the other side and to capture the loyalty of the public. Hopefully, this loyalty would be generalized to back the party at election time.

For example, on one occasion, businessmen, recognizing the need for a school lunch program, deposited a large sum of money in the bank to be used for this purpose, if and when the government could match the sum. Unable to match the funds, government and labor leaders blasted the gesture as high-handed and politically inspired. Meanwhile, each faction

continued to sponsor its separate fiestas, concert series, and aid to the poor. Just across the border in El Paso, the political and business elites coöperate in a traditional community chest.

RISE OF GOVERNMENT-DOMINATED MODEL

Welfare services in all advanced industrial societies are dominated by government. Even in the United States, where governmental intervention is "minimized," the major welfare burden is under governmental sponsorship. However, it is possible for almost all local welfare efforts to be absorbed, leaving none to private sponsorship. In rapidly industrializing countries, local communities may not have sufficient financial and leadership resources to shoulder welfare burdens. Here the government must provide the entire range of services—health, recreation, housing, medical, and social security. Of course, in nations in which the basic industries are nationalized, the state normally assumes almost all of the welfare functions. This appears to be the current trend in the technologically underdeveloped parts of the world.

REPRESENTATIONAL TYPES

Apparently, the tendency in Western industrialized societies is to develop in both private and public welfare agencies controls which are broadly representative of all dominant functional groups. Thus, in Great Britain, the boards of control of both public and private agencies are more representative of organized community demands than in the United States. There, organized labor, clergy, white-collar workers, and welfare administrators are more heavily represented and more genuinely involved in making welfare policy. The great development of coöperative organizations in welfare, the larger and more representative city councils, the stronger political development of organized labor, and the greater prestige accorded to the professions all serve to make welfare agencies more broadly representative. Developments in the United States seem to point to changes in this direction. As unions grow in prestige and power, and this is problematical, the model of maximum likelihood may develop into a purer representational type.

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FIELD PROJECTS

1. Determine the "welfare goodness" of your community by applying one or more methods described by Angel, Bosworth, Fowler, Thorndike, listed in the bibliography.
2. Visit the council of social agencies and interview the secretary to ascertain the degree of involvement of labor and business leaders in the campaign drives and in the administration of the council and individual welfare boards.
3. From the records of the council of social agencies, obtain a list of the members of the board of directors for the last ten years. Determine their occupational and industrial affiliation to find whether changes or trends in board elections have taken place.
4. Interview a counselor in one of the local unions to obtain an intimate and detailed picture of the referral process which applicants undergo.
5. Follow the community chest drive in your local newspaper from the earliest announcement to the final report. Identify the representatives of business and labor in all the reports and determine the functions which they are called upon to play.
6. With score card for Community Services Activity, interview two representative panels of white-collar and manual workers and compare their mean scores.

SCORE CARD FOR COMMUNITY SERVICES ACTIVITY (Score one point for each "yes") *

Financial Support: Did you, in the past year,
Contribute money to a community chest campaign?
Contribute money to a church?
Contribute money for other charitable purposes?

General Activity: Did you
Serve on any board responsible for civic programs?
Serve on any committee working to improve civic life?
Assume leadership of any civic action program?

Community Issues and Problems: Do you

-Inform yourself about civic issues and problems?
-Discuss civic problems frequently with more than one person?
-Persuade others to take a particular position?
-Get advice from others?
-Speak to key leaders about problems?
-Visit community organizations or board meetings to inform yourself?
-Write letters, circulate literature, hold meetings?

Group Action: Do you

-Belong to one or more organizations that take stands on community issues and problems?
-Make group visits or invite visits of community officials to your organization?
-Total Score

* 10-15 points—An outstanding community member.

6-9 points—An average member.

5-0 points—A free rider?

Chapter 9

RELIGION: MORAL MONITOR

HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS: CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS NORMS AND STRUCTURES

Changes in Norms

Era of Pietistic Fundamentalism

Era of Optimistic Individualism

Era of the Social Gospel

Emergence of Neoöorthodoxy

Organizational Changes

Pattern of Control

STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Components of the Interinstitutional Complex

Values of Business, Unions, and the Church

Business Expectations

Union Expectations

What the Church Wants

Power Models

Model A. Theocratic

Model B. Sacred

Model C. Segmented

Model D. Ethical

Model of Maximum Likelihood: Ethical Model

Predictions

Control Factors

Urban religious heterogeneity

Religious participation

Social stratification

Social action

Formal control

CUSTOMARY AND CONFLICT RELATIONS

Patterns of Customary Relations

Metropolitanized Algonac and Religious Holland

Religious Factors in Business Operations

Religion in Union Operations

The Christian labor association

Church-Sponsored Activities

Minute meditations

Industry-council plan

Union Programs

Conflict Relations of Industry, Labor, and Religion

Labor-Management Conflict: What Role for the Church?

Common Power Arrangements

Attacking management from above: right to work

Fair employment: a coöperative venture

Sunday closing: an invitation to help

Appraisal of Organizational Resources

Dynamics of Issue Resolution: Union Representation

Prelude to Conflict: The First Campaign

The All-Out Campaign

CIO tactics

The church commits her resources

Reluctant management

UMM counterattack

Issue Vector Analysis

CHANGES IN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND CHURCH RELATIONS

*Trends Within the Church**Future Roles*HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS: CHANGES IN
RELIGIOUS NORMS AND STRUCTURES*Changes in Norms*

A basic sociological axiom is that all social institutions of a society are inter-related and interdependent. This chapter is devoted to analyzing the specific relations between religious and economic institutions in the local community. Two basically different points of view concerning the institutional relations are held by contemporary scholars.¹

The first view, often taken by economists, admits that while religion may affect the economy of some societies, it plays a secondary role in Western

¹ Walter G. Muelder, *Religion and Economic Responsibility*, Scribner, 1953, p. 4.

societies. An opposing view stresses that religious ideas and ideals usually affect the functioning of all institutions of a society.

Pope specifies six possible relations between economic and religious institutions.² Religious institutions might be (1) a source of economic change, (2) a product of economic change, (3) sanctions for existing economic organizations, (4) antagonistic to prevailing economic organizations, (5) indifferent to economic spheres, or (6) irrelevant to economic results. Studies of different communities in different cultures have established the existence of all of these possibilities. The task here is to specify which seem to exist in American communities today.

Many scholars, Weber and Troelsch in particular, have demonstrated that in Western society religion has been important for understanding three normative areas of economic life. They are (1) the way in which man's work and occupation fit into his broader social relations, (2) the way in which man views the appropriate use of private and collective property, and (3) the way in which man views the nature of his economic responsibilities to the broader community.

Any view of American community life must take into account these three important areas and their historical backgrounds. Unfortunately for the social historian, the diversity of religions in the United States makes it difficult to reconstruct how changes in these three areas of social norms have occurred. It will be convenient to view these norms in four overlapping religious eras of American Protestantism. These eras may be referred to as (1) pietistic fundamentalism, (2) optimistic individualism, (3) the social gospel, and (4) neoorthodoxy. Although these eras emerged at different times, their norms all have current acceptance. The focus of this discussion is necessarily on Protestantism because Protestants have dominated the economic scene in the United States. Parallel trends for Catholicism will be discussed later.

ERA OF PIETISTIC FUNDAMENTALISM

Pietistic fundamentalism and its many offshoots dominated the United States from early settlement to the closing of the frontier. Three doctrines characterized these denominations: (1) the glorification of work as necessary for salvation, (2) personal and individual religious responsibility, and (3) otherworldliness. The importance of work, the necessity for personal salvation, and the absence of doctrine on economic responsibilities were common to fundamentalism as expressed in the rise of sects along the frontier, in the South, and later on in the city. Hard work, personal salvation, and the devaluation of economic well-being made sense to an isolated agrarian people living on isolated farmsteads and suffering economic privations.

² Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers*, Yale University Press, 1942, pp. 7-8.

ERA OF OPTIMISTIC INDIVIDUALISM

Yet in the nineteenth century America was experiencing a dramatic industrial revolution in the cities. There, the middle and upper classes were rapidly accumulating wealth and experiencing many new comforts. As Yinger asserts, the fundamental theology of the frontier was too pessimistic to flourish in a situation where there was so much hope and optimism for the future. The stern theory of predestination lost ground as people accumulated earthly wealth and experienced new achievements. Theological modifications came rapidly. "Among the middle- and upper-classes an optimistic view of human possibilities and a strong emphasis on self-reliance were matched by theological liberalism and religious individualism."³ Businessmen liked the society about them, and since their careers were filled with success and hope, they were inclined to dismiss orthodox theology for its pessimism. The gilded age had arrived where man could solve his own problems by his own efforts. The economic theories of these classes were held to be religiously valid. Walter G. Muelder quotes D. S. Gregory's *Christian Ethics*: "By the proper use of wealth man may greatly elevate his moral work. It is therefore his duty to seek to secure wealth for this high end, and to make a diligent use of what the Moral Governor may bestow upon him for the same end. [He] has placed the power of acquisitiveness in man for a good and noble purpose."⁴

Thus religious doctrine found a way to justify the coming to power of the businessman.⁵ The latter was not shocked by the alignment of business and religion, and the parallel alienation of the workers from the churches. The sufferings of the workers were seen as the inevitable consequence of individual irresponsibility. Any collective attempt on their part to change conditions was perceived as a challenge to a religiously sanctioned economic order of laissez-faire. This view with some slight modifications is that which is predominantly held by businessmen today.

And yet economic changes occurring especially in the latter part of the nineteenth century called for the church to redefine its position. At that time urban America was being confronted with many problems attending industrialization. Workers who did not experience the sudden upsurge of wealth were confronted with low wages, poor working conditions, inadequate housing, poor health, and economic depressions. Waves of Catholic migrants increased the religious heterogeneity of the cities. Labor unions, sometimes under the leadership of foreign-born socialists, began to criticize the business monopoly of power. Clergymen began to realize that they had to take a

³ J. Milton Yinger, *Religion, Society, and the Individual*, Macmillan, 1957, p. 275.

⁴ Muelder, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

⁵ J. Milton Yinger, *Religion in the Struggle for Power*, Duke University Press, 1946, p. 128.

position on secular affairs or relinquish their claim and hope for a universal brotherhood.⁶

ERA OF THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

The organization in 1908 of The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America brought forth the social creed of Protestantism. Large denominations established social service boards. The rights of labor to organize and bargain collectively were approved. Seminaries established departments devoted to the social interpretation and application of religion. Ecumenical movements sought to heal the economic, ethnic, and racial cleavages within the church. Such steps were associated with the social gospel movement. "The social ethic represented by the leadership of this movement was substantially that of theistic humanitarian democracy, asserting the dignity and worth of personality, brotherhood as the bond of society and service as a primary motive."⁷ The social gospel called on the church to take a stand on the social problems confronting the society. Not all denominations went along, for some of them insisted on maintaining the split between religious and temporal life. In many cases a deep cleavage emerged between the clergy and their congregations which has existed until today.

In the social gospel movement the church did not initiate, but rather accommodated to, trends already underway. As Yinger states,

1. The problems that social Christianity seriously became aware of only in the late nineteenth century had been long in existence. 2. Secular movements—political agitation, labor unions, associations for the advancement of colored people—preceded any extensive religious protests by about a generation. 3. Some business leaders, politicians, editors, and scholars were discovering, from a secular point of view, that in a mass production economy the interests and power of the middle and upper classes were *not* injured by such things as higher wages, social security, and non-discrimination in hiring policy. 4. Extensive concern with 'social questions' has continued to characterize the work of only a minority of churchmen . . . [in] seminaries, religious publications, 'institutional' downtown churches (being, therefore, largely sectarian), and various boards and agencies that are somewhat separated, as national organizations, from continuous contact with most laymen, than they have been found in local pulpits where any deviation from 'respectable' religious views would be readily apparent to the middle and upper-class congregations.⁸

EMERGENCE OF NEOÖRTHODOXY

The late appearance of the social gospel movement does not diminish its importance in cracking the church's almost solid defense of the status quo,

⁶ Yinger, *Religion, Society, and the Individual*, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁷ James Hasting Nicholds, *Democracy and the Churches*, Westminster, 1951, p. 219. See also chap. 8.

⁸ Yinger, *Religion, Society, and the Individual*, *op. cit.*, pp. 225–226.

and giving some legitimacy to social reform movements. However, the social gospel has been and remains a minority movement.

Protestantism has been exposed to a fourth movement, neoorthodoxy. Aftermaths of World War II and threats of atomic extinction have blunted the optimism of the many followers of the social gospel. Neoorthodoxists insist that man cannot solve the world's problems by a simple application of religious principles. Man alone is incapable of grappling with the omnipresent evil and tragedy in the world. Although responsible social action is still desirable, it alone cannot solve man's problems which are basically religious. Therefore, a partial return to a historical theology which recognizes man's incapacity to solve his problems without divine guidance is necessary. Some Catholic critics insist that Protestants have rediscovered the orthodox Thomistic position. Other Protestants simplify neoorthodoxy as a "return to religion." Neoorthodoxy appeals largely to an intellectual minority who see the full scope of the theological problems, while the middle classes reduce their anxiety by resorting to traditional slogans of personal faith, and the lower classes find comfort by return to fundamentalist denominations of their youth.⁹

It would be an oversimplification to assert that American Catholicism followed the same changes in norms concerning work and the role of the church in economic affairs as the Protestant denominations. The church's position is indicated by papal encyclicals which were, in the main, responsive to European conditions. In general, the Catholic church responded earlier to the social and economic problems which a rapidly industrializing Europe was facing. In 1891, Pope Leo XIII, in the encyclical *De Rerum Novarum*, defined the church's position with respect to the legitimacy of labor unions, the right to strike, and the rights of property.¹⁰ In 1931, Pope Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* further defined the position of the church on reconstructing the social order. The social gospel of the Protestants was the same kind of response to social problems which the Catholic church had made earlier. The greater continuity of Catholic tradition and its more unified internal structure made the position of American Catholicism on social affairs clearer. Yet since the church had to respond to the peculiar conditions in the United States, many local parishes also experienced some of the internal cleavages of the Protestant denominations.¹¹

As part of the religious structure of the United States, American Judaism also responded to the social and economic changes in the society. It, too, experienced some of the same internal problems of American Protestantism—the struggle among orthodox, liberal, and conservative movements.¹²

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 288–293.

¹⁰ These and other Catholic ideas are excellently reviewed in J. F. Cronin's *Catholic Social Principles*, Bruce, 1950.

¹¹ Yinger, *Religion, Society, and the Individual*, *op. cit.*, pp. 284–288.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 288–293.

Organizational Changes

The organization of contemporary religion is far different from that in rural America's past. Many rural communities were fortunate to have a full-time pastor and a small church building. In contrast, the size and complexity of church organization today stagger the imagination. Church membership today is estimated at 103,000,000, and it is growing at a faster rate than the population. In the early nineteenth century only one-tenth of the adults were church members, as contrasted to almost 60 percent in 1957. The rate of increase in the value of church property has outrun the rate of membership growth. In 1956 alone the cost of new construction amounted to \$775,000,000. In 1958, there were some 300,000 churches, one-third of which were urban. Of the 350,000 ordained clergy, 235,000 had congregations. In the larger cities church membership averaged over 1000.¹³ In 1956, 50 Protestant denominations and the Eastern Orthodox church collected about \$2 billion in offerings.

Increased membership and increased resources have enabled churches to specialize their staffs and organizations. Although the small urban parish with one pastor survives, parishes have grown in membership and in number of services. Urban pastors found themselves called upon to perform many roles uncalled for earlier. Gradually many specialists were developed. Business managers, supervisors of religious education, welfare workers, youth workers, and directors of music are just a few of the specialists found in the larger churches. Church equipment has also grown in size and complexity. Whereas formerly a simple meeting place sufficed, modern churches have schoolrooms, kitchens, gyms, swimming pools, libraries, and chapels. Religious occupational specialization reflects the increased complexity of organizations which church associations have been able to support. They now support nursery schools, radio stations, and bookstores, approximately 250 periodicals, orphanages, hospitals, homes for the aged, and many social welfare agencies.

Training of the clergy has also changed dramatically. Whereas the study of the Bible, church history and dogma, Latin and Greek constituted the core curriculum in the nineteenth century, a liberal college education often is a prerequisite for the seminary today. In over 300 seminaries, the study of contemporary issues, sociology, and psychology form a basic part of the curriculum. Specialized curricula are being developed for those anticipating different ministries, such as in rural, urban, or foreign missions. Even the "Bible colleges" of the fundamentalistic denominations are responding to pressure to train clergy who can meet the broader problems of their members. These trends are found in Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish seminaries.

¹³ *Yearbook of American Churches*, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1958.

Expanded church functions and expanded ministerial training is increasingly expensive. For this and other reasons, Protestant denominations have been encouraged to cooperate and even unify on local, national, and international levels. The social gospel and parallel movements stimulated interchurch cooperation to meet society's problems. Church federations, interdenominationalism, ministerial associations, and interfaith federations all emphasize cooperative trends within the religious sphere. Contacts have also been extended outward in the community—toward business, organized labor, schools, courts, welfare, youth, and other associations. This outward orientation perhaps is another manifestation of the secularization of church functions. It may also be thought of as an attempt to integrate the church into the emerging urban way of life. Both interpretations emphasize the need of the church to depart from traditional paths to retain the loyalty of youth and to become a moral force in the society.

These organizational changes within the church have called for organizational responses from outside agencies. The better business bureaus, business and clergy days, labor Sundays, ethical practices commissions, religious psychiatry, Sunday business closings, ethical advertising councils, labor-clergy days, Christian labor unions, Christ-in-Christmas movements, religious instruction in the public schools, the "religious break" in industry, and related phenomena represent attempts on the part of "temporal agencies" to meet overtures of the churches.

Pattern of Control

Extended church contacts with the secular community have been accompanied by new controls on the church. As a matter of fact, any type of relationship automatically introduces some degree of constraint on the parties concerned. Thus the community contacts of the church have decreased its independence, albeit the church wanted to become more a part of the world about it. In like manner, the agencies which sought liaison with the church also have had to respond to it and lose some of their autonomy. Local congregations of some Protestant denominations have lost their control over their national associations and over seminary training. In a sense, these clerical educators gained some control over local bodies by changing the training of new clergy. The church has also become increasingly dependent on large donors and foundations for money to carry out its expanding local and national programs. The wishes of these groups could not go unheeded. The Catholic church, too, has had problems of control, in the sense that it has had to respond to a wide variety of pressures in many different countries. Thus bureaucratization, centralization, and specialization brought the church new control problems as they have to all of society's institutions. These control problems will be analyzed further below.

STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Components of the Interinstitutional Complex

Figure 9.1 presents some of the elements in the interinstitutional complex of industry, unions, and the church. Several important observations may be made from it. The first is that the church has developed more organizations in response to business and labor than the latter have to the church. This suggests that while the church can in a sense “reach out” in the community, it may be more difficult for temporal bodies to reciprocate, especially in a heterogeneous community. It is difficult for Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish organizations to articulate with groups in the city which are mixed religiously. Thus the Protestants have the YMCA, while Catholics have the Columbus Youth Association, and the Jews the Jewish Young Men and Women’s Association. Rotary is not officially open to Catholics, while the Knights of Columbus is closed to Protestants, and so on. Business and labor must remain “neutral” toward particular churches, unless the churches are united in some type of council or federation. This is rarely the case, primarily because the Catholic church limits the coöperation of its parishes with other “nonlegitimate” religious bodies. Thus the “religious activities” of temporal groups tend to be limited to applications of broad “ethical” principles as seen through the operations of better business bureaus, advertising councils, and related organizations.

BUSINESS	LABOR UNIONS	CHURCH
Individual firms	Locals	Local churches
Business associations	Central labor council	Ministerial associations
Better Business	Ethical practices	Religiously segregated
Bureau	committee	agencies:
Advertising council	Labor-clergy day	Youth—YMCA,
Business-clergy day		CYA, JYA, Scouts
Quasi-religious associa-	Religious unions:	Parochial schools
tions	Catholic-trade union	Publishing houses
Rotary	Christian labor unions	Orphanages
Religious breakfast		Homes for aged
		Quasi-segregated
		agencies:
		Colleges and univer-
		sities
		Hospitals
		Fraternal: Masons,
		Knights of
		Columbus, etc.

FIGURE 9.1. Elements in the Interinstitutional Complex of Business, Unions, and the Church.

When the number of components in the welfare and religion complexes are compared, it is apparent that business and labor have elaborated more organizations in the welfare arena than in the religious area. This suggests that the "social gospel" of business and labor is manifested primarily in the field of welfare and not in religion. It may well be that welfare organizations put "religion to work" before the church did. Another explanation might be that welfare in a religiously heterogeneous community is the "neutral meeting ground" of religion, business, and labor. Organizational segmentation of the sacred and secular areas is not complete, however, for the church has some agencies which are "more or less" open to the public, such as colleges, hospitals, and some fraternal associations, and business and labor have some agencies which are religiously selective, such as Rotary and religious trade unions.

Values of Business, Unions, and the Church

BUSINESS EXPECTATIONS

Obviously any statements concerning the expectations of business toward the church must be qualified in many ways. Although concrete studies on this subject are not available, a wide range of expectations may be inferred from the behavior of business. At the one extreme there are some businessmen who feel that the church and business should be completely separated, that neither should interfere in the operation of the other. At the other extreme are the businessmen who feel that religious impulses should permeate all business relationships—that the church must provide guidelines for ethical conduct at work. The mythical average manager probably has expectations which are closer to the segregated pattern. Yet he is somewhat aware of the need to relate work life and religion in some way. That is, he probably sees some relationship between his social responsibilities as a businessman and his professed religion.

Bowen's survey of opinions of leading businessmen regarding their social responsibilities led him to the following conclusions. First, there is widespread and sincere interest in the subject. Second, while pronouncements regarding their general responsibilities are frequent and eloquent, businessmen are not specific about the duties which attend these responsibilities. Third, businessmen feel the need of public (including religious) approval. Fourth, this approval can come from a publicity program which informs the public about the difficult problems which business faces. Fifth, in spelling out their specific responsibilities, businessmen give more attention to obligations which are clearly in their own long-run interest and advantage. Last, they feel that in long-run goals, there is a convergence of social and private interests.¹⁴ Further, leading businessmen feel that they have made strides

¹⁴ See Howard R. Bowen, *Social Responsibilities of the Businessman*, Harper, 1953.

toward ethically approved goals: they have developed codes of ethics, decreased misrepresentation in the market place, improved working conditions, recognized unions, reduced discrimination, supported community activities, reduced economic fluctuations, publicized their internal operations, and given more thought to human relations problems.¹⁵ These have been achieved especially since 1920 despite competitive price conditions, increasing costs, need to maintain profits, and increasing governmental obligations.

Back of these justifications is the feeling, if not complaint, that the church is a stern taskmaster, insisting that business pay increasing heed to moral and ethical obligations. Moreover, conscientious businessmen feel that the stance of the church suggests that businessmen are more guilty of unethical conduct than other occupations, and that businessmen are constantly forced into a posture of ethical defense. Unwilling to admit ethical inferiority, they want the church to provide them with a practical ethic which will enable them to survive in business. Further, they want the church to accord them the respectability which their stewardship deserves. Fundamental to this is support for the private property free enterprise system. For this system to survive, the clergy should not only acknowledge the heavy responsibilities of management; it should also emphasize the moral responsibilities of the worker to his employer—working hard, leading a sober life, and understanding the problems of management. Above all, the church should refrain from opposing business in crisis situations, such as a strike. In return, business will support the church with donations, participation, and goods and services at reduced costs. In short, the conscientious religiously oriented businessman wants the church to remind him of his ethical and moral responsibilities, but such reminders should be within a sympathetic context of support for the economic system and the “realities” which businessmen daily confront.

UNION EXPECTATIONS

In a symposium edited by Jerome Davis in 1929,¹⁶ leaders of organized labor revealed what they thought of the church and what they expected from it. The general theme in these excerpts was that the church was not an effective force in economic life, that it had lost the ideals of the humble Carpenter of Nazareth, and that it needed to fulfill a mission of service to humanity. Unlike businessmen who have sometimes felt defensive about their moral responsibilities, these labor leaders were on the offensive, and demanded that the churches become an effective force in the daily lives of people. In no uncertain terms they asserted that the unions were doing more for humanity than the churches, that churches had lost sight of religion, and

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁶ Jerome Davis (ed.), *Labor Speaks for Itself on Religion*, Macmillan, 1929.

that in some instances the clergy had betrayed the workers for a mess of pottage.

What could the churches do to become effective? The consensus was that they should attempt to understand the ethical nature of the labor movement, that they should side with organized labor to get progressive legislation, that they should point out the evils and excesses of unrestrained laissez-faire capitalism, that they should make the church meaningful to the lives of workers, and that they should respect the dignity of labor. Such were the criticisms leveled by organized labor against the church in an era when labor was relatively weak.

Today many of the legislative and organizational goals of unions have been attained. With union recognition and social legislation, has labor changed its evaluation of the church? To some extent it has. To be sure, organized labor still feels, as it did 30 years ago, that it is more concerned with broad ethical problems of society than is the church. Labor leaders still feel that unions are more in the vanguard of fighting for social security, racial equality, adequate housing, and other ethical objectives. They also feel that by advancing labor's goals, they advance the cause of humanity. To do this more effectively they want and need the support of the church.¹⁷

Union officials still assert that the church responds to the white-collar community more than it does to manual workers. However, the bitter criticisms of the church and the anticlericalism have all but disappeared. Unions want the clergy today to support the legitimacy of unionism. They want the labor movement to be interpreted as part of a broader ethical movement which is concerned with the dignity of work, the dignity of mankind, and the equality of races. They want the clergy to remind employers of their responsibilities for the well-being of the workers and, if possible, to get church support for community welfare programs, even if it means opposing business. Labor wants respectability and representation within religious bodies. Organized labor wants support against attack of its enemies. Since unions have gained power over the years, they have been accused of selfish abuse of that power. Have unions forgotten the public in the quest for higher economic gains for their members? How much racketeering goes on in unions? How much democracy do they practice? Does political participation of unions conform to acceptable moral standards? Do unions consider the public during strikes? These questions suggest that union officials are finding themselves with the same problem as businessmen; namely, that the exigencies of everyday life call for decisions on tough ethical problems.

Like the businessmen, union officials want churchmen to understand the

¹⁷ This position is amplified by Kermit Eby, "Labor's Challenge to the Church," in Liston Pope (ed.), *Labor's Relations to Church and Community*, Harper, 1947, pp. 91-99.

realities of the union situation. It is not always easy to act morally in a crisis where the stakes are high, and in novel situations where there are no clearly specified norms. Thus unions sometimes want to involve clergymen actively in such union activities as strike preparations, conduct of strikes, boycotts, arbitration, jurisdictional disputes, and other matters.¹⁸

WHAT THE CHURCH WANTS

The position which church bodies have taken concerning several areas of economic behavior were briefly described above. As suggested, their positions represent ideals which local churches may and do ignore. Despite the varieties of their formal economic doctrines, certain main themes persist. First, churches want the financial contributions and participation of a wide body of members. This condition is maximized during prosperous periods of industrial peace. Second, industrial harmony itself is a doctrinal desideratum. Therefore, the church wants business and labor leaders to do all in their power to attain and maintain harmony within the context of religiously derived principles. This harmony must not be at the expense of the broader community. If conflict arises, it should be settled without violence and with due regard to the welfare of the participants and the broader community. If necessary, the church should be called upon to play the mediating role. Third, the clergy wants the right, with impunity, to express the church's position on current problems which affect the community. Fourth, the church wants business and labor to permit workers to follow their religious duties in the plant and union hall. This includes opportunity for prayer and meditation, observance of religious holidays, and maintaining a proper moral climate. Fifth, the church expects labor and management to coöperate in contributing financial support to worth-while community projects.¹⁹

That the norms, ends, and sentiments which unions, business, and the churches have in reference to one another are rarely fulfilled should not be surprising. Yet it is necessary to specify them, for they motivate much behavior. Differences in the priorities of these values in different communities and societies are outlined in the following section on power models.

Power Models

Examination of the variety of ways in which the religious and economic organizations have articulated historically enables us to derive four basic models, two of which are predominantly "sacred" in character and two predominantly "secular." Several important variables may be used to construct the models. They are the power and authority of the church and the clergy

¹⁸ John A. Fitch, *Social Responsibilities of Organized Labor*, Harper, 1957.

¹⁹ See Bowen, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41. For an earlier statement see Jerome Davis, *Business and the Church*, Century, 1926, pp. 359-383.

in the society, the general relationship between church and state, the nature of economic associations (management and union), the type of auxiliary religious functions of these associations, the role of the clergy in economic conflict, and the complexity of the economic base. These models have most relevance to Western societies. Unlike the situation for power models involving other institutions, more than one religious model may be found in a particular community. The greater the religious heterogeneity of the community, the greater the probability of coexisting power models.

MODEL A. THEOCRATIC

As the name implies, the theocratic model is present in a society where the church is supreme both in the spiritual and in the temporal realms. The clergy are at the apex of the social order and have control over governmental and economic organization. Their control is usually exercised in conformity with an elaborate religious code derived from alleged supernatural sources. The priests are seen as direct representatives of holy power in all of their activities. Often the church owns land and other economic enterprises which it directly oversees. Where this is not the case, enterprises are run according to religious precepts.

Under these conditions elaborate management and union organizations rarely develop because their regulative functions are assumed by religious authorities. Where they do develop, workers and owners are both represented in the same organization which functions within a narrowly defined context. Economic conflict is not allowed to develop between managers and the workers because religious precepts clearly specify the guideposts for action. Obviously, this model cannot be readily realized in a complex industrialized society unless it is backed by a strong government. It tends to appear in stable village societies characterized by strong familistic bonds. It presumably was approximated during the early Middle Ages, an era in which the guilds, under strong religious domination, governed local economic relations. Figure 9.2 graphically portrays the ideal relationship.

MODEL B. SACRED

This model appears when sacred authority is recognized as all-pervasive by other institutions, but secular interests (political and economic) are separated from the direct control of the church. While the whole society is derived from the sacred order, it is not under the direct control of religious functionaries. The task of the latter is to assure that the social order functions according to God's divine plan. Ideally, the church and state and other institutions are partners in this scheme. Economic, political, and other associations are allowed to develop, but they must follow divine law in the conduct of their daily affairs. Coöperation, rather than competition or conflict, should characterize their relations. When conflict develops the church

serves as final arbitrator. In order to reduce conflict and assure adherence to the divine plan, the church may build or stimulate the development of religiously oriented schools, political parties, youth associations, labor-management councils, welfare societies, and other structures.

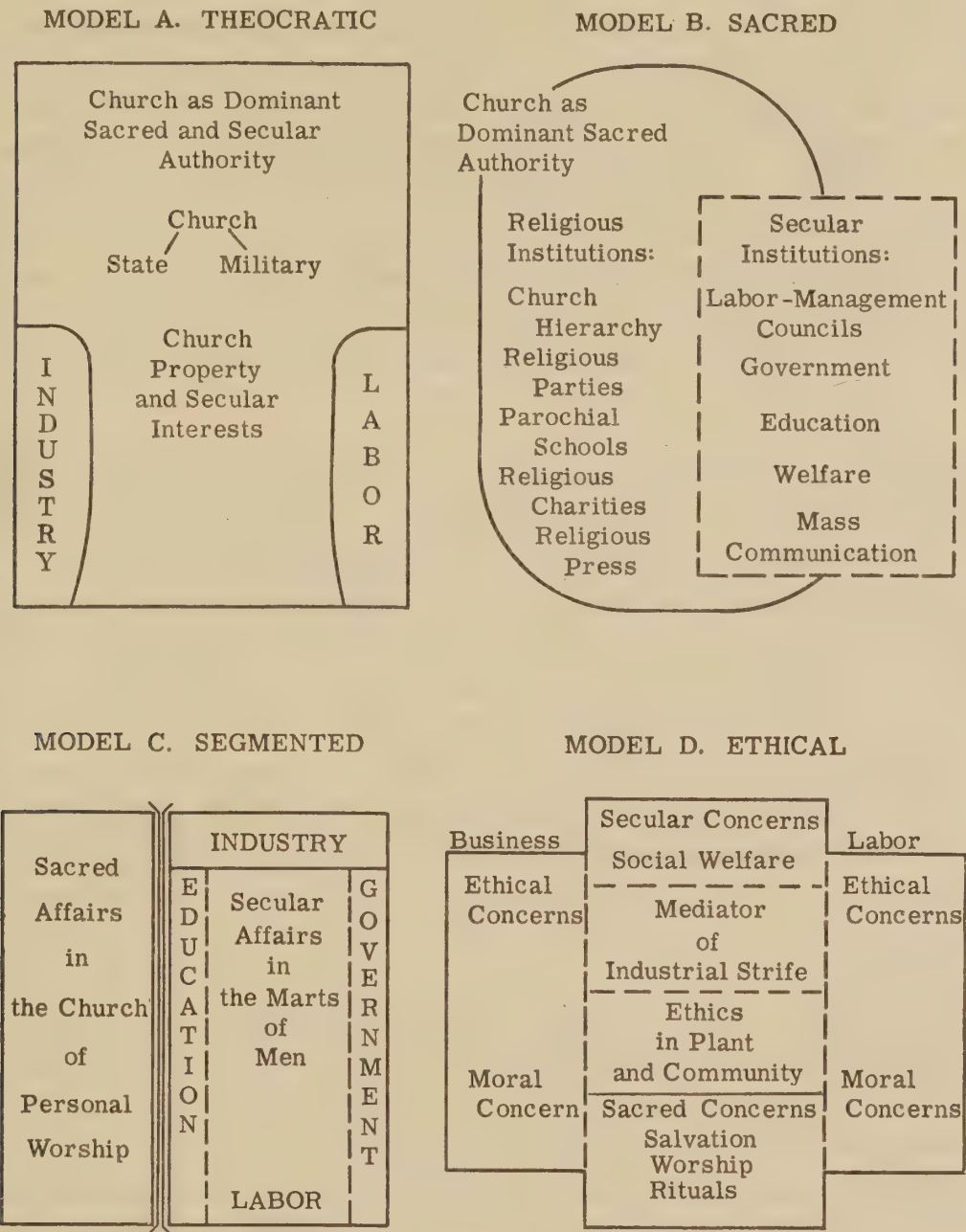


FIGURE 9.2. Four Power Models of Sacred-Secular Relationships.

Conditions for the appearance of this model may arise when a religiously oriented society is in “danger” of becoming completely secularized. It may appear in homogeneous religious communities that have been subjected to the threat of external religious and political invasions. Survival of the system is facilitated by two conditions: church ownership of land and other valuable considerations, and written guarantees of religious prerogatives in the state constitution. The sacred model is currently best approximated in Spain,

Portugal, and Ireland, and in some religious communities in the United States.

MODEL C. SEGMENTED

In many contemporary Western communities and societies, the relations between business, unions, and the church are highly segmented. Church and state are completely separated. The church is expressly forbidden to sponsor schools, labor unions, parties, and to engage in economic activities. Labor and management organizations are neutral, subject only to the authority of the state. When economic conflict arises the church is expected to remain silent, and labor and management are not expected to enlist the aid of the church or clergy. Segmented models are found in areas which have experienced recent separation of church and state, and in religiously diversified communities which are attempting to minimize religious conflicts.

MODEL D. ETHICAL

As one of the secular models, the ethical model tends to be found where the church has relatively little temporal authority. Limited in power by the constitutional separation of church and state, the church can exert only ethical influence in mundane affairs. Religious and sacred functions of the church are more or less separated from everyday problems of living. Separate management and labor organizations are developed whose functions are limited to the economic realm. Economic associations, the state, and education are "neutral" in the sense that they acknowledge no religious identification, and the church does not attempt to control them. While the church usually deplores economic conflict, it has no mechanism to prevent or control it. In its attempts to become a significant moral force, the church may provide many "secular" services, such as adult education, recreation, and social welfare services.

The influence of the church is basically dependent on the efficacy of its ethical appeals because its sanctions are limited. By constantly appealing for consistency between religious ideals and secular behavior, the church may affect social action. The sanctions which secular groups can apply to the church, on the other hand, are considerable because the church is economically dependent on them. The ethical model of industry-religion relations is found most often in large, complex, heterogeneous, industrialized, and growing societies where the economic institution is dominant.

Model of Maximum Likelihood: Ethical Model

PREDICTIONS

While all of the above models are found in different communities, and two or more may be found in the same community, the model of maximum likelihood in most American communities is the ethical model. A number of

expectations about the behavior of the church and the clergy may be predicted from the model. First and foremost, the church will remain a noncontroversial institution which will generally not become involved in the quotidian concerns of business, unions, education, and government. Clergymen will neither address themselves to, nor become involved with, the customary labor-management relations and internal operations of these groups.

The main concern of the churches will be to indicate the broad dimensions of the moral and ethical problems facing their congregations. The transformation of these broad guideposts into specific behavior is a task which the individual worshiper must achieve for himself. In unusual situations the clergy may instruct the congregation on the formal position taken by higher church bodies on critical social issues, but they are not expected to implement these policies by direct action. Direct social action on the part of the clergy will be limited mostly to the social welfare arena. While working for the improvement of the lot of underprivileged groups in the community, they will urge unions and businesses to coöperate in helping the less fortunate. Clergymen will attempt to influence social agencies and other community associations (chamber of commerce, Rotary, labor unions, school boards, political groups) in the capacity of speakers, lay board members, and religiously minded citizens. Their primary technique will be to invoke moral norms which bear on the individual's responsibilities to the wider community.

In general the church will endorse slight change in the status quo, and will resist fundamental changes in property rights, government organization, and labor-management relations. Since churches are dependent to a large extent on financial contributions from their congregations, they cannot openly oppose the ideologies of their congregations. Therefore, individual clergymen will generally reflect the values of the dominant groups within their congregations or remain silent. The heterogeneity of the modern city will prevent clerical solidarity in issues which divide the community. In order to build loyal church members in the face of its tangential role in temporal issues, the church will sponsor a number of recreational, social, and quasi-welfare services to increase the bonds within the congregations. Through these programs the church further exerts moral and ethical influence in daily affairs.

When a deadlock develops over labor-management issues, clergymen may seek or may be asked to mediate. They will attempt to influence labor-management relations by appealing to the broader community responsibilities of the participants and by invoking religious ethical ideals. Occasionally clergymen will qualify themselves to play the arbitrator's role by obtaining specialized training, or by providing church-sponsored arbitration-mediation facilities.

CONTROL FACTORS

Two fundamental tenets of the ethical model need to be documented. The first and most important is that the church supports the status quo and buttresses the control which middle- and upper-status groups have in the community. Second, the church will not become involved in social issues directly, partly because it interprets its function as providing only indirect "ethical guidance." The first problem is easier to attack than the second. Its exegesis below will take the following line. Religious heterogeneity in the United States makes it difficult for the church to take a consistent stand on the dominant issues of the day. In general, since low economic groups are less heavily involved in religious activities than higher economic groups, the latter exert more control on the church's secular activities. The stratification of church denominations further accentuates the pattern of control by the middle- and upper-status groups in the community. Moreover, within these status groups, the business community occupies strategic control positions in the Protestant denominations.

Urban Religious Heterogeneity. Robin Williams asserts that the lack of an established church in the United States was a response to the religious heterogeneity at the time of the Revolution. The separation of church and state in the Constitution allowed the development of even greater religious diversity. Thus no denomination has had sufficient power to speak for all religious bodies since the founding of the country. On the contrary, the control of the denominations by lay bodies decreased the control of ecclesiastical hierarchies in both religious and secular affairs. Although some denominations and the Catholic church are hierarchically controlled, they too have been profoundly affected by the diverse, pluralistic, and changing character of religious organizational history.²⁰

Social heterogeneity is highly developed in the city, and its churches reflect it. Although no completely satisfactory classification of churches reflects this diversity, Kincheloe and Douglass have worked out suggestive classifications.²¹ Almost all medium and large cities have one or two leading *downtown* or *metropolitan* churches. These churches draw members from all over the city. Sometimes they are the highest-status churches in the community because the original founding families, now wealthy, continue to patronize them. At other times, they draw transient middle-class congregations who have not established roots in local neighborhoods. Not infrequently downtown Protestant churches are anachronistic, in the sense that they have the most liberal clergy and the most conservative members.

When people move to the city they often bring their churches with them.

²⁰ Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, Knopf, 1951, pp. 318-321.

²¹ S. C. Kincheloe, *The American City and Its Church*, Friendship Press, 1938; H. Paul Douglass, *One Thousand City Churches*, Harper, 1926.

Thus it is possible to think of *migrant* churches, which represent in themselves a wide range. Southern Baptist Negroes and whites transplant their churches to Midwestern industrial cities, rural Lutherans establish their urban churches, the foreign-born (Finnish, Lutheran, Armenian, Russian, Orthodox) also transport their churches to the city. Sometimes lower-class migrants, coming to the city, set up new sects in vacant stores. As they become adjusted to city life and move up the socioeconomic ladder, they move into established *neighborhood* churches which are stratified according to socioeconomic status. The surge of populations to the suburbs has stimulated growth of *suburban* churches which also reflect the age and social status of the residents. These church types not only reflect the ecological and economic diversity of the city, they reflect differences in theology, church organization, and cultural orientations. Another important fact to emphasize is that urban people, as they have adjusted to urban life, have moved from one type of church to another. Although the Catholic church has responded less to the diversity of city life than the other churches, it is by no means an internally undifferentiated body. In summary, the internal diversity of the urban church means that it has not been able to establish sufficient institutional solidarity to affect secular life in a single consistent direction. It has been primarily an adaptive institution.

Religious Participation. Not everyone will admit to church affiliation, even when pressed to do so. Public opinion studies reveal that as much as 20 percent of the people have no church identification or affiliation. Of the remaining 80 percent, a significant proportion have only a nominal church relationship. Thus when people in a cross-section sample of the country were asked whether they attended a church or synagogue during the past week, 53 percent indicated that they had not. When this figure was adjusted for the adult population 21 years of age or over, 61 percent had not attended church during the past week. Of course, the bulk of those who are church members comprised the churchgoers. It is estimated that only a tenth of the nonmembers attend church on a given week. In general, Catholics attend more frequently than non-Catholics,²² women more than men, and older people more than young adults. These figures actually represent an increase in church activity and attendance over the years. What attendance may mean is difficult to say. Surveys show that only one in three American adults can name the first four books in the New Testament correctly.²³

It is further revealing to note that a higher proportion of higher occupational groups are church members and go to church more frequently than lower occupational groups. Thus about four-fifths of the professionals and

²² Joseph H. Fichter analyzes the differential church participation of Catholics in *Social Relations in the Urban Parish*, University of Chicago Press, 1954, especially in chap. 9.

²³ All these data have been taken from public opinion data compiled by Leo Rosten, *A Guide to Religions of America*, Simon and Schuster, 1955, pp. 239-241.

proprietors indicated that they were church members in 1954, as contrasted to three-quarters of the manual workers. Half of the white-collar workers attended a church service on a given week contrasted to 44 percent of manual workers. Slightly over half of college-educated adults attended church on a given week compared to two-fifths of those with grade school education.²⁴ Warner and Low found that less than 60 percent of those in the lower half of the social class structure in Yankee City professed religious activity. Also they found that religious inactivity increased down the social class scale and that seven-tenths of those in the lowest social class were inactive. Factory workers in the shoe industry professed religious activity even less than others in their social classes. These trends held for both Protestants and Catholics.²⁵

Although there are large variations by city and region, the results clearly show that active religious life is more characteristic of higher white-collar workers in the city, and that manual workers, who would be union members, are less active in church affairs. On the basis of membership and attendance alone, it would appear that upper-status groups would be able to control churches to a greater extent than lower-status groups.

Social Stratification. One may argue that the church disregards the occupational and economic differences of the parishioners and is thus able to challenge powerful groups in the community. A wealth of evidence points to the contrary situation: that Protestant denominations tend to be socially stratified and occupationally selective in their membership. Liston Pope has brought some of these data together.²⁶ On the basis of the results of four polls covering cross-section samples of 12,000 cases, he was able to classify the social class compositions of various denominations and religions. Congregational, Episcopalian, and Presbyterian denominations had the highest social class memberships. Jewish, Methodist, and Lutheran had higher concentrations of the middle classes, while the Baptist and Catholic had largest proportions in the lower class. The denominations were in approximately the same order when graded according to the educational attainment of the members.

Table 29 shows the occupational distribution of the denominations and religions. Some of the trends on class composition and religion are also apparent in this table. Thus Congregational, Episcopal, and Presbyterian denominations had highest proportions of business and professional members, while Baptists, Catholics, and Lutherans were highly concentrated in manual occupations. Labor union membership presents a diversified pattern.

²⁴ *Loc. cit.*

²⁵ W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, Yale University Press, 1947, p. 219.

²⁶ Liston Pope, "Religion in the Class Structure," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1948, pp. 84-91. See also Pope's *Millhands and Preachers*, *op. cit.*, chap. VI.

While Catholics understandably are highly represented in labor unions, the Baptists are not. Also Jewish workers are highly represented in business, the professions, and labor unions. This, no doubt, reflects in part their high urban concentration. Pope concludes that “religious organizations decline in influence at both extremes of the social scale, among the most privileged (though there is some contrary evidence), and among the most disadvantaged.”²⁷ In this very general sense, the churches are associated especially with the middle classes. Evidence from other sources would suggest that they would be strong supporters of the status quo and try to mediate conflicts which might develop in the body politic.²⁸

TABLE 29. Occupational Categories and Trade Union Membership in Major Religious Bodies, 1945-1946

Body	Percentages by Occupational Categories ^a				Percentages Belonging to Trade Unions
	Business and Professional	White Collar	Urban Manual Workers ^b	Farmers	
(Entire sample)	19	20	44	17	19
Catholic	14	23	55	8	28
Jewish	36	37	27	0.6	23
Methodist	19	19	39	23	14
Baptist	12	14	52	22	16
Presbyterian	31	21	31	17	13
Lutheran	13	18	43	26	20
Episcopalian	32	25	36	7	13
Congregational	33	19	28	20	12

^a For the “principal breadwinner.”
^b Includes manual workers of all grades of skill, those in “service occupations” that are primarily manual in character. A great deal of variation is represented within each of the categories in this table, and their relative class status varies from community to community.
SOURCE: Liston Pope, “Religion in the Class Structure,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1948, p. 87.

Social Action. What evidence is there that religious groups, thus stratified, would act in a concerted political direction? While the evidence is scarce, it does point to a consistent direction. Thus in the presidential campaign of 1944, the highest proportion of voters for Dewey, the Republican candidate, were found among the Congregational, Episcopal, and Presbyterian denominations. While Methodists and Lutherans were evenly split,

²⁷ Pope, “Religion in the Class Structure,” *op. cit.*, p. 90.
²⁸ See Alfred Winslow Jones, *Life, Liberty and Property*, Lippincott, 1941; Richard H. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, Holt, 1929.

Baptist, Catholic, and Jewish voters voted predominantly for Roosevelt.²⁹ The Detroit Area study reported that 70 percent of Northern-born Protestants in Detroit voted Republican in 1956, as contrasted to 15 percent of the Northern-born Catholics.³⁰ In an earlier study, Trott and Sanderson reported from questionnaire returns of white Protestants in Baltimore that the great majority fell on the conservative end of a scale dealing with questions on property relations.³¹

The point might be raised that the lower classes represent a majority of the population and that their churches could exert greater influence in political affairs. Available evidence does not support this. In the first place, the lower socioeconomic groups are extremely socially heterogeneous when contrasted to middle and upper groups. The lower classes are comprised of foreign-born workers from Europe, Mexico, Puerto Rico, as well as rural migrants from the South and other parts of the country. Thus they are culturally heterogeneous as well as religiously diversified. Second, it is precisely among these groups that religious membership and church attendance is lowest. Third, evidence suggests that among the Protestant lower classes at least, the sectlike religious groups are the most appealing. A dominant characteristic of sectlike churches is a concern with salvation and an absence of concern with worldly economic and political problems.

Dynes prepared a Likert-type scale of 11 items to measure orientations of respondents along a sect-church continuum. His study was based on 360 returned questionnaires, or 53 percent of his estimated Protestant sample in Columbus, Ohio. The resultant scale clearly differentiated members who belonged to such sects as the Holiness and Pentacostal from denominations such as the Presbyterian. Dynes also found that the mean church-sect scores varied directly with socioeconomic ranking of broad occupational categories according to the Alba Edward and North-Hatt scales. There was also a unilinear relationship between the mean church-sect scores and educational attainment. Thus, lower occupational groups and less educated Protestants evidenced more sectlike attitudes.³² This is probative support for the contention that lower-class church bodies will not engage in secular collective action to improve their economic conditions. While the findings do not apply for Catholics who comprise a significant segment of the manual labor force, they are not altogether exempt from the general trend of low political involvement by lower-income groups in the United States.³³ This means

²⁹ Pope, "Religion in the Class Structure, *op. cit.*

³⁰ *A Social Profile of Detroit*, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1957, p. 68.

³¹ Norman L. Trott and Ross Sanderson, *What Church People Think About Social and Economic Issues*, Association Press, 1938, p. 34.

³² Russell R. Dynes, "Church-Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status," *American Sociological Review*, October, 1955, pp. 555-560.

³³ See Chapter 5.

that if churches influence political and economic life, they are the middle- and upper-class churches.

A few public opinion polls provide some clues to popular perceptions of political action of churches.³⁴ In June, 1952, Elmo Roper's NBC survey asked a national adult sample of the United States, "Which do you think the leaders of your church will probably favor for President this year—the Democrats or the Republicans?" Fully three-fifths said that they did not know or would give no answer, while one-quarter indicated Republican and one-eighth Democrat. Church members were then asked, "Have you ever talked politics with any of the leaders in your church?" Seven-eighths indicated that they had *not*. Yet when asked to select from a list organizations which would have good ideas on candidates running for office, 22 percent selected "officials of your church." As Table 30 shows, although two-fifths couldn't or wouldn't choose among the groups, only the American Legion was selected as highly as "church officials." The League of Women Voters, farm organizations, and organized labor were selected about equally by one-seventh of the sample.

TABLE 30. "Here is a list of some groups and organizations that aren't directly connected with any political party. Are there any of these groups whose ideas you expect to be good on candidates running for office?"

Organization	Percentage
The American Legion	23
The officials of your church	22
The League of Women Voters	17
AFL or CIO labor union	16
The National Association for Advancement of Colored People	8
The National Grange or Farm Bureau Federation	15
Prominent states' rights Southerners	5
None or don't know	38
No answer	3
Number of respondents	2,997 (100%)

SOURCE: From Elmo Roper-NBC Survey, May, 1952. Percentages add up to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

In yet another series of six polls conducted at intervals from 1942 to 1953, Roper asked, "Which of the following groups do you feel is doing the most good for the country at the present time? Which one the least good?" The card shown the respondent listed leaders in religion, government, business, labor, and Congress. Again, although one-fifth gave "don't know" and

³⁴ All of the following poll results were taken from Rosten's compilation, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-243.

“no answer” replies to the “most good” question, the proportion selecting religious leaders far exceeded other selections. The “popularity” of religious leaders rose from 18 to 40 percent over the interval, while that of government leaders fell from 28 to 18 percent. Business leaders fluctuated from 10 to 20 percent, while labor leaders fluctuated close to the 10 percent mark. In 1952 respondents who belonged to a church were asked whether they found themselves agreeing or disagreeing with church leaders on candidates for public office. One-third didn’t know or gave no answer. Almost 40 percent volunteered that their clergymen didn’t favor candidates. One-quarter indicated that they usually agreed and only 4 percent indicated disagreement.

What is the significance of all these poll results to the problem at hand—the pattern of control for the ethical model of church relations? First, many church members do not know how their clergy stand on political issues, and they generally do not talk politics with their clergymen. Second, they feel that clergymen are doing more for the country than any other group. Third, the clergy tend to be nonpolitical, but when they are, they tend to agree with parishioners in a conservative (Republican) direction. If the influence of the church is perceived as significant, conservative, and nonpolitical, it is probably perceived as taking an ethical orientation; of providing ideals for “good political and social life.”

Formal Control. There are only a few concrete studies of the process whereby churches are controlled. Unfortunately, the studies which exist are old and may not reflect accurately the present urban situation. The most complete study of business control of the church was that done of Gastonia, North Carolina, in 1930 by Liston Pope. In *Millhands and Preachers* he documented the process by which mill owners controlled local churches in the country.³⁵ Aside from the general economic domination of the area, mill owners were members of the church boards of the higher-status denominations. Moreover, they made sizable financial contributions to support the ministers and the churches. While mill owners specifically denied that their contributions were motivated by the desire to control the churches, the pattern of contribution suggested otherwise. Thus, while they supported churches other than those which they attended, these churches were primarily those which their operatives attended, rather than any local church which needed support. Genuine and general religious concern would call for the executives to support all local churches, including the Negro ones. So ingrained had this support pattern become in Gastonia, that ministers openly declared that the mills should bear half the costs of maintaining religious bodies.

Pope further specified that ministers in the mill village generally agreed that the churches were completely controlled by mill owners and executives.

³⁵ Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers*, *op. cit.*, especially chap. 8.

Furthermore, mill owners sometimes single-handedly selected the ministers and determined church expenditures and policies. Apparently this pattern of control succeeded because the clergy never publicly commented on mill conditions. During the severe Loray strike, ministers of the high-status churches universally opposed it, while a few ministers of the newer sects and a few lay preachers and ministers without churches supported the strike.

In a more recent study of Jonesville during World War II, Warner and his colleagues studied the effect of class on religious participation.³⁶ As elsewhere, churches were stratified from high to low: Federated, Methodist, Lutheran, Catholic, Free Methodist, and Gospel Tabernacle. The study revealed that in the highest-status church, the landed gentry and the rich industrialists used the church as a means of formally recognizing the values of religion and morality. Their attendance was irregular, but they made the largest financial contributions. The upper-middle class used the church as a means of attaining mobility and as a symbol of their desired equality with the upper class. They were the active directors of the church. The minister of the highest-status church tried to involve members of all social classes in several church organizations. He failed because upper-status members literally "took over" the organizations, turning them into exclusive social clubs. The minister, who had liberal social views, realized that his congregation did not support his politics. As a result his sermons were restrained and often intellectualized. Finally, upper-middle class Presbyterians forced his resignation.

In 1929 Davis made a rare study of the occupational composition of lay boards of control of 387 Protestant churches.³⁷ He found that businessmen, managers, and professionals comprised two-thirds of all board members, while farmers, manual workers, clerical workers, housewives, and ministers composed the remaining third. Data on the educational attainment of the board members revealed that the higher the social status of the denomination, the higher the educational level of the board members. For towns with over 5000 people, bankers were most often elected chairmen of the board, followed by manufacturers. Bankers may be needed to guide church investment policies. In fact, the ties of the church to the economic order are shown in its pattern of investments. Large upper-status churches have investments, endowments, and surplus funds running to millions of dollars which must be wisely invested. These churches have a great stake in the profit system.³⁸

One last study may be of interest. In 1935, Jerome Davis sent out

³⁶ W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Democracy in Jonesville*, Harper, 1949, pp. 152-159.

³⁷ Jerome Davis, "Study of Protestant Church Boards of Control," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1932, pp. 418-435.

³⁸ See Jerome Davis, *Capitalism and Its Culture*, Farrar and Rinehart, 1941, chap. 19.

100,000 questionnaires to clergy in the United States to stimulate their thinking on radical social action. The applied purpose of the study and the limited returns from 4700 make his conclusions somewhat unreliable. However, Davis felt that, if anything, the returns were biased in a liberal direction. Only 4 percent of the respondents had ever had close personal contacts with labor union officials, although one-quarter were willing to recommend to their churches that they deal with unions in church contracts. One-half of the clergy would not consistently support one political party, preferring to "vote for the man." However, two-thirds were willing to fight discrimination against minority groups in welfare administration. Davis concludes, "On the whole the religious leader . . . is profoundly influenced by [his] milieu. In general, he does not take much more radical action than the overwhelming majority of the respectable class in his community. On the other hand [his] . . . intentions for social justice are higher than the average of his community and this makes for tension between the ideal aims . . . and successful functioning in the local community. A minority . . . satisfy this tension by radical action. A majority seek their outlets . . . in religious work which does not involve conflict with community standards."³⁹

Although more recent studies are desirable, they would probably reveal the same trends. The controls exerted on the church are too many for it to depart from the status quo. Its primary function, then, apart from actually conserving the social order, is to emphasize ethical problems in personal life and vague (unspecified) moral issues in secular institutions.

CUSTOMARY AND CONFLICT RELATIONS

Patterns of Customary Relations

METROPOLITAN ALGONAC AND RELIGIOUS HOLLAND

The influence of religious composition on plant operation may be seen by comparing the operation of identical plants in two different communities in 1950. In Algonac and Holland, Michigan, Crafts Inc. builds cabin cruisers. The original plant is located in Algonac, a town of 2000 people located in the vacation-metropolitan hinterland of Detroit. Upper-middle-class suburban residents constitute the majority of the residents. They want to keep Algonac a residential community and thus discourage industries from settling there. The manual workers in or near the town are primarily Indians, French Canadians, Southerners, and foreign-born, who have traditional antagonisms toward one another.

Apart from a small nucleus of older native workers, the majority of the

³⁹ Jerome Davis, "The Social Action Pattern of the Protestant Religious Leader," *American Sociological Review*, April, 1936, p. 114.

employees are rather recent arrivals from other sections of the country. During the winter a number of Great Lakes sailors are employed, and their place is taken in summer by local school teachers. There is a strong union in the plant. The informal groups among the workers are based upon occupation, seniority, experience, and ethnic origin. Very few values and sentiments bind these groups and management together. The general work atmosphere is one full of bickering and tension. Management has had to deal with such problems as strikes, high turnover, drinking, gambling, and absenteeism.

In order to escape some of these problems, especially the spread of unionism, the corporation purchased a plant in Holland, Michigan. This is a neat, clean city of 14,000 inhabited by people of Dutch descent who are deeply religious and take their callings seriously. When the corporation moved to Holland it sent a skeleton crew to build an organization similar to that in Algonac. The crew encountered several unexpected difficulties. The religious Dutch would not work on Sunday and the Seventh-day Adventists would not work on Saturday. The imported Algonac foremen could not get obedience or coöperation when they swore at the workers. The Irish foremen were irritated at the "stubborn Dutch" and the Dutch didn't like the blasphemous Irishmen. Not until local people became foremen did this source of friction disappear.

At ten o'clock in the morning local workers stopped their machines for "coffee." This pattern was so strong that it had to become institutionalized. Workers also asked that the plant start operating earlier so they could spend more time with their families. This was done. Although an AFL union obtained recognition shortly before World War II, it was rather weak because many workers refused to join it on religious grounds. This brief description indicates how the everyday activities of management and the union may be affected by the type of religion found in the community.

RELIGIOUS FACTORS IN BUSINESS OPERATIONS

Religion, of course, operates conjointly with other factors, such as ethnicity, to affect behavior in the plant. Religious heterogeneity, like other kinds of social diversity, tends to reduce the social solidarity of work organization, especially when management and labor represent different religions. Religious antagonisms have been exploited to stave off unionization and religious "tests" have been used for promotion. Many employers persist in believing that workers who are religiously active are more conscientious and more inclined to fight unionization than workers who are not. Others feel that common religious ties among managers (e.g., all being Masons) will increase their work effectiveness. Unions have urged the adoption of Fair Employment Practice Acts as a mechanism to abolish religious and racial tests in hiring and promotion.

Sometimes it is difficult to segregate religious and occupational life. Clergymen sometimes approach managers to have workers study the Bible during lunch or hold short services. United Churchmen, a lay organization, asserts that 65 companies are now served by chaplains. These plants close down from 1 to 30 minutes daily for special devotional periods, often held in specially built chapels. Most companies hesitate to adopt this idea for fear of stimulating religious factionalism. The Methodist Council, The United Auto Workers, and the Aluminum Company of America have openly opposed chaplains in industry.

Yet making public display of the importance of religion in economic life is considered laudable. The Junior Chamber of Commerce of the United States in 1957 sponsored a nation-wide campaign for "Attend the Church or Synagogue of Your Choice Month." Each week a prominent business leader prepared a statement for the newspaper on "What Religion Means to Me." The same organization met with local clergy to establish a "sort of church division of the Chamber." Occasionally rich industrialists like Le Tourneau publicly proclaim that their profits will go to support church work. The clergy are frequently invited to conventions or meetings sponsored by labor or management to offer a prayer or give an invocation. When plants or union halls are dedicated, the presence of clergy is required. Some unions have agreed to use the dues collected from Seventh-day Adventist members for welfare purposes so as not to violate denominational scruples. At Christmas time many employers present workers with gifts. These activities reveal that the display of religious sentiment is approved of in industry, but that it should not directly interfere with operations.

Tangential religious associations in industry appear to be on the increase. In 1935 a group of Seattle businessmen organized a breakfast group to meet once a week to read the Bible and discuss ways to apply Christian teaching to business problems. Seventy-five to 100 men, selected by invitation, have breakfast weekly at the exclusive Washington Athletic Club. They have no publicity, sponsor no projects, and are not interested in public recognition. Occasional attempts on the part of politicians to "crash the club" for ulterior political purposes have been quietly squelched. Some businessmen in other cities have adopted this pattern.

Associations like the "New Order of Cincinnatus" rise and disband in large cities. In Seattle a group of young men met in 1934 to restore honesty in public life, reduce governmental costs, and eliminate hypocrisy. They became actively involved in local government and succeeded in placing a member of Cincinnatus on the city council. The difference between such an ethical society and a political pressure group is often hard to distinguish.

Fortune described several efforts of businessmen to become "Christ bearers." Under the stimulation of Admiral Ben Morrill, of Jones and Laughlin Steel Company, a group of Pittsburgh industrialists were assembled

to "put Christianity to work." They were encouraged to make a public declaration of their faith, so that the community could judge them on whether they were putting religion to work. Among Des Moines' Protestant churches a number of Fishermen's clubs, following Christ's words literally ("I will make you fishers of men"), regularly canvass the community inviting people to declare their faith. Ambitious movements like "Democracy in Action" sponsor executive conferences to discuss the application of Christian principles to labor and human relations in industry. Leaders of the non-denominational Christian Business Men's Committee in California claim that its 55 chapters are carrying on a successful evangelical movement.⁴⁰

Both management and organized labor have sought to establish permanent liaison with the clergy. Local chambers of commerce and labor councils have sponsored annual clergy days. On such occasions clergymen of all faiths are invited to attend an all-day session to discuss the world of work. They are encouraged to ask questions about the conduct of businessmen or union officials. The latter, in turn, question the clergy on their actions or failure to act on important issues. Exchange of views and improved relations are the alleged objectives of these meetings. Organized labor is attempting in some communities to increase the frequency and regularity of these conferences. This is a far cry from earlier years when labor was often condemned from the pulpit for its ungodly activities.

RELIGION IN UNION OPERATIONS

In Western Europe there are three main types of union organization: the free (democratic), the Catholic, and the communist. Competition for the loyalty of the workers is constant. In the United States, although religious unions are almost nonexistent, some of the religious problems found in European unions are present. One of these is the bitter struggle of the Catholic church against communism and the attendant concern that unions should function according to the tenets of the church. American Catholic trade unions were created by lay union members to make certain that unions function in accord with the principles enunciated in the papal encyclicals. Although most heavily concentrated in New York, Pittsburgh, and Detroit, ACTU is backed by 100 Catholic labor schools in various parts of the country run by priests who teach union members how to realize religious purposes in their unions. At times the priests themselves take an active hand in planning strike strategy.⁴¹

The Christian Labor Association (CLA) is a religious labor union organization with 30 locals in Michigan, Illinois, and California. Its headquarters are in Grand Rapids, Michigan, which reflects its domination by Dutch

⁴⁰ "Businessmen on Their Knees," *Fortune*, October, 1953.

⁴¹ "Labor Priests," *Fortune*, October, 1946, and Fichter, *op. cit.*, p. 151, describe the "cell technique" of Catholic Action.

Reformed officials. Recognized by the National Labor Relations Board, the organization is open to all groups. CLA is most successful in highly religious sections of the country where both management and labor are opposed to the indifference of "neutral" unions to religious principles. The union believes fully in the final arbitration of all differences between management and unions. It is opposed to the use of the strike as a weapon of collective bargaining because it violates spiritual principles and does not take into account the welfare of the broader community. Moreover, the union stays out of politics altogether.

CLA believes that labor unions must concern themselves with both material and spiritual needs of man. It insists that work is necessary and good, and that it is endowed with spiritual meaning. CLA officials are not suspicious of employer paternalism if it is motivated by Christian charity. They believe in corporate responsibility by both management and unions for the welfare of the workers and the community. They oppose neutral unions because they are concerned only with the material well-being of their own members. Referring to the AFL-CIO, an editor writes, "You will notice that they speak only of ethical conduct, ethical practices, ethical committees, etc. We infer from that that they are concerned with conduct, and the rules of conduct, which have been devised by and between man. But CLA claims a moral basis; and we know that includes a consideration for the laws of God . . . Christian workers in Kalamazoo know by experience it is futile to try to convert the so-called neutral organizations to the Christian program. There is only one way out of enslavement to a philosophy and practices that are not Christian. That way is, the separate labor organization based on Christian principles."⁴²

Union meetings and bargaining sessions of CLA are opened with prayer. The union newspaper has a column entitled "religious meditation." Catholic lawyers are often hired because Protestant lawyers are felt to be antiunion. "Neutral unions" which operate in plants which have members of the Dutch Reformed church have unique problems of administration for antiunion, ambivalent, and strong prounion members must work together. Three case histories taken from an AFL-CIO local at Holland, Michigan, demonstrate each of these types.⁴³

The first informant is about 55 years old. He is a member of the Christian Reformed church. Although he has worked at the boat company for 15 years, he has refused to join the union which has a modified union shop. He said:

I believe that the AFL-CIO does do some good. I agree with the part of organizing and getting fair pay, but we must do that guided by the Word of God. We must not organize just for utilitarian principles but must do it con-

⁴² *The Christian Labor Herald*, December, 1957, and February, 1958.

⁴³ We are indebted to Henry Holstege of Calvin College for these cases.

scious that we are under God's view. We must have a world and life view guided by the Word of God.

I refuse to join the AFL-CIO because it is essentially a "worldly" organization. They hold meetings on the Lord's day and dances are connected with it. Corporate responsibility is one of the big reasons why I don't join. There is a difference of opinion on how far we must apply this. But I believe I can't belong to the union because of their acts. I don't want to be just negative. We must take a positive attitude. We know that many businessmen can't be left to themselves, because if they are, much injustice would reign; but my conscience just wouldn't let me belong to the AFL-CIO with all the acts of violence and bloodshed that it has charged against it.

I know that many of our men were intimidated into joining. A lot of pressure was put on the young guys, and they didn't have enough faith. I feel that our people should become more social conscious. However, the AFL-CIO is not the answer. That was proved by the violence in the last strike. If it comes down to a closed shop in our plant, I will leave. If we would be left to ourselves and they wouldn't call in the Algonac men, it would be an entirely different situation, but the way it is now, I will starve before I belong to an organization that has such drunken hoodlums as those men from Algonac.

The second respondent represents a transitional type. He is 36 years old. He left school after completing the eighth grade. He is a member of the Christian Reformed church, which is composed largely of people of Dutch ancestry. The church is generally opposed to membership in neutral unions. Although its official position on this issue has changed several times, members may be ostracized if they do join. An unofficial policy prevents union members from qualifying for election to the consistory or other church organizations.

I've worked here for around ten years. Five years ago, I joined the union. I felt I wasn't getting enough money. They promised me more if I'd join, but they didn't do a stinking thing for me. I've tried to get out but they wouldn't let me.

Some people think that the union is a bad organization. I, myself, think it depends upon the individual plant and individual union. On the whole, though, I think too that it is a "worldly" organization. I don't believe it's wrong to organize. I believed it was O.K. to join because our union is run by local guys and not by those roughnecks down at Algonac. We had a strike here around three years ago. It was going O.K. until those guys from Algonac came over and started to tip over cars and do things like that. The guys over here would never do things like that. I was never for striking and still ain't and ever since they struck and those Algonac guys came over and tried to tip over cars, I've been trying to get out. I'm not for violence at any time. Otherwise our union was pretty nice and weak. No one ever went to meetings except to vote whether to strike or not.

The third respondent is over 50 years old. He worked for the company for 15 years and was a union member from the start. He did not live in the city

of Holland and was not Dutch and not a member of the Reformed church.

Without the union we'd be working for starvation wages. These d . . . Dutchmen p . . . and moan about the union, but they are mighty glad to take wage increases that we get for them. You can't get wage increases without getting a little tough with management, so once in a while we go on strike. When we strike, these Dutchmen got more excuses for not picketing than I could dream of in a year. Either they are sick, their wives are sick, their kids are sick or their Grandma just died. But the first day of work everybody's healthy as a cow and all the bastards show up again. I don't know what's wrong with them people. Anybody can see that the union is a good thing and yet these jerks don't join or if they do join we never see them at a meeting. A few of them are wising up and are becoming pretty active but most of the bastards look on the union as a plague. They'd let management p . . . all over them and they still wouldn't say anything.

They're always moaning because some of us cuss a little bit. If a man wants to go to church that's his business, but these people live like they're in church every day. They don't get any fun out of life at all. You know I go to church once in a while myself and I think it's O.K., but I don't go preaching to other people about it.

No, sir, if these people want to work for nothing that's up to them but I don't, and I'm going to go on strike anytime I have to to get a raise and none of them ever better try to walk through a picket line that I'm in.

CHURCH-SPONSORED ACTIVITIES

A wide range of customary religious activities is sponsored by the church for business and labor. Much of this is in the form of reminding members what the position of the church is on certain issues, working with them on community projects, and reminding them of their responsibilities. The previous chapter revealed how the clergy participate with businessmen and union members in welfare organizations. Some clergymen specialize in certain areas of interest—finding jobs for the unemployed, working with labor for Fair Employment Practices Committee legislation, traveling the luncheon club circuit, or focusing attention on industrial relations. The large proportion, however, spend the majority of their time on traditional religious activities.

The dogmas of almost all faiths urge the clergy to make religion a meaningful force in work life. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish dogmas emphasize the importance of work, the responsibility of business, and the legitimacy of labor unions. There is no need to elaborate these dogmas. Papal encyclicals (1) enjoin businessmen to exercise their stewardship; (2) enjoin the workers to respect work; (3) recognize the legitimacy of labor unions, and perhaps the closed shop; (4) urge coöperation between management and unions; (5) condemn class war; (6) recognize governmental social security responsibilities; and (7) press for adequate wages and just profits. The dominant

working-class origin of the Catholic clergy in the United States further enforces adherence to these aims.

What is less well known is that the great majority of denominational and many interdenominational Protestant assemblies have passed resolutions which parallel the papal encyclicals in almost every detail. These culminated in the World Council of Churches meeting in Amsterdam in 1948, which formally brought together church pronouncements on business and union responsibilities passed since the last part of the nineteenth century. Jewish bodies have done the same thing. Therefore, there is plenty of doctrinal justification for most clergymen to relate themselves daily and systematically to the world of work. Individual clergy may do this through church-sponsored organizations or through their own devices.

Minute Meditations. In Seattle, Washington, the Presbyterian church sponsored "Minute Meditations" for businessmen. One-minute tape recordings of Scripture and prayer could be heard by phoning a special telephone number. Businessmen got together to suggest topics for tapes, such as:

- Making your job a happy one
- The spiritual break (such as a coffee break)
- Why I can't sell that tough customer
- Dishonest or cheating employees
- Philosophy of "sharp business practices"
- Injecting Christian ideals in everyday business transactions
- Business responsibility to the community
- Advantages of the incentive system in private enterprise
- Humility in business
- Handling human errors
- Attitudes toward adversity

An example of one such daily devotional prayer is as follows:

Oh, God, let there be no bitterness in my relations with those with whom I work today. Help me to understand those whom I find it hard to appreciate; help me to love those I find it hard to like; that I may overcome evil with good, and oil the gears of business and industry with the lubrication of love.

Three trunk lines were installed because 1100 busy signals were recorded in a 24-hour period after the first line was installed.

Contemporary churches are training future clergy to be able to respond to the religious needs of workers. One of the most successful of these is the Presbyterian minister-in-industry project. Divinity students get jobs in factories and work incognito to get first-hand experience on how men work, live, feel, and think. Evenings are spent in seminars studying the behavior of business, unions, and community institutions. In addition, students participate in the church life of urban churches located in industrial neighborhoods. For pastors who have completed seminary training, summer seminars

on church-labor-urban relations are held. Visits are made to factories, offices, union halls, community agencies, and city churches. Some ministers who continue in these activities become labor-management mediators.⁴⁴ Other denominations and religious groups carry on similar activities in many communities. Religiously sponsored colleges and universities also operate institutes of labor and management, and offer curricula in the area. Among these are Yale, Catholic University, St. Louis University, McCormick Theological Seminary, and Loyola University.

Industry-Council Plan. The main proposal of the Catholic church to cure industrial strife has been its industry-council plan. In its barest essentials, the plan proposes to establish permanent councils made up of representatives of labor, business, and related groups of an industry to deal coöperatively with the problems of that industry. Presumably all business and unions in a related industry would send representatives to the council to legislate common policy regarding production, marketing, working conditions, trade practices, codes of ethics, or other important problems. Conceivably these councils would build up from the local community level to the regional, national, and even international levels. They would be organized around common interests rather than around divergent class interests. Furthermore, they would be concerned with the community impact of their decisions. Once made, the decisions would be binding on the parties. Although officially recognized by the government, the councils would not be public agencies. Yet one of their main tasks would be advising government in framing of laws and administrative procedures affecting economic life.⁴⁵ Presumably the clergy and other public figures would be represented on the boards to give them stability and to remind them of their ethical obligations to the entire community. Thus, coöperation, anticipation of problems, and routine concern with internal and external problems of the industry would replace competition, conflict, and narrow collective bargaining within and between economic interest groups.

Marciniak found about ten cases in which industry-council plans were in operation in the United States although the participants were not aware that they had evolved the pattern independently.⁴⁶ He suggests that the Millinery Stabilization Commission and the National Coat and Suit Industry Recovery Board constitute council plans. Established in 1935 as a result of the National Recovery Administration, they survived (despite their alleged unconstitutionality) to serve 25,000 workers in hundreds of Eastern firms. The Commission has a permanent staff of 14 people who assure equitable standards of labor in the industry, maintain fair commercial prac-

⁴⁴ *Presbyterian Life*, November 1, 1952.

⁴⁵ Bowen, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167.

⁴⁶ Edward Marciniak, "Some U.S. Approximations to the Industry-Council Idea," *Catholic Sociological Review*, March, 1956, pp. 24-30.

tices, and promote the general welfare of the industry and the community. The CIO proposed in 1949 to erect similar councils to lessen the concentration of industrial control in business managers. However, the plans did not receive widespread acceptance. Apparently neither management, labor, nor the public are willing at present to think or act in such coöperative terms.

Apparently the dominant pattern of customary relations in the interinstitutional complex of business, labor, and the church is bifurcated. Close relations are developed between the clergy and businessmen on the one hand and between the clergy and unions on the other. The clergy might be thought of playing an "intermediary role," if they had equal and similar contacts with both groups. However, it appears that different clergymen generally develop contacts with either labor or business and do not develop an institutionalized intermediary role. The Religion and Labor Foundation has attempted to develop an institutionalized relationship between churches and the unions. It brings together Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish clergymen with representatives of organized labor to strengthen the latter's activities toward morally sound goals and to spur religion toward practical social achievement. Monthly luncheon meetings are held in local communities to discuss the problems which labor and clergymen daily face.⁴⁷ Local chambers of commerce and service clubs function to achieve similar objectives for the relations between the clergy and businessmen.

UNION PROGRAMS

When unions were regarded as a semicriminal conspiracy, they frequently accused churches of being business-dominated institutions. With today's change in status, unions have undergone a vast change of mood. Some of the efforts of unions to articulate with religious associations described above represent this change in mood. It now appears that labor leaders appreciate the possible moral influence which the clergy can develop in the community. In fact, they may overestimate the power of the clergy. In community studies of power elites, we have found that union officials attribute power to clergymen to a greater extent than do businessmen. Since the latter are closer to the centers of power, it may be that their impressions are more accurate. Be that as it may, unions now recognize that it is important to have the good will of the clergy. To this end the AFL-CIO instituted a Religious Relations Department which attempts to encourage local unions to develop contacts with the churches in their communities. These activities have been recently stimulated by labor's moral dilemmas. As Professor John T. Dunlop explained in a talk before the American Bar Association, the American labor movement is probably the only free union movement not dedicated to altering the basic economic features of its society. "The American community having created a labor movement in its own image now seems to be finding

⁴⁷ "Labor and Religion," AFL-CIO, 1957.

fault with its design. It is too big and has too much money; union expense accounts are somehow different from others; retirement plans, deferred compensation and other emoluments stimulated by our tax laws and regulations are somehow unsavory when copied by unions for their executives . . . One of the critical problems now faced by the labor movement is that a number of trade leaders have adopted the morals of the market place and have become business unionists.”⁴⁸

To meet these problems the UAW in 1957 “took an unprecedented step of establishing a public review board of independent citizens to which members could appeal their grievances against the union and which could act on its own motion, as censor of the union’s moral conduct.”⁴⁹

The Board is given the “authority . . . to make final and binding decisions in all cases placed before it by aggrieved members or subordinate bodies of the UAW. Essentially these cases will involve individual members who feel they have been unfairly disciplined by their local unions and who have failed to obtain satisfaction upon appeal to the executive board . . . In addition it has the obligation to deal with alleged violations of any AFL-CIO ethical practices codes, or any ethical practices codes adopted by the international union . . . Furthermore the board is authorized to assume jurisdiction over these cases if it is dissatisfied with the executive board’s action, even if no appeal is filed . . . While [board] hearings will be private the results will be public . . . This report must be published in full in the official publication of the UAW and released to the public press.”⁵⁰

Of great significance were these appointments to the board: a Jewish rabbi, a Catholic priest, a Protestant minister, two judges, two professors, and a lawyer. All of these were nationally known leaders in their fields of endeavor. Clergymen of all faiths hailed the establishment of the board as a bold step which should be imitated by other unions and by business as well. Whether many such boards will be established in local communities is doubtful. Yet the bold link between labor and religion may stimulate more interaction locally.

Conflict Relations of Industry, Labor, and Religion

The general aim of most religious groups is to stimulate coöperative effort between labor and management, and between them and the church. Some of the efforts to institutionalize their relations were described above. Yet conflict does arise between labor and management in which the church is pressed to take a stand. Moreover, conflict develops between these agencies and the church itself. Unfortunately, data on the church’s activities in conflict situations is rather sparse.

⁴⁸ Reported in *Michigan CIO News*, September 19, 1957.

⁴⁹ *A More Perfect Union*, UAW Publications Department, undated, p. 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT CONFLICT: WHAT ROLE FOR THE CHURCH?

Chapter 4 analyzed briefly the position of the church in industrial conflict. It will be recalled that the first impulse of the clergy is to avoid direct entanglement and identification with the participants. If either of the partisans feel that churchmen would be critical of their activities, they too encourage them to remain neutral. In general, business is more content with neutralizing the church than organized labor. Either side would be happy to have the endorsement of the clergy because this would mobilize public support to their side.

Except when called to mediate or arbitrate disputes, clergymen restrict their "intervention" to attempts to bring the parties together, to keep them working toward a solution, and to stimulate the use of coöperative mechanisms. Occasionally they will attempt, when called, to help to "clarify" the ethical problems involved. Since economic and ethical issues are so closely interwoven in contemporary society and since ethical dilemmas frequently arise, the future role of the clergy in industrial conflict may well be that of "ethical clarification."

Rather than waiting for conflict to arise, an ethical consultation may begin during contract negotiations. The American Motors Corporation already has embarked on such a program. E. L. Cushman, in charge of industrial relations, recently said, "Collective bargaining decisions must recognize economic realities but even more fundamentally should recognize human values . . . It is our company's conviction that the advice of these distinguished clergymen will be helpful to us in weighing conflicting human values in arriving at our decisions . . . Ten clergymen have agreed to advise company negotiators on the ethical aspects of '58 collective bargaining."⁵¹

Walter Reuther, president of the UAW, shortly after this announcement proposed in a letter to the presidents of the auto companies that a panel of ten clergymen advise the union and the companies on the "ethical aspects" of 1958 collective bargaining. He also suggested that the clergymen have the services of a joint committee of economists, who could analyze the dollars-and-cents issues involved in contract talks. An equal number of these economists would be named by the union and the company. It is too early to know whether this plan will be accepted and, if accepted, what effect it will have.

COMMON POWER ARRANGEMENTS

Attacking Management from Above: Right to Work. There is increasing evidence of a willingness of high church officials to express the position of the church on some labor-management issues. The most recent has been the so-called right-to-work laws which illegalize all union shop agreements.

⁵¹ *Detroit Free Press*, December 1, 1957.

This bitterly fought law has been passed in 18 states. Yet high officials in all major religious groups have expressed open opposition to it. Thus the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States issued a 14-page statement indicting right-to-work laws. Bishops in the Catholic church openly opposed the law during the heated controversy in the state of Washington. Rabbi Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress, labeled the statutes as frauds and misnomers.

A cursory survey of right-to-work battles in local communities reveals that local clergymen do not engage in protest campaigns. Most of the work is done by the labor unions and the Democratic party officials who may publicize statements of national church leaders opposing right-to-work legislation. Union officials have generally failed to get active support of the local clergy from the high-prestige churches. In the industrial communities of the East and Midwest, businessmen have not convinced clergymen to openly support the law. Thus the clergy have not been generally responsible for the defeat or support of such legislation. Others have played the critical roles. Yet in an historical sense the church has perhaps gained a "moral victory"; i.e., the right to maintain a position in opposition to its powerful supporters.

Before 1935, it would have been extremely difficult for the clergy not to pipe the payer's tune. It may well be that a new strategy is evolving; clergy holding national offices enunciate church policy, while local clergy support it as best as local conditions allow. Labor and other groups then refer to the national position of the churches in their publicity campaigns. How the clergy worked with other groups to defeat right-to-work legislation in the state of Washington is analyzed elsewhere.

Fair Employment: A Coöperative Venture. Pope and others have observed that church leaders have been more willing to express their ideas on such broad issues as race relations than on such concrete issues as the right to strike. Recently several states and local communities have sought to enact fair employment practice codes. Support of these codes goes beyond making platitudinous statements on the brotherhood of man. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the AFL-CIO, the League of Women Voters, and other organizations have put direct pressure on clergymen to support this legislation. In general, where local mores permit, they have supported the legislation both on the pulpit and before legislative bodies. Business has generally opposed this legislation on the basis that it is unwieldy, unenforceable, and unrealistic, although it has been split on the issue. With respectable elements of the community working for such legislation and with a split opposition, clergymen have been able to support FEPC legislation openly. Yet the church probably remains the most segregated institution in the United States. When issues strike close to the congregation, its will, not God's, is done.

Sunday Closing: An Invitation to Help. In Seattle, Washington, 20 years ago, no stores were open on Sunday. In 1957, food retailers reported that on Sunday receipts were second highest of the week. Auto sales were also reported high on Sunday. Business flourished on Sunday despite a law which prohibited business on Sunday. Church leaders decided to engage in a campaign to get the law enforced. Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish clergymen called on labor unions to support them in a declaration against Sunday work. Since increasing numbers of workers were complaining about Sunday work and since union leaders feared seven-day contracts and elimination of overtime provisions, they eagerly agreed to back local clergy. Newspapers announced that a labor-clergy coalition had agreed to start a campaign to close business places on Sunday. They called for a "temporary" two-year observance of the law to see whether it was enforceable and how it should be changed.

On the following week, the central labor council sponsored a "town hall" to which labor, church, and business groups were invited. After a heated discussion, a resolution was passed calling for a "gentleman's agreement" on Sunday closing and an educational campaign. Food dealers complained that they did not have an opportunity to discuss the motion sufficiently. The problem, they indicated, would be to work out community-wide agreements with reluctant retailers.

The church-labor campaign took the following form. Union leaders informed employers they intended to abide by the state law. Pastoral letters were read from the pulpit, and sermons were given on the need to observe Sabbath. All religious newspapers and periodicals urged readers not to shop on Sunday. Newspaper editors of the large dailies gave much space to every detail of the campaign. Clergymen and labor officials called on the heads of various trade associations to get them to sign an agreement. Each agreement with every industry was publicized widely. Testimonials on the success of trial Sunday closings were brought to the attention of businessmen reluctant to coöperate. The Holy Name Society distributed 10,000 auto bumper stickers with the motto, "I Don't Shop on Sundays, Do You?" Neighborhood meetings were held to work out ways of convincing local retailers to close on Sundays. Local delegations called on merchants to urge them to coöperate in the campaign. Shortly after, food retailers reported success on area-wide agreements. Finally, Mother's Day was agreed upon as a test day for the gentleman's agreement on city-wide closedowns. Final visits were made to retailers who were on the fence.

The test proved to be very successful. Businessmen admitted, "It was something we always wanted, but couldn't control." Clergymen and labor officials called for "Eternal vigilance and no letdown in the drive." This case represents a successful drive of the clergy in a matter which coincided with the interests of many other groups in the community. Only one segment of

the business community (food retailers) was actively opposed because it feared loss of trade and because it did not have the sanctions to enforce an agreement. However, the *total* support of the clergy would make hold-outs appear to be antireligious. Threat of economic sanctions on the part of neighborhood groups, pressure from organized labor, and church solidarity were sufficient to make the drive successful.

APPRAISAL OF ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES

It appears from a review of the above and other cases of conflict involving the church that it has insufficient resources to realize its aims in the community without the help of other powerful groups. While this might be said of almost any group, an important difference is that the church does not have sufficient material resources to sponsor an independent campaign against any economically powerful group. For the church to be successful in conflict, its interests must coincide with those of powerful groups which do have material resources, or the church must speak with, or for, a large number of groups in the community. In short, it can add moral sanction where economic sanctions can be applied. The following case describes the ineffectiveness of the church when it had only moral sanctions to apply.

Dynamics of Issue Resolution: Union Representation

PRELUDE TO CONFLICT: THE FIRST CAMPAIGN

El Paso, Texas, and C. Juarez, Mexico, lie directly across from each other. The cities are economically interdependent in many ways. Many residents of C. Juarez work and shop in El Paso, and El Paso depends heavily on trade with northern Mexico. A large copper-smelting company in El Paso has a labor force, at least two-thirds of which is composed of Spanish-speaking Americans and Mexicans. Approximately half of this group live in C. Juarez. The United Mine and Mill Workers of America is the major union in the plant. Its officials point with pride to the fact that the refinery has the highest wages of any plant in the city which has a predominantly Spanish-speaking labor force. In 1950 the international officers of the union were accused of being communists and tried for violating provisions of the National Labor Relations Act.

Shortly thereafter, the CIO in conjunction with the Catholic church began a drive to get refinery employees to throw out UMM. CIO organizers were supplied with a list of employees by local clergy. Enough signatures were obtained to ask the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to conduct an election to determine which union should represent the workers. The ease with which signatures were obtained and the prevalence of anti-communist sentiments among the workers encouraged the CIO and the church that victory was theirs. Although the results of the election ran three

to two in favor of UMM, the CIO was not discouraged because it had conducted a relatively weak campaign. Organizers promised to conduct another campaign in another year and church leaders promised active support.

THE ALL-OUT CAMPAIGN

CIO Tactics. In 1953 the CIO and the local diocese of the Catholic church planned their campaigns. The CIO followed tactics similar to the previous campaign. It received a better list of union members and got sufficient signatures to call for an NLRB election. Again, it was comparatively easy to get signatures and evidence of discontent with UMM. The main appeals of CIO organizers in the new campaign were that the UMM was under attack all over the country, that it was losing strength, and that the CIO was a respectable union which could do more for the workers. Democratic control of the CIO and its vast material resources which could be used to extract more concessions from management were other arguments used. Underneath all the activity were three persistent themes: (1) government intervention in local affairs was inevitable if UMM remained, (2) the workers should identify with a loyal American trade union, and (3) the CIO could get better wages than UMM because the latter was on the defensive nationally.

The Church Commits Her Resources. The bulk of the first-hand contact with the workers was done by representatives of the church. Very early in the campaign the bishop called a few of the "natural leaders" among the workers to his office. Addressing them in English, he told them that the church was not going to tell the workers how to vote. They could choose between the AFL, CIO, or an independent union. However, it was their Christian duty to vote out the ungodly UMM. He enjoined them to conduct a vigorous campaign among their fellow workers.

About a month before the election the bishop invited some "labor priests" from St. Louis University to help the CIO in the campaign. When they arrived they visited many of the El Paso workers in their homes. Their appeals were largely of the bread-and-butter variety, although their robes spoke eloquently of the religious obligation to vote CIO. The bishop stepped into the fray directly. He wrote a pastoral letter which he read in a radio address. He wrote articles which were published in local religious papers. He secured coöperation from editors of local dailies to publicize the position of the Church. The themes in all these efforts were the same: (1) the Church was not interfering in the concrete union choices of the workers, (2) the workers must vote out the UMM as a Christian duty, (3) Christian duty and Americanism coincided.

Reluctant Management. Officially management played a neutral role in the conflict. Even as Anglo-Protestants they could not oppose the Church's campaign against a godless un-American union. In private statements they

did indicate that the issue was more complex than appeared on the surface. Other recent jurisdictional disputes in the plant had made management's job difficult. For three years, jurisdictional disputes had aggravated management, and it yearned for stability. Experience with the aggressive CIO in its other plants convinced management that it might press for greater demands than UMM. The latter had become more tractable, especially since the recent attacks on it. As far as industrial operations were concerned, communism was an irrelevant issue. Foremen and other management personnel who contacted the workers did nothing to indicate their preference for the CIO.

UMM Counterattack. The tactics of local UMM leaders were simple. They attacked both the CIO and the church as hypocritical. Playing consistently on the underdog status of Spanish-speaking workers, they asked, "Why weren't they here to help us during the tough organizing campaign?" They pointed to their record of highest wages for Spanish-speaking workers in the area, and to the low wages which other unions (including the CIO) had secured for Spanish-speaking workers in other local industries. The charge of communism by the Church was blunted by two arguments: (1) that management would oppose the union if it were communist, and (2) this charge is always leveled against organizations which help the worker.

All during the campaign the UMM leadership persistently stressed the theme that the opposition were *outsiders* who were not genuinely interested in the welfare of Spanish-speaking workers. The Catholic church was a traditional outsider, as was the CIO and the federal government. Threats of federal intervention made by the Church and CIO were translated as possible moves to interfere with "passports" which C. Juarez residents needed as conditions of employment in El Paso.

ISSUE VECTOR ANALYSIS

Figure 9.3 portrays the various groups which attempted to influence the workers and the direction of their pressures. It also indicates that the Church was not successful in its campaign to help the CIO. The latter was overwhelmingly defeated, for the resolution of forces was in the direction of maintaining traditional allegiance with the UMM.

Analysis of the forces at work in this case are complex. Traditional tendencies of workers to maintain the UMM arose from their reaction against the intrusion of "outsiders," specifically, the Catholic church, the CIO, the federal government, and the Anglo community. Officials of UMM played skillfully on these "illegitimate" interventions. Lower-class men in Mexico have a traditional suspicion of the church. They attend rarely—usually in connection with the rituals of baptism, first holy communion marriage, and burial. The Mexican Revolution had also defined the Church

as opposed to the interests of the lower classes. A home visit by a strange priest from another city, far from being effective, provoked fear and hostility. Against this background UMM leaders were able to aggravate the nascent suspicions of the workers. Moreover, since the El Paso clergy made no contact with the Mexican clergy, and since labor priests from St. Louis contacted mostly workers who lived in El Paso, church intervention was defined as Anglo-inspired. Much of the literature, radio talks, and first-hand contacts by the clergy was in English, while UMM leaders spoke fluent Spanish whenever the occasion demanded it.

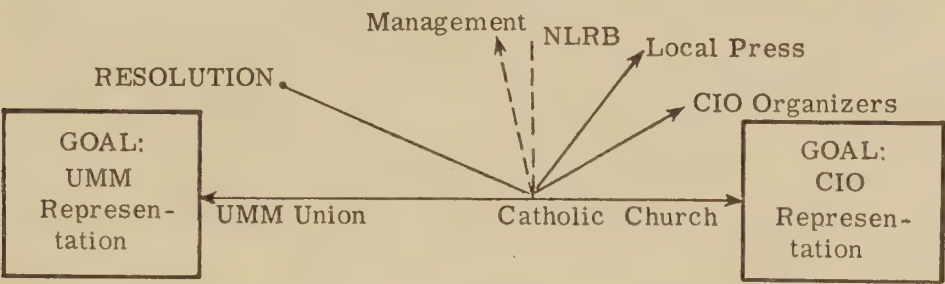


FIGURE 9.3. Vector Analysis of a Union Election Issue.

While the Church made religious appeals, the CIO made economic appeals, and the press made political appeals of Americanism. All these appeal sources were in opposition to the UMM, which linked its past economic success to an abiding faith in the Spanish-speaking people who had been rejected by respectable elements in the community. Furthermore, the latter had introduced government into an arena of private activity. An almost automatic response to government activity was a fear that the economic privilege of working in the United States might be deprived by new passport regulations. The silence of management in a controversy in which other elements in the community were outspoken could only be interpreted as passive approval of traditional relationships in the refinery. Appeals by the press to the workers to show loyalty to the United States had no effect because they simply did not read the newspapers or any other publications which were put in their hands. This case clearly demonstrates the lack of power of the church in concrete economic issues, even when it has community backing. The church must become part of the social movement of labor if it wants to influence it in concrete affairs.

CHANGES IN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND CHURCH RELATIONS

Trends Within the Church

During the last two decades religion in America has exhibited unusual virility. Church membership has grown more rapidly than the population; church building has increased phenomenally; and church contributions have

risen spectacularly. The church has also proved itself more adaptable than in the past. The suburban church movement has paralleled the suburban drift of population, the urban church has attacked the problems of urbanism, and new church functions have arisen to meet new needs. One may be tempted to conclude that such successes point to increased power of religion in everyday life. This conclusion would probably be unwarranted, for there are almost no indications that church-institutional relations are evolving toward the sacred or moral types.

Yet the trend appears to be shifting away from the segmented model. Cleavages both within the church and between religion and other institutions appear to be decreasing. Protestant bodies are working toward unification, and interfaith coöperation appears to be on the increase. Even doctrinal differences among religious groups appear to be declining with the rise of neoorthodoxism. Greater international contact among religious bodies seems to be stimulating greater tolerance for the differences which are extant. In the United States, interfaith coöperation is growing in areas of interest to economic interest groups. Apparently the church has grown powerful enough to express its national views on full employment, social security, fair employment, preventive medicine, racial integration, and related issues. Seminaries are devoting more attention to training students about social and economic issues and conducting research on social and economic problems. All these trends point to the firmer establishment of the ethical model. The church is thus becoming more worldly without necessarily becoming more powerful. What roles can it play from this unique position?

Future Roles

The role which the church seeks for itself is one of stimulating moral integration of the broader community. In the economic area this means making business and the unions assume broad social responsibilities. The aspirations of the church are vacant hopes as long as institutional mechanisms are not established to enforce social responsibility. The review board of the UAW and the collective bargaining advisory board of the American Motor Corporation represent such institutional mechanisms. If similar boards become widespread in American industry, the ethical model may become fully realized.

Yet ethical boards and advisory commissions are primitive and temporary stopgap agencies of ethical control. As long as the clergy and other neutrals (educators and lawyers) have to mediate conflicts between economic groups, the latter have not attained an independent sense of moral obligation to the wider community. As a matter of fact, the church cannot play a mediating role unless the opponents have approximately equal strength. It follows that

the clergy will increase their influence as labor and management realize an equality of power and come to realize that decisive battles for dominance are futile. This situation may be beginning as labor gains acceptability and respectability. In general the clergy will increase their influence as labor equals the power of management.

Far-sighted clergymen realize that the mediation-liaison roles are stop-gaps, and that industry must devise its own permanent organizations which take into account the interests of the larger community. Such a goal must also be realized by interest groups which are not now organized. They must not be subject to forces imposed arbitrarily by other pressure groups. Church leaders prefer that economic leaders make the ethical choice of establishing socially responsible organizations. A wide variety of plans is currently available, and other plans may be devised to fit the American scene.⁵² Whether they will ever be adopted is ultimately the decision of American labor and business. Clergymen can only hope to stimulate a facilitating moral environment.

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FIELD PROJECTS

1. Interview a clergyman and ask him to rate the community on the Community Rating Schedule in Appendix B (see pages 692-693).

⁵² Bowen, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-192.

2. Interview a clergyman to discover whether religious programs are being held in local plants. If so, interview workers and managers and probe their reactions to these programs.
3. Make a study of the occupational and industrial composition of the church boards in your local community.
4. Inquire whether a lay periodical exists for your church or synagogue. If so, examine various issues of the periodical and ascertain the amount of space utilized in the discussion of political and economic affairs, and the positions taken.
5. Inquire whether a business-clergy and/or a labor-clergy day is held annually in your community. If so, interview representatives of clergy, union, and business to ascertain what they believe is achieved by the events. If possible, attend a meeting.

Chapter 10

THE FAMILY: CAULDRON OF LABOR- MANAGEMENT LOYALTIES

HISTORY OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND THE FAMILY

Impact of the Industrial Revolution on the Family

Changes in the Economic Functions of the Family

Effects of Urbanization on the Family

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Business Programs and Major Value Orientations

Labor Programs and Major Value Orientations

Family Life and the Major Value Orientations of the Family

Power Models of Business, Labor, and the Family

Model A. Business-Dictated

Model B. Business-Dominated

Model C. Labor-Mediated

Model D. Equilibrium

Model E. Family-Mediated

*The Business-Dominated Model of the Contemporary Family: Case of
Maximum Likelihood*

Pattern of Control

Hiring and Firing

Economic Payment

Work Scheduling

Seniority Rights

Leisure

Health and Welfare

Education

Comparison of Business-Dictated and Business-Dominated Plant

CUSTOMARY AND CONFLICT RELATIONS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN FAMILY AND INDUSTRY

Customary Relations

The Home as Incubator of Work Habits and Values

Chores

Homework

Social weaning

Indoctrination of work values

Origin of traditional work values

Industrial Location Affects Daily Living

Relation of homes to work places

Three emergent patterns of spatial distribution

Residential distribution and occupational stratification

Journey to work

Journey to union hall

The Status of Occupational Position Conditions the Social Position of the Family in the Community

Occupation, family, and social class system

Class differences and family stability

Personnel Programs Seek to Utilize and Strengthen Family-Industry Relationships

Personnel functions and family-industry relations

Disturbing home factors which affect behavior on the job

Personnel practices to improve family-industry relations

Conflict Relations

Influence Network for the Case of Maximum Likelihood

Points of Issue

Illustration of two closed rubber plants

Illustration of the destruction of a major industry by fire

Illustration of the closing of a town's main industry due to depletion of resources

Dynamics of Issue Resolution

Analysis of a Case Issue: The Strike at St. Helens

History of the case

Issue vector analysis

CHANGES IN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND THE FAMILY

Social Trends Affecting the Family

Automation in industry

Growth of large-scale enterprise and decentralization

Increased entry of women into labor market

Growth of community consciousness

Significance of Alternative Models

HISTORY OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND THE FAMILY

Impact of the Industrial Revolution on the Family

The family is the most universal social institution. The particular form and structure which it may take varies greatly with geographic environment, economic conditions, and culture. The three chief stages in the evolution of the family in Western society are the large patriarchal extended-kinship family characteristic of ancient society, the smaller patriarchal family which had its origin in the medieval period, and the modern democratic family.¹ The modern American family is the product of the culture and environment of Western civilization. In the United States, pioneer conditions, the rise of the public school, and the extension of democratic principles accelerated the development of the democratic family. Important as these supplementary factors were, it was the Industrial Revolution which paved the way for the breakdown of the patriarchal family. The increased use of steam power brought about a revolution in manufacturing. Up to the time of its use, goods were made by hand in or near the home. The application of steam power created the factory system separating work from the home. Mass production brought about an increased division of labor. But, more importantly, it placed the economy in a market system. The home became interlocked with the workings of the vast national and international market. Since changes in the business cycle affected employment, salaries and wages, investment, interest rates, and related matters, these changes were immediately felt by the home because the family became dependent upon outside employment for subsistence.

Modern technology has created large urban areas. In 1790 no American city had over 50,000 people and only 1 in 20 inhabitants was classified as urban; in 1950 there were 106 cities with over 100,000 population and 3 out of 5 persons were classified as urban.² Urbanization has set in motion social forces that place the home under many strains. Divorce is more common, many married women feel a need to supplement the family's income with work outside the home, and the family has been placed in crowded and often unhealthy living conditions. In general, the family unit has been weakened with the removal of its production functions, and its influence and stability have been seriously impaired. The family has grown smaller and exists primarily as a companionship group.³ All of these changes become important when it is realized that a definite relationship exists between family life and a worker's job satisfaction and productivity. It has been

¹ Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family*, American Book, 1945, p. 18.

² Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society*, Crowell, 1956, pp. 41, 43.

³ Burgess and Locke, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-31.

demonstrated that people tend to bring their home problems to their job and their job problems to their home. When a pathological condition exists in either of these institutions, the other is disrupted and changed.

Changes in the Economic Functions of the Family

In eighteenth century England, family life rested on an economic base which fostered unity and stability. As in all other countries, the leading industry was agriculture. In addition, fishing, mining, pottery-making, and cloth manufacturing were conducted in limited degree. The population was grouped into a few towns and into small villages averaging 25 to 30 men and their families. Strong economic bonds held their members together; the interest of the family remained in the home. Life was crude; women and children worked in the fields, plowing, hoeing, and harvesting; women and men spun yarn and wove coarse fabrics on primitive looms. Each household grew, manufactured, stored, and preserved all the necessities for its subsistence. There was a division of labor among the members of the household based on the strength and the skills of each. The village and neighborhood in which men lived and worked were relatively permanent. The range of opportunity was small, but life expectations and prospects were relatively secure insofar as they depended upon the social structure. In such a community the individual's occupation and role were placed before him from childhood; his place as an adult was easily seen. "Bees" were held when families would call on their neighbors for help with some project. This established community was characterized by four factors: all aspects of life were closely interrelated, and work was not separate and distinct; social belonging was automatic; change was slow and continuity was sustained by local customs and institutions; and the important social groupings were small.⁴

When the Industrial Revolution arrived in the Western world, the workshop served no longer as an adjunct to the home. The new factories called for large numbers of workers. These people left their farms to enter into the new industrial activity. As the number of factories increased, urban centers grew. The changes imposed on the family were manifold. Different work and social habits were required of the father. He was now absent from the home for long periods of the day. The children were sent to schools for a compulsory period. Recreation moved away from the home. Community control over the family lessened. The home became mechanized, releasing more leisure to the housewife. Not only was there a change in the economic activities of the family, but in social psychological areas as well. Attitudes of parents and children changed as patriarchal authority declined;

⁴ Jerome F. Scott and R. P. Lynton, *The Community Factor in Modern Technology*, United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization, 1952, p. 15.

the democratic family emerged. A shift in the relationship of individuals in the group occurred as the family members became more individuated in their social participation. Career and educational aspirations changed to fit the new occupational opportunities. These changes in family life reflected the diminution of the family's function as a distinct economic unit and its greater significance in the development of a more varied personality.

Effects of Urbanization on the Family

Modern urbanization opened up a completely new pattern of life. The coming together of migrants from different nations, economic levels, and educational backgrounds into crowded housing areas produced divergent social groups and varied patterns of social life. As family stability weakened, delinquency and crime increased.

In the quickened tempo of modern life with its many social and recreational opportunities, urban people develop wider experiences and play more varied roles, but contacts tend to be of a specialized character and become more superficial. People tend to put down shallow roots in such an environment. Moreover, modern modes of transportation have accentuated the separation of work and residence so that an increasing number of people no longer live in the city in which they work. "Bedroom cities" and suburban fringe dwellers far away from the place of employment (and from the union hall) are products of this trend.

The mobility of the family has increased. Wholesale migrations are noticeable in the United States. For example, the migration of Negroes from the South to the industrial North (to cities like Detroit and Chicago) has occurred in response to the desire of Southern Negroes to raise their standard of living. Moreover, high horizontal mobility marks all income and occupational levels. Career progress in a modern corporation often requires extensive mobility. Kinship relations are broken. Lynd has stated that the only clear nexus between man and the community is the job. The offer of a better job in a distant community is moral justification for leaving relatives and friends. Under such conditions the home often ceases to be the integral part of the community it was when working and living were carried on in small, close-knit neighborhoods and a kinship system was cherished and protected.

Other urban trends are reflected in the rising divorce rate. This trend parallels the increased entry of women in the working force. Women have become increasingly independent economically; those gainfully employed in the United States have increased four and one-half times between 1890 and 1950.⁵ Thus, the woman is no longer bound to the man for support, a

⁵ A. J. Jaffee and Charles D. Stewart, *Manpower Resources and Utilization*, Wiley, 1951, p. 171.

condition which weakens family stability. Many women hold dual roles, that of home-making and that of an outside job. This pattern is reflected in the increasing number of married women entering the labor market. It is registered in the figures showing the number of supplementary workers in households. In 1949 about 4 families in 10 had two or more members of their household in the labor force.⁶

The long trend of family size is toward smaller families. While in 1890 the average household size was 4.9 persons, in 1953 it was 3.3 persons.⁷ In the large city it is advantageous to have small families for the following reasons:

high cost of living and small apartments.

most of what a family needs must be purchased.

little work can be done in the home to supplement the income.

marked economic advantages accrue to both children and parents since fewer children may be better educated. The parent is spared a heavy burden of rearing children who are increasingly economically dependent for longer periods of time.⁸

America's families have experienced a long-run rise in their standard of living. The average work week has been shortened from 67.2 hours in 1870 to 42.5 hours in 1950. Income per capita (measured in 1940 prices) increased from \$230.60 in 1870 to \$706.70 in 1950.⁹ This means the work week was cut by more than a third, while at the same time per capita income tripled in 70 years. Many observers have been impressed by the fact that the increase of per capita income has brought about the burgeoning of family units with cash income after taxes of \$4000-\$7500. The occupational composition of the 15,500,000 middle-income nonfarm families is as follows:

1. Nine million families headed by craftsmen, operatives, and laborers.
2. More than four million families headed by professionals, proprietors, and managers.
3. 2,400,000 family units headed by clerical and sales workers.
4. 100,000 family units deriving income from rents, royalties, annuities, stocks and bonds.¹⁰

These facts indicate that the fruits of industrialization are being widely distributed over the occupational groups of the United States.¹¹

This rising standard of living does not mean that industrial conflict is

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁷ J. Frederic Dewhurst and Associates, *America's Needs and Resources: A New Survey*, Twentieth Century Fund, 1955, p. 66.

⁸ Howard F. Bigelow, *Family Finance*, Lippincott, 1953.

⁹ Wassily Leontief, "Machines and Man," *Scientific American*, September, 1952, p. 151.

¹⁰ "The Rich Middle Income Class," *Fortune*, May, 1954, p. 95.

¹¹ William F. Ogburn, "Technology and the Standard of Living in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1955, pp. 380-386.

ended, for modern industry is still full of dynamic fluctuations affecting family income. Moreover, there is always the question of equitable distribution of the shares of productivity among the various claimants of a modern society. What is new is the wholesale change in habits and values resulting from the increasing comfort and security of the worker. The economic whip of subsistence is no longer the major motivation for work, and worker motivation has altered. The manager of an enterprise has found that the new "age of abundance" has transformed the question, "What makes a wage earner more productive?" into the question, "What makes a worker more willing?"¹²

Both management and labor have had to reexamine the worker's incentive for wages, they have had to understand married women's desire for interesting work, and they have had to compete for better-educated workers who desire occupational and community status. In short, work has become a purposeful activity pursued increasingly for noneconomic reasons. The age of leisure and comfort poses new challenges in the struggle of management and labor to accomplish their goals. There is evidence that the revolution in attitudes and values may be centering in such social institutions as home, school, church, and government. In this chapter we shall be searching for the structure and process by which loyalties of workers to their union and their managers is tested within the home.

STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Customary and Conflict Relationships of Business, Labor, and the Family

There is a daily pattern of relationships which revolve around the home. Each day people rise from a night of sleep to prepare themselves for work or leisure. Out of 168 hours in a week the average worker will spend 56 hours in sleep, 40 hours in work, and 72 hours in a miscellaneous array of activities including going to and from work, eating, making love, working with organizations, viewing television, or any one of many leisure activities. The daily life of a worker is woven around roles as producer and consumer. Increasingly purchasing power and leisure are enabling the worker to consume more and to spend more time in leisure. The role of consumer thus grows more significant. Figure 10.1 shows this new pattern.

Conflict relations arise to disrupt a daily pattern when some new change intervenes to upset the established equilibrium. Such a change may occur in the home, the work plant, the union, or any place in the community or national life. Anything that can alter the routines of the home may serve as

¹² Labor Committee of the Twentieth Century Fund, *Partners in Production*, Twentieth Century Fund, 1949, p. 141.

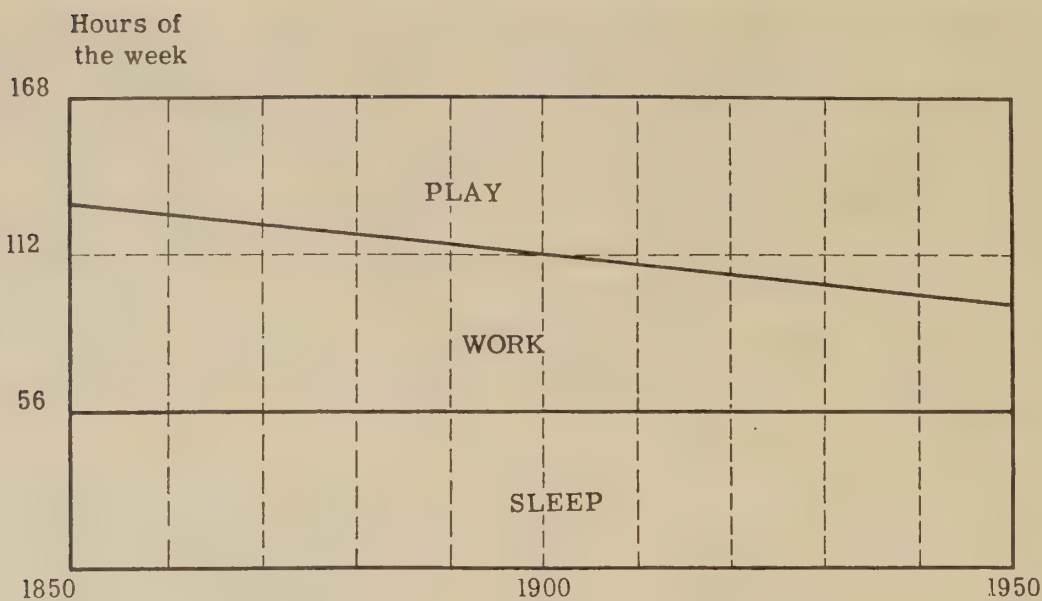


FIGURE 10.1. More Time for Leisure: 1850-1950.

a change agent. Such changes commonly include such disruptions as change of shift, a lay-off, a change of job, marital conflict, death in the family, a strike, or a war. This chapter, in the same manner as those preceding, will treat customary relations first and then conflict relations.

Components of the Interinstitutional Complex

Customary relations arise around the structured programs of business, labor, and the family, and the values which each seeks. An inventory of the component parts of this organizational complex would include the material in Figure 10.2.

BUSINESS	LABOR	FAMILY
Location of industry	Offices of locals	Immediate family
Plants	Meeting places	Roles of income producers
Offices	Offices of central labor committee	Roles of nonincome producers
Stores		Consumer habits
Travel routes from home to plant or office	Travel routes from home to union hall	Kinship patterns
Industrial composition and occupational activities of community	Scheduled activities of union locals	Leisure participation
	Members	Neighborhood and community structure
	Women's Auxiliary	Class and family types
Social and recreational activities of plant		

FIGURE 10.2. Components of the Complex of Industry, Labor, and the Family.

This inventory cites the places, the travel routes, and the major activities of the worker as a producer. Figure 10.3 shows a worker's family in the center of 53 separate businesses which stand ready to serve him in his role of consumer. The family emerges as a social psychological station in which the motivation of the producer is nurtured and the common needs of consumers are satisfied. It is the nexus between the production and service activities that compose and give meaning to business and labor.

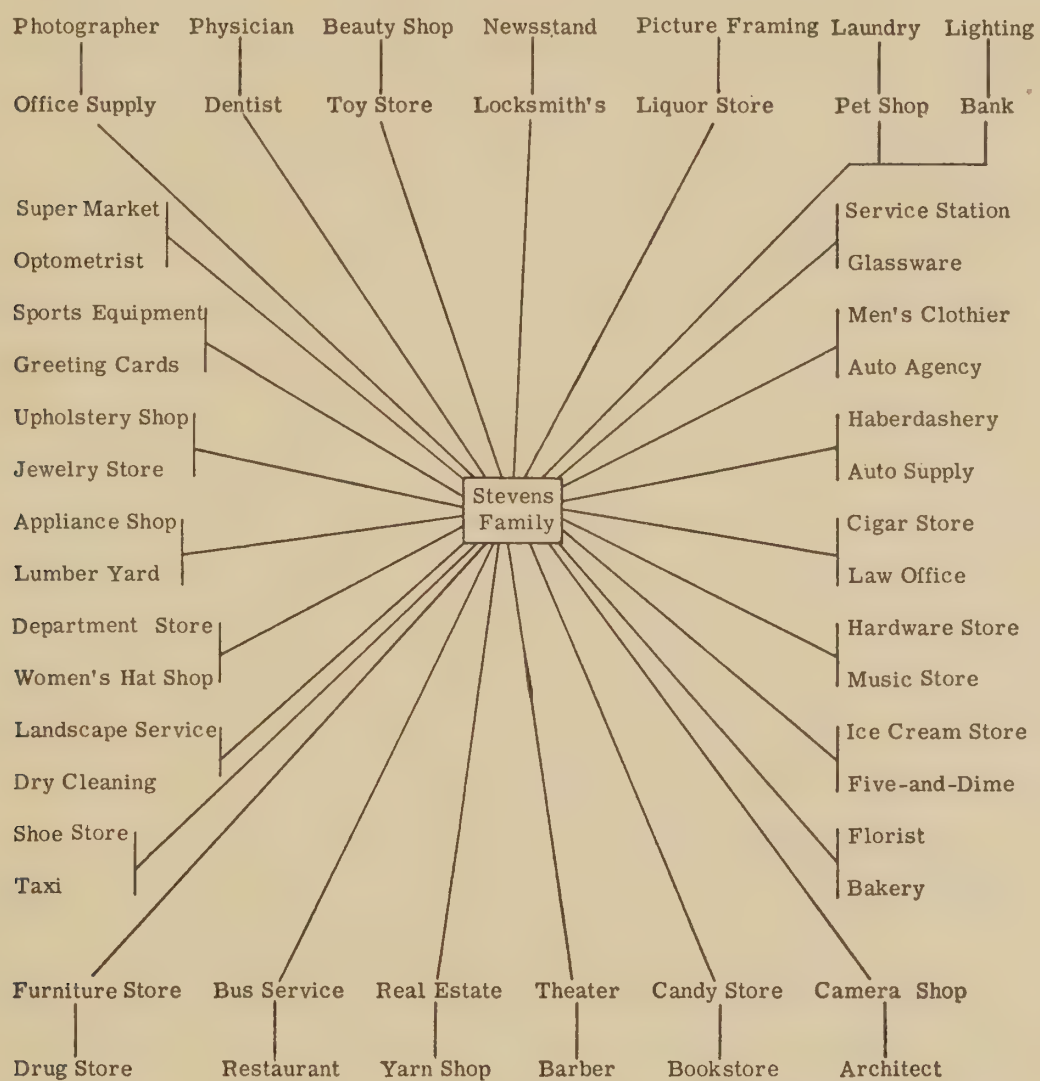


FIGURE 10.3. Business Focus: The Family. Some of the businesses which serve Gene Stevens and his family in Des Moines, Iowa.

BUSINESS PROGRAMS AND MAJOR VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Business wants a family system which produces stable, hard-working, and loyal employees. Increasingly management is taking family and ethnic background into account in the location of plants. Moreover, most industries have discovered that married men or women with families are more stable than single persons. Single persons, however, will often accept lower-paying jobs. This is especially true of single women who view working as a temporary interlude between school and marriage. The teaching profession

has long suffered with low salaries, partly because single women teachers were willing to accept low salaries and were opposed to unionization as a means of seeking a higher salary. The lower expectations of Negro and other minority group members have often been utilized to secure a cheaper labor force. Members from rural families with a strong Protestant ethic have been sought in order to secure hard-working people who, at the same time, might be expected to resist unionization.

Family life itself is of concern to business because a well-adjusted family member tends to be regular and punctual in attendance, his conduct is marked by sobriety and morality on the job, and he tends to enjoy better job satisfaction and become a good teamworker. Moreover, a company wants people who are good representatives of the firm in the community. This gives the company a good name, which is a prime asset in attracting the better worker. Because of these reasons, business generally seeks to improve working conditions but is, of course, limited at any particular time by the productivity of the plant and competitive conditions in the market.

LABOR PROGRAMS AND MAJOR VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Labor organizations seek a family system which produces loyal union members and leaders for the union. They know that this support is most assured when there is a continuity from father to son. The father is the family historian who can describe the early struggles of labor and what it was like "before the union came." Family approval and support of the union member is very important in strengthening his various roles as a member who attends union meetings regularly; who assumes leadership and responsibility for union business; and who is willing, when necessary, to sacrifice by contributing money and support of a strike or other union activities.

None of these roles may be easy. The union local may be of considerable distance from the plant. A man tired from a day of manual work may not find it easy to attend union meetings. Assuming leadership is even more burdensome. A strike is still more demanding and brings the family more intimately into account. This may require a material sacrifice, a risk of status, and of bodily injury. In a long strike it is not uncommon for a man to lose his auto, his furniture, and even his home. The union needs full family support during a crisis of this nature. Women's auxiliaries are being given increasing attention by the AFL-CIO.

A labor organization also has a reputation at stake in the community. It wants members who do not disgrace the "brotherhood" and who do not criticize union leadership without cause.

FAMILY LIFE AND THE MAJOR VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF THE FAMILY

Most families seek (1) stable employment for the chief breadwinner. To marry a "good man" often means to marry a man who is a steady income pro-

ducer. (2) Pay is important, too, because this establishes the level of living for all family members. Working hours of the breadwinners generally set the schedule of such family activities as eating, sleeping, and leisure. (3) Good working hours are sought so a schedule of family activities can be worked out to the satisfaction of all members.

Families like to have (4) the working members doing work and belonging to firms (and unions) which they feel are approved by their relatives and friends. This is reflected very clearly in the attitudes of workers as shown by a study of the economic factors associated with morale.¹³ Nine hundred and fifty-one college-trained adults were measured on the Rundquist-Sletto morale scale.¹⁴ One hundred men and 100 women of the highest and 100 men and 100 women of the lowest morale were sorted out and their responses to various characteristics of their job were compared. Table 31 shows responses of these morale groups to 20 characteristics of the job.

Men. Significant differences between men of high and low morale show that three major considerations are associated with morale. These are (1) the social approval which the job holder feels he has acquired from his job, (2) the opportunity he feels he has for advancement, and (3) the return he feels he is getting for his labor.

1. The importance of social approval is shown by the association of high morale when the men report that *family members approve of their job*, that *their work possesses prestige*, and that *friends approve of their job*.

2. Characteristics of advancement are associated with morale as shown by the answers to the statements, advance is on the basis of merit, ample opportunities for advancement, and advancement is relatively rapid.

3. High morale is associated with the feeling that there are satisfying rewards for the labor exerted. This is to be seen in a series of statements including *earnings are relatively good*, *family obligations can be satisfied*, *income is fairly certain*, *tenure is fairly certain*, *contacts with many pleasant people*, and *work is healthful*.

Although only a small percentage answered in agreement, significantly more low-morale men complained that competition is too intense, the work too monotonous and fatiguing.

Women. Women may need approval of their job, but our data do not reveal differences between high- and low-morale groups. Apparently, the college-trained women of the sample have jobs which they feel are approved. This is understandable, since only 9 percent are working in manual activity.

The significant differences for women appear in (1) the characteristics of advancement, and (2) satisfaction with the environmental conditions of

¹³ D. C. Miller, "Economic Factors in the Morale of College Trained Adults," *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1941, pp. 139-156.

¹⁴ E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, *Personality in the Depression*, University of Minnesota Press, 1936.

TABLE 31. Morale Groups

	Percentage with High Morale	Cases	Men ^a Percentage with Low Morale	Cases
	1	2	3	4
1. Income is fairly certain	83	94	66	93
2. Tenure is fairly certain	79	86	66	89
3. Earnings are relatively good	85	95	64	97
4. Ample opportunities for advancement	66	94	43	97
5. Advancement is relatively rapid	43	90	21	94
6. Advancement on basis of merit	73	92	43	93
7. Competition is too intense	12	86	33	95
8. Work possesses prestige	76	96	53	95
9. Contact with many pleasant people	92	98	78	98
10. Reasonable freedom on the job	92	96	84	99
11. Friends approve of job	91	97	79	98
12. Employers are congenial	90	80	87	89
13. Family obligations can be satisfied	87	94	69	90
14. Personal life is one's own	73	95	76	97
15. Family members approve of job	96	96	71	97
16. Work is healthful	80	97	63	97
17. Working hours of right length	68	94	70	97
18. Work is too fatiguing	3	92	14	94
19. Work is too monotonous	6	95	15	95
20. Work is in line with my abilities	88	92	70	96

^a Data represent those who answered "yes."

^b +C.R. indicates higher percentage in high-morale group; -C.R. indicates higher percentage in low-morale group.

their work. High morale is shown by the favorable answers to such statements as *ample opportunities for advancement, advancement is relatively rapid, and advancement is on the basis of merit*. Working conditions which are of importance to high morale include *contacts with many pleasant people, work conditions are healthful, work is not too monotonous, and family obligations can be satisfied*.

Power Models of Business, Labor, and the Family

Five alternate power models of the institutional complex may operate to pattern social relationships. These variations arise from differences in the economic structure of various communities or plants. (See Figure 10.4.)

by Characteristics of the Job

Critical Ratio ^b Col. 1 Com- pared with Cols. 3, 4	Per- cent- age with High Morale 5	Cases 6	Women ^a Percent- age with Low Morale 7	Cases 8	Critical Ratio ^b Col. 5 Compared with Col. 7	Men High, Women High, C.R. ^c Col. 1 Com- pared with Col. 5	Men Low, Women Low, C.R. ^c Col. 3 Compared with Col. 7
+2.83	93	67	90	68	—	−2.01	−3.93
+1.95	83	64	75	68	—	—	−1.24
+3.46	78	65	69	71	—	—	—
+3.28	42	62	15	71	+3.57	+3.02	+5.18
+3.28	24	59	9	70	+2.30	+2.49	+1.67
+4.34	47	57	22	67	+3.00	+3.23	+2.88
−3.52	5	56	2	66	—	—	—
+3.42	63	65	58	69	—	+1.76	—
+2.80	94	64	74	70	+3.32	—	—
—	89	66	85	73	—	—	—
+2.39	88	67	89	72	—	—	−1.81
—	88	60	94	70	—	—	—
+3.01	83	60	69	64	+1.86	—	—
—	71	70	72	74	—	—	—
+4.98	85	65	92	71	—	—	−3.74
+2.67	81	67	69	72	+1.65	—	—
—	81	64	84	70	—	−1.89	−2.19
−2.76	14	66	15	69	—	−2.38	—
−2.05	11	65	25	72	−2.18	—	−1.59
+3.12	81	67	75	73	—	—	—

^c +C.R. indicates higher percentage among men; −C.R. indicates higher percentage among women. −C.R. with values 2.00 are omitted.

SOURCE: D. C. Miller, "Economic Factors in the Morale of College Trained Adults," *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1941, p. 151.

MODEL A. BUSINESS-DICTATED

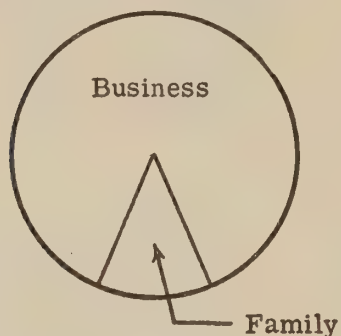
Business dictates all phases of work schedules without much concern for their effects on home life. It considers this to be a management prerogative. Workers must accommodate family life to industrial operations. The conditions for the appearance of Model A are: one-industry town with limited labor market or an industry-dominated town where there is no labor union or where labor unions are very weak.

MODEL B. BUSINESS-DOMINATED

Management is generally in control of production and scheduling of work time. It is conscious of the family needs of workers, but considers them to be

secondary to the attainment of economic goals. Management works out rules with the union concerning seniority, rights of workers to be on certain shifts and to have access to desirable jobs, and related matters, but the specific

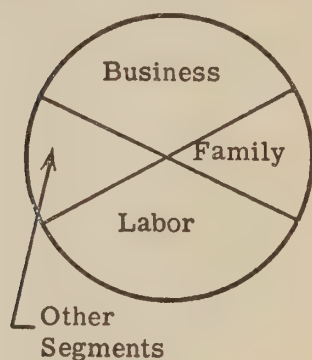
Model A. Business-Dictated



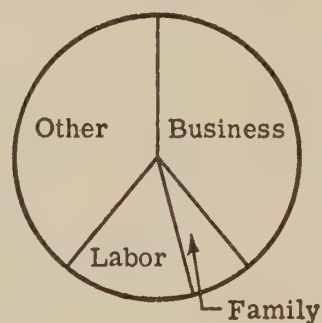
Model B. Business-Dominated



Model C. Labor-Mediated



Model D. Equilibrium



Model E. Family-Mediated

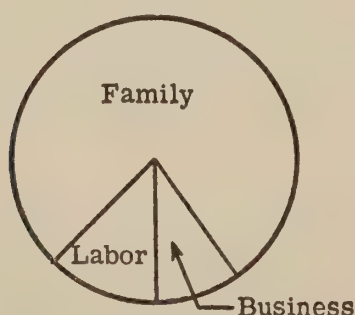


FIGURE 10.4. Five Power Complex Models of Management, Labor, and Family Relations.

authority over work assignments and scheduling is reserved as a management prerogative. The conditions for the appearance of Model B are: strong management authority, fairly strong union, and available surplus labor.

MODEL C. LABOR-MEDIATED

Unions attempt to share management's "right" to determine work schedules and other things which might affect family life. They demand codification of procedures to guard seniority and other rights of the workers. The unions work for annual wages and greater welfare benefits, to be administered by labor-management councils. The conditions for the appearance of Model C are: strong labor unions in an industry which depends on the local labor force entirely because it is highly skilled and great costs would be incurred in training new workers.

MODEL D. EQUILIBRIUM

Unions are strong and so are other segments in the community such as civic associations. Managements' decisions have to be considered in the light of their possible repercussions on their local reputations. A balance is struck between the desires of management, labor, and community and home pressures. Industry-councils plans may be established. The conditions for the appearance of Model D are: a highly integrated community responsibility shared by all citizens. Labor is highly organized, highly skilled, and actively interested in community life. Family values may become increasingly powerful if a general manpower shortage develops. A reduced work week and a higher standard of living could give the family greater choice and power over working conditions.

MODEL E. FAMILY-MEDIATED

Family values are dominant and take precedence in the determination of work conditions. The conditions for the appearance of Model E are: family ownership of an enterprise or high economic security, in which the family becomes a more powerful determiner of its own activities. This is especially likely in certain religious or coöperative communities dominated by familistic norms.

*Business-Dominated Model of the Contemporary Home:
Case of Maximum Likelihood*

This model is proposed as that which applies to the social life of most families in the United States. It represents the imposition of fairly strong union restraints while incorporating powerful management prerogatives over labor. The model may be used to predict the following features of organizational behavior:

1. Manual workers will suffer brunt of unemployment due to business cycles, seasonal fluctuations, technological displacements, etc.

2. Management will determine the number of shifts and allocate workers to shift.
3. Labor will be able to prescribe tenure rights due to seniority but will not be able to control allocation of shifts entirely.
4. Labor will be able to influence wage rates for given positions but will be unable to secure guarantees for workers' promotion patterns or annual income provisions.
5. Management will encourage job tenure and home ownership but will not guarantee employment beyond a week to week basis.

Minor differences within the pattern will be due to:

1. Strength of labor
2. Strength of business elements
3. Conditions of the labor market (labor will be relatively strong in influence in a tight labor market; and relatively weak in a surplus labor market)
4. Strength of civic elements

Pattern of Control

Management and labor seek to gain control over seven major aspects of work and family life. These areas are those of (1) hiring and firing, (2) economic payment, (3) work scheduling, (4) seniority rights, (5) leisure, (6) health and welfare, and (7) education.

The seven areas of work and family contest are discussed in the following sections.

HIRING AND FIRING

Traditionally, hiring and firing have been the prerogatives of business management. The union, in recent years, has grown increasingly concerned with the power of hiring and firing because of the possible use of such power to weaken or destroy the union. Today most contracts establish rules of union membership as requirements for employment or continuing employment. They contain provisions protecting the worker from a dismissal without warning and without a clearly stated cause. Fair practice hiring policies of the community may be policed. The dismissal of a worker is an unabridged right of management, but the union ordinarily requires management to register warnings of possible dismissal and to require a show of cause. Grievances over the show of cause often are taken to arbitration before being resolved.

On balance, management emerges as the stronger force because it does choose its labor force and it may use company time to indoctrinate workers in company precepts. It may use the shortness of dismissal notice as a disciplinary control over the worker.

ECONOMIC PAYMENT

The determination of wages and salaries affects the family level of living. Management seeks to dominate the determination of wage rates on the assumption that wage costs can only be appraised by managers who understand business operations. Furthermore, managements usually claim that increased wages can only be secured through increased productivity and that this is always distributed because of the competitive character of the labor market. Labor contests this view, claiming that management distributes as wages only what it is forced to pay. The union further asserts that it is the only agent which can secure increased wages and that the worker and his family must look to the union for an increase in his standard of living. Both parties want credit for any increased wages secured. A large part of the internal education efforts of firms and unions is devoted to "economic education." Literature is sent to the homes of the members so that all members may read the "message." Much of the interest in the schools of the community is centered in the concern of both parties that their economic emphasis be included in the curriculum and in the thinking of the teachers.

WORK SCHEDULING

The schedule of work is a control over the cycle of daily family life. The right to schedule workers for different shifts makes it possible to interrupt habitual cycles and force all family members into new habits based on the work and sleep cycle of the chief wage earner. The calling for overtime work is another disruption of the worker's daily schedule that spreads to the family. Labor tries to secure rules to give the worker advance notice of any schedule changes, to secure equitable distribution of workers to shifts, and to protect him against overtime exploitation. Management, however, holds the greater power over work schedules, claiming this as a prime necessity in maintaining responsibility for the financial requirements of the firm.

SENIORITY RIGHTS

Seniority is one of the clearest claims for special treatment. It is said that workers become more valuable as they gain experience. Loyalty to the company is greatly desired, and it is among the older workers that this allegiance becomes most important in building good worker morale. The union is also concerned with seniority. Violations of seniority in lay-offs, promotions, and pay increases are often a major source of grievance. The union is called to the defense of aggrieved workers. But there is a more important fact at stake for the union. It must protect seniority rights to assure continuity of leadership experience and to protect workers who have been loyal union members. Labor is especially energetic in seeking guarantees of seniority and to its application in wage increases and promotion. Automatic wage

increases based on length of service have been written into many contracts. Management may set probationary periods and eliminate personnel before the end of such periods, but the union polices seniority provisions against arbitrary management decisions.

LEISURE

Control of leisure is of increasing importance in winning the allegiance of workers. Management provides picnics and open houses, Thanksgiving and Christmas remembrances. It provides vacations with pay. Athletic programs are sponsored. The union supports children's camps, ball teams, bowling leagues, and pensioners' clubs. Its women's auxiliaries also have a large social program. The union is continually trying to increase the length of vacations and the number of paid holidays.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

This is an area where the family is greatly involved. Medical plans are often negotiated involving the health of both the major wage earner and his dependents. The labor union seeks to control the collection and administration of these plans. The scope and scale of health and retirement programs have made these plans of great significance in total monies collected and in their effects on the economy. The money accumulated in all health and retirement programs and pension plans was estimated in 1957 at more than 30 billion dollars with an annual income of several billions. Employers control the administration of funds for about 90 percent of covered workers, although joint administration by union and employer is found in some large unions, such as the United Mine Workers.

EDUCATION

The struggle for men's minds goes on in most work plants. Both management and labor want loyalty to their major objectives. Sometimes they are similar, but often they are in conflict. Education is the main tool through which an indoctrination process is conducted. The firm may promote an elaborate public relations program beamed to its employees or the general public via billboard, television, radio, daily and plant newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, speakers, and films. The labor union may try to answer in kind, using its own press and the mass media of the community to the extent of its resources. All of these efforts by both parties often involve the wife and other members of the family. The AFL-CIO auxiliaries were formed in 1957, uniting the 14,600 member American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor and the 13,000 member CIO Women's Auxiliaries. The AFL-CIO auxiliary is expected to gear its activities to educating union wives and sisters about the overall program of the labor movement.¹⁵

¹⁵ *Michigan CIO News*, December 12, 1957.

Business has also understood the importance of the wife and has tried to get its point of view into the home by such activities as the open house, family nights, and through plant publications sent to the home. The Steel Improvement and Forge Company of Cleveland has found that the employer newsletter has been a basic tool in its efforts to build better employee and community relations. President C. H. Smith, Jr., writes a letter every month or six weeks. This goes to each employee's home over his signature. President Smith views this newsletter as a substitute for a personal chat with each of his employees which he would like to have but is unable to arrange because of the size of his organization.¹⁶

Other industrial programs include induction and economic education. Labor counters with union education at the local, state, and university level. Both industry and union organizations are offering an increasing number of scholarships to children whose parents are in a given firm or union.

These seven areas of work life are seen as major controls which have put increasing power in the labor organization, but management still has the far greater influence over the family through its retention of hiring and firing (and dismissal through lay-offs), administration of economic payments, and scheduling of work. The business-dominated model of family influence is most appropriate of the various models of power relations. It conditions the customary relations of business, labor, and the family. The comparison of the actual provisions in a business-dictated and a business-dominated plant will show how a stronger union establishes increasing control over the seven areas of work and family life.

Comparison of Business-Dictated and Business-Dominated Plant

Figure 10.5 describes the provisions in these seven areas as they appear in a small manufacturing plant operating within a business-dictated model. In this model business exercises its management function without strong union restraints. Note the variations for managers, white collar, and manual workers. These differentials are regarded by management as important personnel provisions for attracting and holding workers especially in the managerial and white-collar groups. The controls help management adapt to business conditions and function more profitably. The union sees its weakness but calculates for future strength.

The managers are viewed as a favored group and invidious comparisons can be drawn between them and the manual workers as a bargaining lever to increase benefits for union workers. The unorganized white-collar group represents a potential field for union organization, and whenever greater

¹⁶ A Report on the Steel Improvement and Forge Company of Cleveland, Ohio, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1956.

AREAS OF WORK AND FAMILY LIFE	MANAGERS	WHITE-COLLAR CLERICAL WORKERS	MANUAL WORKERS
Hiring and Firing	3 months dismissal notice Preference for white married man or single career woman No severance pay	2 weeks dismissal notice Preference for white woman worker 1 week severance pay	1 day dismissal notice Preference for white married man or married woman No severance pay Open shop
Economic Payment	Monthly salary and executive bonus Stock participation	Salary paid every 2 weeks 30% discount on purchases	Hourly wage set by personnel department 20% discount on purchases
Work Scheduling	Permissive and flexible Day shift only Leaves of absence granted	Strict daily schedule Scheduled day shift only Lay-offs under manager's discretion	Dictated pace of work with rigorous time schedule 3 shifts Lay-offs under manager's discretion
Seniority Rights	None specified	None specified but informal system operates	Seniority rights function according to custom and eco- nomic circumstance; foreman has broad discretionary authority

Leisure	1 month vacation with pay Special travel service provided Social, professional managerial memberships paid—summer picnic, Thanksgiving, and Christmas gifts	Union-matched vacation plan of 1–2 weeks with pay based on length of service Ball teams and bowling leagues Summer picnic, Thanksgiving, Christmas gifts	1–2 weeks vacation based on length of service Bowling and baseball leagues Summer picnic, Thanksgiving, Christmas gifts
Health and Welfare	Executive retirement plan Group life insurance program	Group health and life insurance available for purchase Company credit union	Group health and life insurance available for purchase Company credit union
Education	Supervisor and management training at plant and college Company newspaper and maga- zine Conference expenses, paid scholarship program	Job up-grading training Company newspaper Induction and economic education Some scholarships for children of employees based on examination	Job training Company newspaper Induction and economic edu- cation Some scholarships for children of employees based on examination

FIGURE 10.5. Provisions for Managers, White-Collar Clerical Workers, and Manual Workers in a Small Manufacturing Plant Illustrating Business-Dictated Power Model.

AREAS OF WORK AND FAMILY LIFE		MANUAL AND WHITE-COLLAR UNIONS	WHITE-COLLAR CLERICAL WORKERS (UNORGANIZED)
Hiring and Firing	Union shop with union certified as bargaining agent No discrimination in hiring Grievance procedure established Firing only after 3 warnings from foreman to union steward	Windfall provisions established	
Economic Payment	Wage rate determination based on job evaluation 2 weeks severance pay	By management to match certain union provisions	
Work Scheduling	Notice of shift allocation Notice of overtime work	As they are written into new labor agreements	
Seniority Rights	Seniority rules covering lay-offs and job vacancies Seniority claims prevail in overtime assignments	No provision	
Leisure	Union supports children's camps, ball team, bowling league, and pensioners' club Union picnic Women's auxiliary	No provision	
Health and Welfare	Retirement supplements paid by company Health insurance for workers and dependents paid by mutual contributions of worker and company	No provision but management is now working out a plan	
Education	Union education program operating	No provision	

FIGURE 10.6. Concessions Won by Union in a Flour Mill Illustrating a Business-Dominated Power Model.

benefits can be won for union members the deprivations of white-collar workers may be pointed out to embarrass management. Even when white-collar workers are given matching benefits the union is in position to take credit. Figure 10.6 shows how the union in one plant succeeded in bringing about stronger controls over the seven areas of work and family life, placing the unorganized white-collar workers in the role of free riders. This plant represents a business-dominated model. Final authority over work assignment and scheduling is solidly maintained by management, but the union has succeeded in working out more favorable conditions for its members and incorporating them in a labor agreement.

CUSTOMARY AND CONFLICT RELATIONS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE FAMILY AND INDUSTRY

Customary Relations

THE HOME AS INCUBATOR OF WORK HABITS AND VALUES¹⁷

The home may serve as a social center, a dormitory, a restaurant, a school, a church, a playground, a laundry, a repair shop, and many other services. As a center for the consumption of goods and services it resembles in many ways the functions performed in monetary work plants where goods and services are produced for sale. As a kind of many-sided work plant, the home provides the child with early opportunities to observe and participate in work activity. The mysteries of home appliances in an age of electricity are dispelled. The discipline of manual and craft labor is slowly instilled as the child is taught responsibility for the storage of his toys, the care of his clothes, and the cleanliness of his body. The girl begins her apprenticeship for home-making by assuming responsibilities for dusting, washing dishes, and making beds. The boy may be given small hand tools so that he can imitate the parents' use of such tools, which he has observed as they repair the house and its furnishings.¹⁸ The child becomes aware of those workers who service the home—newspaper boy, plumber, doctor, gas man, TV repairman, and grocery boy—and those who work in the community—policeman, grocer, sweeper, fireman, and storekeeper.

Fathers and a working brother or sister (or mother, if she works outside the home) bring the life of other work plants into the home. There may be talk of factory, office, and school. It is in this atmosphere that attitudes are formed, aspirations found, and patterns of adjustment anticipated. The child craves growth and status. To have these, he must learn to live in work plants

¹⁷ Some of the material in the following section has been adapted from Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, Harper, 1951, pp. 521 ff.

¹⁸ A father in a lower-class family is much more likely to construct and repair objects around the living quarters than is the upper-middle or upper-class father. In the upper classes construction and repairmen are commonly utilized.

and to gain a more responsible work role. When he is ready for school, he will carry with him work and property habits that have been laid down in the home. The primary work models will have been furnished by precept and example, but mostly in the unconscious way that is example, the roots of his habits of order, punctuality, care, and regularity; and even more subtly—the roots of social skills which will determine so largely the range of achievement to which he may ultimately aspire.

Chores. The child's first work assignment in the home is called a *chore*. Chores refer to a number of unskilled, routine tasks performed in the work plant, especially in such plants as the home and the farm. These tasks may include such maintenance jobs about the home as washing dishes, removing ashes, disposing of garbage, cleaning rooms, mowing the lawn, hoeing the garden, and repairing toys and furniture.

Homework. Chores represent the demand of the home for the sustained effort of the child; homework or outside study represents the demand of the school for work time within the home. Homework refers to the periodic lesson assignments made by a teacher or teachers, requiring performance outside the classroom. These assignments constitute the main unsupervised activity for which the school holds the pupil (and parent) responsible.

Social Weaning. The initial work period might be considered part of the *social weaning* process. The child's dependence upon the home must be broken. However, the habits and emotional ties which have so long provided a shelter for him are not easily unhinged. The child must be slowly prepared for the independence which he must learn to assert, or there is no maturity. This is demonstrated by the following description given by a college man in his freshman year: "During the last two years in high school, I found that I would have to go to work in order to keep myself in spending money. How I hated the thought of going to work! The mere thought of going to work would send chills running up and down my spine. I had always helped in the garden at home and I always helped my mother clean house, but the thought of going some place else to work seemed different to me. I finally summoned up enough courage to start looking for a job."

Indoctrination of Work Values. Maturity is acquired; its achievement is recognized when the social norms which define it are satisfactorily approximated. The index of achievement is made up of the opinions of interested adults who watch the progress of the young person. Their judgments will be expressed invariably in terms of cultural expectations. Some of the most compelling imperatives are:

"You have to learn to accept responsibility."

"You have to learn to work hard."

"You have to learn to get along with people."

"You have to learn the value of money."

"You have to learn to hold a job and build a reputation for being a good worker."

These cultural expectations are indoctrinated into the child by the family and other institutions. The child hears his father and mother, and his older brothers and sisters, appraise the conduct of friends and outsiders in terms of these standards. The school reiterates and emphasizes them; the church gives its moral sanction to them.

Origins of Traditional Work Values. The roots of our traditional work values spring from a historic background which includes the experiences of survival on the frontier as well as a compelling interpretation of life called Puritanism. The frontier required hard work by everybody. Wright and Corbett put it: "Childhood was not long on the frontier, and youth was little different from manhood and womanhood."¹⁹

Children were important citizens. They lightened the labors of both men and women. And at fourteen a boy was given a rifle and assigned his loop hole in the fort, where he stood shoulder to shoulder with the men. A boy's life or a girl's was filled with chores that were half work, half play. Getting in wood, making fires, feeding stock, and going to the mill were parts of the daily round and could themselves have filled any average day. But these were not all. Other tasks were the grating and pounding of corn, bringing water from the spring, and carrying clothes to and from the pond on wash days. There was the churning, the Saturday scrubbing and scouring with split brooms . . . Children helped at all stages of woolen clothmaking from the shearing of sheep to the sewing of garments . . . Girls were kept busy with skillet and spoon, stirring and turning and mixing. They helped bake the johnny cake. They peeled turnips and potatoes. They helped with the washing at the pond or at the hollowed log trough and with the milking and churning . . . At spinning, weaving, and knitting their fingers were as skilled and delicate as their brother's with his barlow knife.²⁰

Life on the frontier made hard work a *necessity*; the influence of Puritanism made hard work a *virtue*. Puritanism may be described as a philosophy of life or that code of values which was carried to New England by the first settlers in the early seventeenth century. Any inventory of American traditions would have to commence with Puritanism. Miller and Johnson, in their comprehensive study of Puritanism, state that "its role in American thought has been almost the dominant one, for the descendants of Puritans have carried at least some habits of the Puritan mind into a variety of pursuits, have spread across the country, and in many fields of activity have played a leading part. The force of Puritanism, furthermore, has been accentuated because it was the first of these traditions to be fully articulated, and because it has inspired certain traits which have persisted long after the

¹⁹ J. E. Wright and Doris S. Corbett, *Pioneer Life*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1940, p. 98.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-88.

vanishing of the original creed. Without some understanding of Puritanism, it may safely be said, there is no understanding of America."²¹

There are four values of Puritanism which have special reference to work. These might be described as follows:

It is man's duty to know how to work and *how to work hard*.

Success in work is evidence of God's favor.

The measure of success is money and property.

The way to success is through industry and thrift.

Each of these values has left its mark on the passing generations of Americans. Hard work and long hours endured without complaint, satisfaction in manual toil, pride in one's trade or calling—these represent a core of frontier and Puritan habits and attitudes kept alive and transmitted to the passing generations. Max Weber gave the name "Protestant Ethic" to this set of values. Transition to an industrial civilization has not destroyed this ethic, although it has severely weakened it. A "Labor Ethic" has accompanied the rise of unionization. This ethic stresses that enduring individual gains are best achieved through collective bargaining achievements shared by the group; that group loyalty, in turn, is more important than individual career or wage advances; and that group security has the highest value and that it may be necessary to impose strict discipline upon the group, including restriction of output, denial of piece rates, and strike action when necessary to protect jobs.

William H. Whyte, Jr., claims that the influence of the corporation and modern life is giving rise to a bureaucratic or managerial set of values which he calls the "Social Ethic." Its major propositions are three: a belief in the group as the source of creativity, a belief in "belongingness" as the ultimate need of the individual, and a belief in the application of science to achieve the "belongingness." Child sociology in the home and progressive education in the school may be regarded as complements of the Social Ethic.

Industry relies upon the home, school, and the community to provide the training in habits and attitudes appropriate to a productive worker. The union expects the home to offer the training and loyalty necessary for it to grow as a strong protector and fighter for workers' rights. In turn, the home expects to reap rewards in higher standards of living and economic security, better jobs and careers for its young members, and more social amenities for all family members.

INDUSTRIAL LOCATION AFFECTS DAILY LIVING

Relation of Homes to Work Places. A thorough investigation of the implication of industrial location on the daily lives of people has not been made because much significant occupational and industrial data have not been subjected to ecological treatment. Before the implications of ecology can

²¹ Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, *The Puritans*, American Book, 1938, p. 1.

be appreciated fully, maps must be drawn which relate distributive characteristics of workers with their work plant. Such social base maps of a community would show the distribution of occupational groups and such characteristics as age, sex, race, ethnic, religious, and class identity. These data could then be examined for given work plants and correlated with maps of community services and social participation. While sociologists have done extensive work in ecological mapping, the field of occupational ecology has scarcely been opened, and work plant ecology is even more sparsely worked. The writers have prepared Figure 10.7 to suggest the possibilities of studying work plant ecology. This figure portrays by census tracts the residential distribution of male semiskilled workers in Flint, Michigan. From it we observe that these workers are not evenly distributed over the city. They are drawn around those plants which employ them. Around each of these four main plants low socioeconomic areas appear. Within a one-mile radius of each of these factories, rents are lower than for the average of the city.²² This suggests that the city contains a number of local industrial neighborhoods and points to the selective recruitment of industrial labor in the urban community.

Armed with work plant ecological data, one can answer the questions, "What industries recruit workers from which areas?" "Do factories draw workers from the immediate vicinity or do workers travel considerable distance to get to work?" Answers to these questions shed light on the role industry plays in the neighborhood, city, or local region. Further studies have now revealed some consistent patterns.

Three Emergent Patterns of Spatial Distribution. Studies made in Chicago; Pittsburgh; Washington, D.C.; Baltimore; Milwaukee; and Massachusetts cities confirm the Flint study, and three principal facts now emerge.²³

1. Total urban population is residually distributed about the central business district of the principal city.
2. The residential distribution of persons employed in the central district approximates that of the entire urban area population. Office workers, for example, show a distribution of residence approximating the total city population.
3. Residences of persons employed in off-center work districts are concentrated most heavily in the immediate vicinity of their place of work. The bulk of factory workers live close to their place of work and beyond two or three miles the proportion of workers decreases as the distance from the factory increases.

²² See John Kantner, *The Relationship Between Accessibility and Socio-Economic Status of Residential Lands*, University of Michigan Press, 1948, p. 24.

²³ See J. Douglass Carroll, Jr., "Some Aspects of the Home-Work Relationship of Industrial Workers," *Land Economics*, November, 1949, pp. 414-422, and "The Relation of Home to Work Places and the Spatial Pattern," *Social Forces*, March, 1952, pp. 271-282.

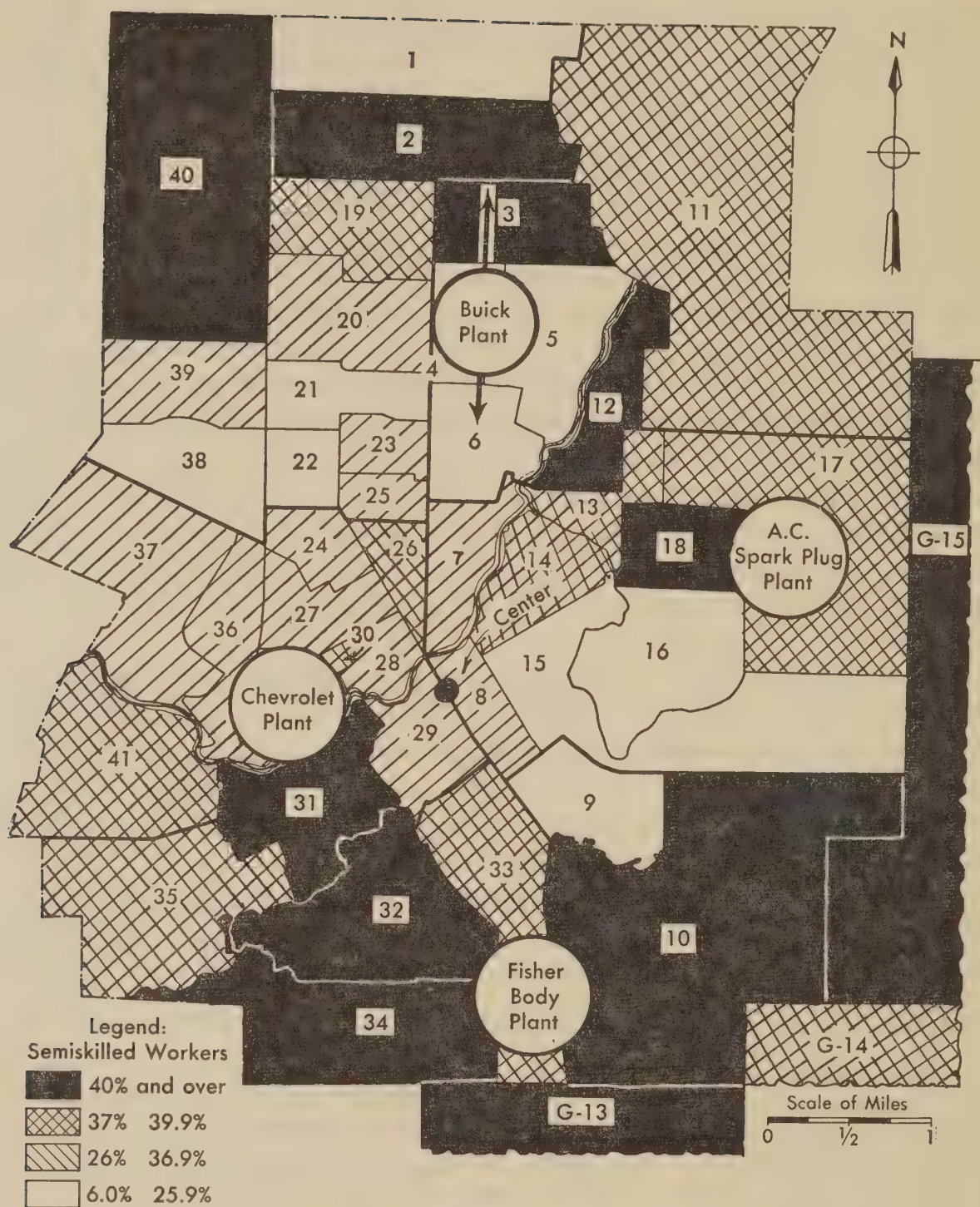


FIGURE 10.7. The Four Major Factories of Flint, Michigan, Showing the Predominant Semiskilled Workers Residences Around Each Work Plant. (John Kantrer, *The Relationship Between Accessibility and Socio-Economic Status of Residential Lands*, The University of Michigan Press, 1948.)

Walking to work is common in job travel distances under a mile, public transportation is used largely by workers living in the two- to six-mile zones, while the auto, most common of all carriers in all zones, is almost a necessity beyond the six-mile zone of most cities.

Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification. The research findings of Otis and Beverly Duncan on residential and occupational strati-

fication in the Chicago Metropolitan District show that spatial distances between occupation groups (such as professionals, managers, clericals, skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers) are closely related to their socioeconomic status.

The most segregated occupational groups are professionals and unskilled workers. All other occupational groups show some degree of segregation. However, conventional measures of socioeconomic status do not agree perfectly as to rank order of the major occupational groups. The prime case in point occurs in the middle of the socioeconomic scale at the conventional juncture of white-collar and blue-collar occupations. Clerical and kindred workers have substantially more education than craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers, and the clerical occupations are usually considered of greater prestige than the craft and related occupations. However, the craftsmen-foremen have considerably higher incomes on the average. The pattern of residential distribution clearly places the clerical group closer to the other white-collar groups than the craftsmen-foremen are. In general, it would appear that social status is more important in determining residential association of clerical with other white-collar workers than is income.²⁴

The segregation of various occupational groups puts them in relative isolation. The lack of interaction reinforces the ideas, prejudices, and myths that each group has of the other. An analysis of the isolation and communication patterns might also account for some of the tensions between industry and the community. Indeed, the generalization may be hazarded that the larger the city, the less its different segments appreciate the lives, institutions, and culture of those in other areas. This is illustrated by a college junior who remarked after a field trip through the factory section of her community (Akron, Ohio), "Honest, Dr. Laing, it seems like I don't know anything about the city. I've lived here all my life but I've never been to the East Side actually. We've driven along Cedar Street lots of times, but we've never gone inside the area. I've heard of the rubber workers at home and all the trouble they cause, but I never really saw the conditions of their homes and neighborhoods. The trip this afternoon was a revelation! Wait till I see my dad tonight. We're going to have a long talk."

Journey to Work. Many adults never have the revealing experience of this girl. They live their entire lives in one or two sections of the community. Their *job travel path* is so short or so uniform that differences in social patterns are not perceived.²⁵ Indeed, early training has so incapacitated their perception that they cannot see social differences even when exposed to them. Babbitt's reactions to the city on his job travel path illustrate this point.

²⁴ Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1955, pp. 493-503.

²⁵ K. Liepmann, *Journey to Work*, Oxford University Press, 1947.

And all the while he was conscious of the loveliness of Zenith. He admired each district along his familiar route to the office. The bungalows and shrubs and winding irregular driveways of Floral Heights. The one-story shops on Smith Street, a glare of plate glass and new yellow brick; groceries and laundries and drugstores to supply the more immediate needs of East Side housewives. The market gardens in Dutch Hollow, their shanties patched with corrugated iron and stolen doors. Billboards, with crimson goddesses nine feet tall advertising cinema films, pipe tobacco, and talcum powder. The old "mansions" along Ninth Street, S.E., like aged dandies in filthy linen; wooden castles turned into boarding-houses, with muddy walks and rusty hedges, jostled by fast-intruding garages, cheap apartment houses, and fruit-stands conducted by bland sleek Athenians. Across the belt of railroad tracks, factories with high perched water-tanks and tall stacks—factories producing condensed milk, paper boxes, lightning fixtures, motor cars. Then the business center, the thickening darting traffic, the crammed trolleys unloading, and high doorways of marble and polished granite.

It was big—and Babbitt respected bigness in anything . . . He thought of the outlying factory suburbs; of the Chaloosa River with its strangely eroded banks; of the orchard-dappled Tonawanda Hills to the North, and all the fat dairy land and big barns and comfortable herds. As he dropped his passenger he cried, "Gosh, I feel pretty good this morning!"²⁶

The location of the place of work in reference to residence is important. It has an effect on the family, neighborhood, and community routines of the worker and his family. For example, when work and residence are in the same neighborhood, family members are likely to see more of each other. Family members may eat all three of their meals around the family table. The opportunity for family activities is increased.

As the job travel path lengthens, the noon meal at home disappears and is replaced by the lunch which is carried to work or secured in a restaurant. When the breadwinner must travel great distance to work, he comes to use the home as a dormitory, but his food and recreational needs are satisfied elsewhere. He cannot see his children during meals or after school. He becomes of necessity the week-end father. Thus, the length of the job travel path determines a major part of family life. The family members organize their habits and these tend to resist change no matter how uncomfortable the daily struggle over the job travel path becomes.

If there is a change in the location of the work plant, whole sets of habits are threatened. The equilibrium of family routines, neighborhood, and community living is upset. Sometimes these changes are desirable and sometimes not. Always there is a disruption of habit patterns for the family as well as the breadwinner.

Engineers who recommend change in plant site are often unaware of the social implications of their activity. They cannot understand why men sometimes become disgruntled when operations shift to a clean new plant.

²⁶ Sinclair Lewis, *Babbitt*, Bantam, 1946, p. 31.

This problem of adjusting plant location to residence is becoming particularly keen today because many industries are moving out to the fringe areas of the cities. This industrial decentralization is changing the routines of two groups: those of the urban dweller who has to commute great distances, and those of the farmer who, as the work plant comes closer to the hinterland, turns to factory work to supplement his income, especially during the winter.

Journey to Union Hall. The local union is also affected by the increased distance which separates the residence of the worker from his union meetings. Attendance has been shown to be directly related to the average distance of workers' residences from the union hall. Workers who are fatigued from a day of manual work are not easily attracted over a long travel path in the evening to a union meeting.

THE STATUS OF OCCUPATIONAL POSITION CONDITIONS THE SOCIAL POSITION OF THE FAMILY IN THE COMMUNITY

The establishment of family status is very important for its members. When there is little mobility, family status is easily determined by such factors as landholding and hereditary position. In a highly mobile population, status is based on other factors. Instead of local reputation, the individual gains prestige and status because of his occupation, clubs, social contacts, and achievements rather than the family alone. Of these, occupation is the major factor. Thus, the positions which a person holds in industry will determine to a significant extent the status and influence of his family. Moreover, the status of the family to which a son or daughter belongs influences to a considerable extent the socioeconomic grouping of the position he or she will attain in industry.²⁷

Occupation, Family, and Social Class System. The position of the chief breadwinner in the organizational hierarchy of the company is related to what the family does outside the plant in social and leisure activities. These include such things as whether it will send its children to college, whether it belongs to a country club, whether its members belong to the Baptist or Episcopal church, and other related activities.

August Hollingshead states that a person is a member of two systems, a family and a social class system. *He is created in a family system and he falls into a social class system. The functions of each are different.* The family system is based on education and training; the social class system is composed of rankings derived from participation and identification with a group of persons who accept an individual into membership with them. A child thus has an ascribed status with which he is born and an achieved status which he gradually obtains through his own work and social participation. When he becomes head of a family his status normally becomes the status

²⁷ Miller and Form, *op. cit.*, pp. 717-748.

of his wife, and also that of his children during their early years.²⁸ W. L. Warner points out that economic factors are significant in determining class position of any family or person, but they are not sufficient to predict where a particular family or individual will be placed or to explain completely the phenomena of social class. Economic position must be translated into socially approved behavior and intimate participation with and acceptance by members of a given class.²⁹

Class Differences and Family Stability. Hollingshead states that family social position is related to family stability. He describes the stability of the various social classes as follows: the upper class contains two categories, the established and the new. The established family considered "background" of prime importance; a high degree of kinship and solidarity exists within the class. The established upper-class family is basically an extended-kinship group, solidified by lineage and a heritage of common experience in a communal setting. The nuclear family considers itself a part of a larger kin group. Economic security is very important in maintaining the family position. The degree of kinship solidarity, combined with intraclass marriages, results in high family stability both in the nuclear family and in the kin group.

The new upper-class family is characterized by phenomenal economic success in a short period of time. Its meteoric rise is a personal triumph of the moneymaker. The family is unstable in comparison with the established family. Since members of this new class rely on themselves rather than on a kin group, the result is, broadly speaking, conspicuous expenditure, fast living, and family instability.

The upper middle class (85 percent intact after 15 years or more of marriage) is a very stable unit where divorce is rare. The opportunities for professional and administrative personnel have made it possible through formal education to achieve upward mobility from the lower groups. Geographic movement is also typical of an upward-mobile family. The family is a well-knit unit because it can supply goals; e.g., security in old age and good education for its children. The lower middle class (82 percent intact after 15 years or more of marriage) often comes from a working-class background; its achievement is the result of hard work. Its main problems are economic security and a college education for the children. The drive for education in this group may set up ideals in its children's minds which may eventually split the parents and the children into different social worlds.

The working-class family is broken about twice as often as in the middle class. About one-fourth to one-third of such marriages are ended in divorce,

²⁸ August B. Hollingshead, "Class Differences in Family Stability," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1950, p. 39.

²⁹ W. L. Warner, Marcia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America*, Science Research Associates, 1949, p. 21.

death, or desertion after a family is started but not grown. This condition is caused by such factors as (1) being completely dependent upon the swings in the business cycle, (2) wife compelled to work, (3) crowded living in multiple-dwelling units (many times a relative lives with the family), (4) lack of savings for crisis periods, and (5) weak kinship ties.

In the Deep South and in Elmtown 50 to 60 percent of the lower-class family groups are broken *once or more* by divorce, death, or desertion. Economic instability is a major factor causing family instability. These lower-class families are in the most menial, poorest paid, and in the dirtiest jobs—seasonal and cyclical. One-half to two-thirds of the wives from this class are gainfully employed outside the home; many times, the sole support of the family. But economic insecurity is not the only important factor in accounting for family instability in the lower-class family groups. There is also a pattern of amoral behavior that ranges from flagrant violation of conventional sex mores to open rebellion against formal agencies of social control.

Thus, it can be concluded that an important relationship does exist between the status and power of an individual on his job and the status and power of his family. Moreover, it is shown that class differences are correlated with the degree of stability which a family possesses. Family stability, in turn, also affects work performance in industry.³⁰

PERSONNEL PROGRAMS SEEK TO UTILIZE AND STRENGTHEN
FAMILY-INDUSTRY RELATIONSHIPS

Personnel Functions and Family-Industry Relationships. Supervisory and union steward training programs generally stress the importance of family relationships to job performance.³¹ Counseling by trained social workers is a well-established procedure in many industrial plants and offices. Personnel workers often employ selection techniques which take family attitudes into account. For example, the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company conducts interviews in the homes of job applicants before hiring in certain work classifications. The personnel officer interviewing a prospective female employee may ask:

How long do you intend to work with the company?

What is the attitude of your husband (or parent) about your wish to work?

What does your family (or husband) think about the telephone company as a place to work?³²

In addition to the interview, the personnel officer observes the appearance of the home, the behavior of other members within it, and the comments

³⁰ Hollingshead, *op. cit.*

³¹ This can be clearly seen in the job relations manual and the union relations manual, *Training Within Industry*, War Manpower Commission, United States Government Printing Office, 1943.

³² Based on interviews with company representatives made by Carl Haugerud on May 17, 18, 1956, at Seattle, Washington.

made. The officer is particularly interested in diagnosing any home factors which may prove to be disturbing to employee performance. Experience has demonstrated that a number of employee problems may arise in the home.

Disturbing Home Factors Which Affect Behavior on the Job. There are cases in which girls have transferred from out of town to get away from their home or family. It has been found that unless these women obtain good accommodations and make new friends, the unsatisfactory home situation will create job problems also.

Some personal problems stem from economic factors. For example, many times it is necessary for the wife to seek work to supplement the husband's income, and one or the other may not approve of the wife's working. In many cases, a wife has to quit upon her husband's insistence.

The emotional setting of the family is extremely important. Cases have shown that the married woman who has home duties is often overburdened, and this takes a toll which is reflected in job performance. Before the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company will hire a married woman with children, the company must be assured that the children have stable and reliable baby sitters, because if the sitter later leaves, the mother may be forced to resign to care for the children. In addition, problems are sometimes presented by the girl who is working and at the same time is adjusting to new demands of married life.

Irregular attendance is often an indication of leisure or family habits. There are cases in which the girls in a section will not attend work the day following a social gathering. By keeping an attendance record, the personnel department can single out those employees who have a chronic pattern on their attendance charts.

Personnel Practices to Improve Family-Industry Relations. There are various means by which the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company tries to make the job more satisfying in order to improve family-industry relationships. These practices are common to many business and industrial firms. They include making the job more attractive and holding family nights.

1. *Making the job more attractive.* The company realizes that this is more than an economic matter; that women work for reasons other than economic. It provides a benefit plan, paid vacations, and payment for injuries on the job; the longer the employee's service, the higher the rate of pay and the greater the benefits. Also those who stay with the company move laterally, which in many instances does not involve a pay raise. This movement is a form of recognition, and cases have shown that it is more important than a salary raise.

2. *Family nights.* Families and friends are brought to the plant after hours. A guide explains to the guests the operations in the particular office. The company believes that the family night performs a social function. The

work associates whom the employee talks about at home are met by his and her friends and family. This not only serves to tie the various employee families together, it also ties more securely the individual family-industry relationship. The employees bring their friends and families because they are proud of their work plant. Also the various work sections get together four or five times per year with their families for a social gathering at one of the employee's homes.

3. The personnel department has trained personnel to assist any employee who needs help with a personal problem. Counseling about community facilities and assistance is available. Information and help with social security, recreation, credit, safety, training, and many other needs are available.³³

1955	Guaranteed annual wage Arbitration of medical grievances Five-year statute of limitations Union shop
1950	Family health insurance
1949	Pensions
1948	Cost-of-living escalator Annual improvement factor Health insurance Right to see time-study sheets
1947	Paid holidays
1946	Wage increases to maintain purchasing power
1941	Equal pay for equal work Impartial umpire
1940	Differential on second and third shifts Paid vacations
1939	Call-in pay Time-and-a-half after 40 hours
1937	Grievance procedure Seniority Committeemen on the job Right to belong to a union

FIGURE 10.8. Gains Won by the United Auto Workers for Its Members, 1937-1955. (Adapted from *Ammunition*, June, 1957, p. 49.)

Labor organization is responding to the family needs of its members as described in Figure 10.8. This figure shows the gains won by the United Auto Workers for its members during the years 1937-1955. The AFL-CIO Community Services Program, with its plan to place union representatives

³³ Information received from the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company by Carl Haugerud, as cited.

on welfare boards and its training program for union counselors, is a demonstration of the recognized significance of union-family relationships.

Conflict Relations

INFLUENCE NETWORK FOR THE CASE OF MAXIMUM LIKELIHOOD

The family is not a powerful institution in our society. It is a small group in a social structure that generates such giant groups as large corporations, labor federations, farm federations, and consumer coöperatives. The family is generally dependent upon some organizations to provide a means of earning a living, and this dependency places the family in a vulnerable position.

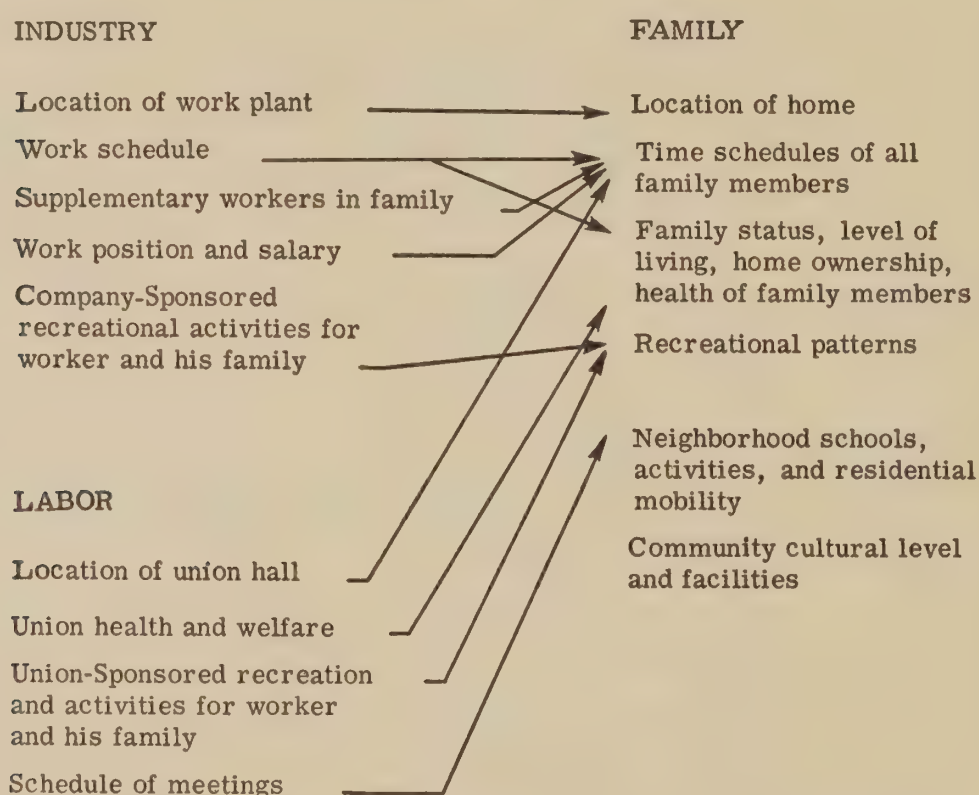


FIGURE 10.9. Influence Network of the Business-Dominated Family: Case of Maximum Likelihood.

Most families can never be sure that they have a stable residential base because their nexus to a community is a job. There is no lobby or organization of consumers that is strong enough to provide an effective force for the family. To have an organized voice it must seek support from a union, a church, a school, a citizens' league, or a political party. Even so, it can never be sure that the voice of the family is being given a full hearing. The power model for the case of maximum likelihood has been described as the *business-dominated family*. Such a label may oversimplify the pressures which surround the organizational complex of industry, labor, and the family. Figure 10.9 attempts to depict a network of influence relationships which may be observed around family interests.

Figure 10.9 shows how industry by location of the work plant influences the location of the residences of its work force and establishes the character and length of the job travel path. The work position, work schedule, and wage or salary established in the plant largely determine the family status, level of living, home ownership, and health. The company-sponsored recreational and social activities are another factor in influencing leisure patterns. If there are supplementary workers, the family schedule and living patterns are altered. The union can have many similar effects on the time schedule of all family members, and its success or failure in collective bargaining has effects on family expenditures. Leisure activities are also influenced by union-sponsored recreational and social activities. Both business and labor may exercise great influence over neighborhood and community development, depending on their interest and aggressiveness. The family, in turn, can influence the attendance and the productivity of its workers; it can increase union loyalty or weaken it. It can assist industry by helping it recruit good workers and by building the reputation of the community as a good place to live and work.

POINTS OF ISSUE

Three points of issue may be set out. These include:

1. Subordination of family life to plant and market needs requiring economic costs in case of a lay-off, lockout, fire, or other accident. Social costs also occur in cases of transfer, shift changes, overtime demands, or demands on the wife as hostess.
2. Subordination of family life to union needs requiring economic costs in a strike. Social costs may occur because of time given to union leadership and activity.
3. Conflict over the center of recreational and social affairs, as demonstrated when both industry and labor vie for dominance of athletic league sponsorship, employee clubs, picnics, and holiday celebrations.

A few illustrations of points of issue show how the family is subordinated to industry and market needs. It is important to understand that these issues and the consequences occurred in a democratic society. However, the business-dominated family may suffer like consequences under any political organization where economic productivity is a major goal.

Illustration of Two Closed Rubber Plants. In the closing of two rubber plants in New Haven and Hartford, Connecticut (L. Candee and Company and Hartford Rubber Works), the major burden of the industrial changes fell on the worker and his family despite attempts of industry to alleviate the situation.³⁴ The employees were allowed to adjust to the shut-

³⁴ Ewan Clague and Walter J. Couper, *After the Shutdown*, Yale University Press, Part I, 1934. Cf. Leonard P. Adams and Robert L. Aronson, *Workers and Industrial Change*, Cornell University Press, 1957.

down of the two companies in the following ways: (1) the employees were allowed to find employment elsewhere while still on the job, (2) the companies offered to transfer the employees to other plants, (3) the companies tried to secure employment for their workers, and (4) long-service employees were given pensions of varying amounts. The study showed that since the family units were strong and since many employees owned their own homes, mobility was decreased. Most of the attempts to relocate the workers in other types of work were unsuccessful. The study also illustrated that sex and age determined reemployment as well as skill. The skilled men fared the worst. They had to resort to work of a lower skill and wage; a loss of status accompanied this drop. Men of the highest status had the least success in maintaining their standard of living when lay-offs were made. (However, other studies show that skilled workers are reemployed sooner than less skilled workers.) When plants are closed and an economic depression develops, not only do the individual families lose but also the community. There is a loss of purchasing power, borrowing results, mortgages are foreclosed, and women are forced from the labor market.

Illustration of the Destruction of a Major Industry by Fire. An illustration of the destruction of a small town's only major industry by fire is the destruction of the Van Fleet Lumber Mill (August 21, 1955) at Rainier, Oregon. Rainier is a small town located about 40 miles down the Columbia River in Columbia County opposite Longview, Washington. The Van Fleet mill employed about 260 employees during normal operations, giving a total pay roll to the Rainier area of \$6,765,000 over the past eight years. When the industry was destroyed, these workers had to find other employment in the area or move away from Rainier; an economic crisis was present in the town. Immediately the Rainier Commercial Club, the Chamber of Commerce, the Port of Rainier, and other groups met to determine what action could be taken to have the mill rebuilt. If the mill was not rebuilt, the town would practically cease to exist. The relationship between industry and home in this case is quite obvious. Between the time that the mill burned and the time that the new \$1,400,000 mill will be rebuilt, the families involved have to seek their livelihood in other jobs, many away from Rainier. In some cases, the families have been split in order to obtain an income. Also, their spending power for the necessities of life has been diminished.

Illustration of the Closing of a Town's Main Industry Due to Depletion of Resources. An example illustrating the closing of a town's main industry due to the depletion of a region's natural resources is obtained from the closing of the Shepard and Morse Lumber Company of Westport, Oregon. At this site, one of the first lumber mills was constructed in the Northwest in the 1830's. The present mill had been operating for 46 years. Some 150 sawmill workers, many of whom had spent their lives in the plant,

were left without work because of the lack of abundant timber. Not only did the company provide most of the jobs for Westport, but it operated a grocery store, a butcher shop, a recreation and pool hall, a 70-room hotel, and 34 single-dwelling homes. Gone will be the \$50,000 monthly pay roll from the area. Although the company made an effort to find jobs for its discharged workers, it was not very successful. It was believed that most of the workers would find jobs when the logging operations opened in the spring. Meanwhile unemployment and the need for residential movement faces many families. Not only does the community lose as a result of such socioeconomic factors, but the home also. The suffering may be both economic and social. It can affect each member of the family with various feelings of insecurity.

Dynamics of Issue Resolution

ANALYSIS OF A CASE ISSUE: THE STRIKE AT ST. HELENS

History of the Case. An example of the effect of an industrial strike on the home and community is illustrated in a year-long strike of Local 2752, AFL-CIO Lumber and Sawmill Workers, against the Fir Tex Insulating Board Company and the Western Insulated Products, Incorporated, at St. Helens, Oregon. St. Helens is the county seat of Columbia County, a county rich in forest lands. It is situated on the Columbia River about 20 miles north of Portland; in 1950, its population was 4500. Besides the two struck forest product plants which operate in the city, there is also a paper plant of the Crown Zellerbach Corporation and a mill of Pope-Talbot Company. St. Helens history has been that of a mill town with strong labor unions.

The strike against these two companies was begun March 31, 1955; about 425 men from Local 2752 were involved. After about two months, the strike issues remaining to be resolved were vacations and the termination of the contract. When these issues were not reconciled, the management issued a type of ultimatum stating that if the strike was not settled by Monday, June 9, 1955, production would start without a contract. Thus management began production with "scab" labor in the form of high school and college students and migrant workers; three work shifts numbering about 300 men commenced operation. During the year of the strike, there were attempts by federal and state authorities to negotiate a settlement. All attempts failed.

It is of particular interest for our observation to note the effect of this strike situation upon the community and its families. The force and effects of this issue become apparent by reading the letters to the editor, the editorial page, and the news section of the local paper.

One wife wrote the following letter to the editor, and it was published in the Readers' Forum of the *St. Helens Sentinel Mist*.

It was said "what is America coming to with women and children standing on the picket lines, etc." It seems to me that it is about time that women and their children become concerned with their husbands' and fathers' jobs—especially when you desire to have your children grow up with the belief that right is right and that they should not take anything that does not belong to them—even a job! I want my children to know what it is like to stand on the picket line and see people going through the line, and to realize what it is like to be called a "scab," so that when they grow up and work they will remember what we've tried to teach them—that "money is not the most important thing in the world"—that love for one's fellow man, honesty and to have the backbone to deny one's self for the things they believe in are much more important. I would much rather their father deny us the "worldly things" than to have him go against his principles and the things he believes in. After all, had it not been for men like these who are denying themselves and their families, wages would definitely not be what they are today and working conditions would certainly be tough. We come from a part of the country where unions are few and far between and believe me I have made it a point to buy union, patronize union stores and to teach my children to do the same.

It is foolish for one to say, "I believe in unions" and then turn around and make the statement that "someone away from St. Helens tells the men to strike"—unions just don't work that way. The international officers always say, "Avoid a strike if at all possible."

The "almighty dollar" has always induced some people to go against principle, integrity and honesty, but I for one would rather go hungry than to take the bread from a child's hand, and that is just what the scabs are doing in this strike. Yes, I too, wonder what America is coming to! No, this is not Russia, China nor other Communist countries, and it is a well known fact that the labor unions have done much to rid this country of Communists.

It is hard for me to see how anyone could believe that 400 men could be so wrong and a very few men right! It seems to me that it would be worth investigation before expressing an opinion—but then there is that "dollar" again.

I'm pleased to say that I am very proud of the way the men have conducted themselves on the picket line—no obscene language, unless you call the word "scab" obscene. Did you ever bother to look up the word scab in the dictionary? Other than being a crust on a sore, it also means one who takes the place of a striker; a strike-breaker. Furthermore, it is hard to understand how one could hear obscene language when one drives through the picket line at a high rate of speed with rolled-up windows.

The union gives millions of workers a sense of dignity, independence and achievement, a measure of security, and hope of a better life. Unionism was the principal instrument of the working class in rising from the condition in which it found itself at the inception of capitalism.

Yes, I am of the so-called "low gender" who stood on the picket line and called a scab a scab, and I do not bow my head in shame. I can still walk down the street and look people in the eye without flinching. And if my children grow up to say "I did wrong by standing on the picket line" then I will know that our teaching of the difference between right and wrong was all in vain.

I'm signing my name to this as I am not ashamed of my convictions and figure that if anyone believes in what they put down on paper they too would do the same.

Mrs. C. F. Waggoner, Jr.³⁵

The effects of the strike on St. Helens have been obvious. (1) Many of the families from the struck plants (about one-fifth of the total population) have left the community. These people were once a part of the community; thus, the community suffers. (2) Other families of the struck plants have sunk into debt or they have used up their savings; thus, they become a future liability of the community. (3) The purchasing power of the community has diminished; local business establishments have lost income; outside markets have been jeopardized to the manufacturer. By far the greatest loss has been suffered by the individual families. They have had to curtail severely their spending by purchasing only the necessities of life. At first, the union granted small allotments to the strikers' families. In time, this fund was depleted, and the only means by which the families could subsist was on the extension of credit or by finding a temporary job. The effects on the home are as follows: (1) There is less income for necessities; there is no money available for leisure time. Borrowing puts future liabilities on the family. (2) The wife may seek employment as a clerk in a local store, or the husband may leave the home to go into the woods or go to Portland to find work; as a result the family unit is weakened. (3) If one or more parents leave the home, the children may suffer or even be left without proper supervision. (4) There results a loss of status and power for the strikers and their families. They are without work; scab laborers have taken their place in the work plant; and after a year the community tends to look down on the striking workers. (5) When the issues become as explosive and as involved as in this case, the people involved seem to lose respect for society and its members. When women and children stand on the picket line and shout various slogans at management and the "scab" workers, when tires are slashed, when the nonunion workers enter the plant's gates in closed armed automobiles, when management has movie cameras situated on top of box-cars near the gate to record any violence that might occur, a situation prevails which disrupts home and community. The editor of the daily paper writes, ". . . the community of St. Helens bows lower under the lash of a scarred brotherhood, stricken economy, and an erupted society."

Issue Vector Analysis. The development of this strike issue reveals a number of significant events. The chronology is as follows:

1. March 31, 1955—Strike against company begins.
2. May 25, 1955—Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service enters dispute.
3. June 2, 1955—Company announces reopening of plant without a labor contract.

³⁵ *The St. Helens Sentinel Mist*, July 1, 1955.

- 4. June 6, 1955—Company reopens plant, using nonunion labor. Union sets up labor picket line.
- 5. June 17, 1955—Company files suit for injunction against union, alleging that defendant unions conspired to damage business and property and to interrupt traffic and entrance to plant.
- 6. June 22, 1955—Hearing on injunction suit. Injunction granted.
- 7. July 26, 1955—Company replies to letter to Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service that strikers “are not entitled to replace or displace any workmen that have been hired since commencement of the economic strike from the jobs held by such workmen at the time the strikers decide to return to work. . . . At the present time we have a very substantial force of permanently employed production and maintenance workers in our plants.”
- 8. Sept. 1, 1955—Local union turns negotiations over to international union.
- 9. Feb. 3, 1956—State Board of Conciliation conducts a public hearing in St. Helens.
- 10. March 27, 1956—Local 2752 petitions state for arbitration board to hear the parties. State Board of Conciliation recommends arbitration.
- 11. March 30, 1956—Company rejects arbitration plan, saying, “It disregards the irrefutably established fact that local union No. 2752 does not represent any of our full and complete staff of production and maintenance employees and has not represented such employees for the past six months or more.” Employees hired after strike have formed their “own” new local union for bargaining purposes.
- 12. March 31, 1956—First anniversary of strike. Seven state police cars patrol Highway 30 leading into St. Helens and along plant road. Pickets shout “rats,” “scabs,” at some 20 carloads of nonunion workers who entered plant in a convoy. Company officials, fearful of an overt act, had alerted the State Police and the County Sheriff. Company placed a movie camera crew atop a boxcar near the entrance and films were made of the entry of the convoy of workers and of night-shift workers leaving. More than 300 workers are currently employed at the plant which is running three shifts.³⁶

A vector analysis of the forces represented is shown in Figure 10.10.

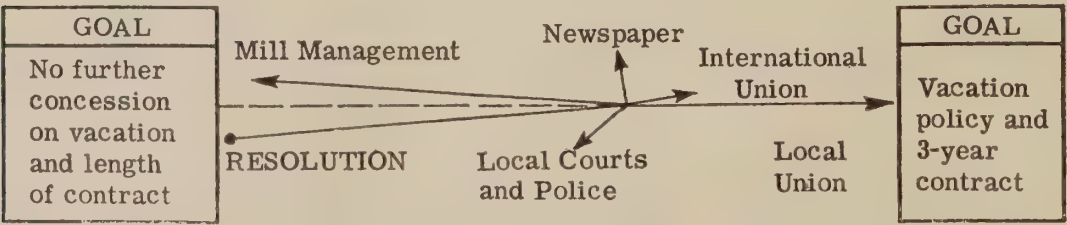


FIGURE 10.10. Issue Vector Analysis of the Strike at St. Helens.

Management was able to assemble overwhelming power after it was able to recruit a nonunion work force and reopen its struck plant. The local courts and police enabled management to protect its property and provide access

³⁶ All facts are reports from the local newspaper, *The St. Helens Sentinel Mist*.

for the workers. Because of the provision which enabled it to replace the previous workers without penalty, it was possible to replace the previous union with a new local union. Thus was Local 2752 AFL-CIO broken.

Local 2752 could not rally strength from any source except state or federal conciliation services. These services kept a semblance of negotiation alive, but legal provisions prevented the government agencies from any role except conciliation. The daily newspaper, through its editorial columns, began to ask if a long strike was worth the economic and social loss.

CHANGES IN BUSINESS, LABOR, AND THE FAMILY

SOCIAL TRENDS AFFECTING THE FAMILY

Automation in Industry. As automation advances, occupational shifts are required, giving rise to upgrading of occupational skill. This trend is accompanying an extension of formal education. The manual worker of the first half of the twentieth century was an elementary school graduate; the manual worker of the second half of the present century will be a high school graduate. His income in real purchasing power has given him middle-income status that may be expected to increase with a slowly declining work week. The four-day work week does not seem too far away for the industrial worker.³⁷

Growth of Large-Scale Enterprise and Decentralization. As large-scale enterprise continues to grow with its present patterns of decentralized operations, transfer of workers and their families may be expected to become common. A large number of workers now transfer from coast to coast, moving east and west as well as north and south. This movement accelerates as industrialization equalizes in all regions of the United States. A large number of American families are now living in every part of the world as American workers serve in military, industrial, and professional occupations.

Increased Entry of Women into Labor Market. Women workers now make up more than one-third of the labor market. The increase is brought about largely by the increasing proportion of married women who are now working. When the wife leaves the home many relationships are altered. Job holding may involve the following consequences for the wife and family:

A job makes the housewife more efficient; she must organize her housework because of the limited time available to her. The husband must help with the housework or a housekeeper may be secured.

A job will broaden her outlook; she becomes more concerned with public and community affairs.

³⁷ William A. Faunce, "Automation in the Automobile Industry," *American Sociological Review*, August, 1958, pp. 401-407.

A job offers a good vent for surplus energy. Many women do not enjoy club work; thus, a job gives these people a chance to express themselves and to maintain their individuality.

Working takes away the time available for home-making and perhaps limits care of children. Some claim this is conducive to juvenile delinquency; some say it increases the independence and self-reliance of the child.

Most women work to supplement their husband's income. This makes a higher level of living possible for the family.

When a wife works, there may be fewer extras in the home; e.g., baking, homemade desserts, etc. Just the essentials may be maintained.

Growth of Community Consciousness. Business, labor, and the family are giving greater attention to community and family concerns. Health and leisure are given increased attention by all parties. This is demonstrated by concern for community development, including parks, playfields, and youth centers. It shows itself in the development of more social, educational, and recreational programs. These programs parallel the emphasis on the companionship functions of the family and the focus on the social needs of the child.

Albert E. Redman of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce said recently, "Industry needs the city as much as the city needs industry. Any city, town, or community desirous of attracting and keeping industry must follow a 'comprehensive plan.'"³⁸

New residential patterns have sometimes encouraged neighborhood and community consciousness. Planned building developments are increasingly laid out on neighborhood principles. Decentralization of industry has often brought with it a plan of residential development for workers near the plant. Some industries are encouraging factory workers and executives to live together in communities as a means of building greater social cohesion. For example, a suburban development near Richmond, Virginia, is heavily populated with DuPont families. Barely a year old, the development has many of the traditional attributes of a neighborhood. Neighbors visit back and forth. Parents organize community projects for the kids. Each house has an acre of land and there is a great amount of leisure time given to gardening and "do-it-yourself" projects.

SIGNIFICANCE OF ALTERNATIVE MODELS

The appearance of Equilibrium Model D may be anticipated as a future power relationship. It will be recalled that a major characteristic of the model is the strength of labor, which forces management decisions to be considered in the light of possible repercussions on its local reputation. The home, through union, church, and school, is able to express its needs more

³⁸ *Newsletter*, Pennsylvania Department of Commerce, June, 1958, p. 4.

assuredly. The community becomes more highly integrated with concern for community responsibility of all citizens.

There is a growing interest in the broadening of social responsibility in business decisions. The industry-council plan was referred to in Chapter 9. Such councils would be organized to represent all interested parties and would be designed to consider the social interest. These councils would deal with the problems of the industry or region or national economy with a view to social welfare. They would perform policy-making and judicial functions and, subject to general supervision by the state, would be empowered to enforce their decisions.³⁹

A number of proposals have been made to broaden the present composition of boards of directors to include *one or more directors who represent the points of view of workers, suppliers, consumers, the local community, or the "general public."*⁴⁰ Still another possible institutional change which might help to strengthen the equilibrium model would be the *social audit*. Just as businesses subject themselves to audits of their accounts, they might subject themselves to periodic examination by independent outside experts (some representing the consumer) who would evaluate the performance of the business from the social point of view. The social auditors would make an independent and disinterested appraisal of a company's policies regarding prices, wages, human relations, community relations, etc. They would then submit their report to management with evaluation and recommendations.⁴¹

The prospects for the growth of the equilibrium model are based on:

1. The growth of leisure and increased strength of education, welfare, church, and government in support of family and social values.
2. A long-range shortage of labor calling for a greater concern with family demands. A higher standard of living and a reduced work week may give the family greater choice and power over working conditions.
3. Increasing strength of labor and greater ability to resist management or market demands.
4. Increasing sense of responsibility to the community by the organizations and associations of business and labor.

Labor-mediated Model C is a genuine possibility in cities where labor is very strong. Business-dictated Model A is not common and is vanishing. However, one-industry towns with weak labor organizations may continue to exhibit this power model for an indefinite period.

³⁹ J. F. Cronin, *Catholic Social Principles*, Bruce, 1950.

⁴⁰ See Beardsley Ruml, *Corporate Management as a Locus of Power*, Third Annual Conference on the Social Meaning of Legal Concepts, New York University School of Law.

⁴¹ Howard R. Bowen, *Social Responsibilities of the Business Man*, Harper, 1953, pp. 155-156.

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FIELD PROJECTS

1. Prepare a spot map showing the residences of various parts of the work force in a small office, factory, school, or other work plant. Mark the residences of the (a) top managers, (b) middle managers, (c) supervisors, (d) white-collar clerks, and (e) manual workers.

2. Analyze time schedules of various workers. Discover amount of time spent in the home. Find out how time is spent.
3. Study family participation in a white-collar suburb which is composed largely of middle managers and young professionals. For suggestions see William J. Whyte, "The Future, c/o Park Forest," *Fortune*, June, 1953, pp. 126 ff., and also his "How the New Suburbia Socializes," *Fortune*, August, 1953, pp. 120 ff.
4. Elicit experiences of persons with varying job travel paths. Interview those who walk to work, those who drive an auto, those who are part of a car pool, and those who use public transportations.
5. Interview workers who have lunch at home and compare these workers with those who have lunch at or near their place of work.
6. Interview the husband and wife in a number of families where the chief breadwinner is unemployed. For suggestions see Mildred Komarovsky, *The Unemployed Man and His Family*, Dryden, 1940.
7. Interview the husband and wife in a number of families where the chief breadwinner is a member of a union now on strike.
8. Compare the family routines of two workers with the same job but who work different shifts.

PART III

Business, Labor, and Community Power Structure

When issues arise or programs are initiated which are of general concern to the community, leaders act to marshal support of groups and associations. This section focuses on the wide interinstitutional character of issues that challenge the existing equilibrium of power relations. The structure and dynamics of community power constitute the substantive content. The reader is introduced to the component parts of the community power structure and is provided with an analysis of these parts as they are revealed in large and small cities of the United States and Western nations generally. The research techniques for identifying community power structures and power processes are introduced. Analysis is centered upon the interaction of business and labor with all other institutions and associations which are activated by community issues and turn the community into an arena of conflict.

Chapter 11

THE STRUCTURE OF COMMUNITY POWER

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES AND PROBLEMS OF POWER

Issues in Institutional Relations

COMPONENTS OF COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

Institutional Power Structure of Society

Institutionalized Power Structure of the Community

Community Power Complex

Equilibrium Theory of Community Power Complex

Power Arrangement Typologies of the Community Power Complex

Top Influentials

Solidarity of Top Influentials

Democratic

Fluid influentials

Core elite

Exclusive elite

INTERNAL ARRANGEMENTS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

Contest for Power Among Components

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES AND PROBLEMS OF POWER

Part II of this volume analyzed the relationships among labor, business, and another social institution in the community. In order to understand the basic structure of the interinstitutional complex several things were done:

- (1) a power model of maximum likelihood was elaborated in great detail,
- (2) the customary relationships among the organizations within the model

were emphasized, and (3) the involvement of agencies outside the triadic relationship was more or less excluded from the analysis. Part II also considered conflict processes. Not only were case materials presented which described challenges to the model of maximum likelihood, but new trends in institutional relationships and the forces impelling them were identified.

In the crucible of community life this paired institutional comparison is an oversimplification. Actually, all institutional agencies are constantly interacting and adjusting to each. To be sure, there may be institutional areas in which unions and management become involved only negligibly, intermittently, and indirectly. It is, of course, impossible to examine all of these involvements in detail. The task now is to define community power structure, and then to examine the role of management and unions in it.

Community power may be defined as *the network of influences among persons and organizations involved in community issues or projects*.

Many writers have conceived of power as a latent or potential attribute of persons or organizations. Rossi says that in the case of power we imply a relationship in which actor or organization A affects the behavior of actor or organization B, because B wishes to avoid the sanctions which A would employ if B did not comply with his wishes.¹ Abramson and his associates have also contended that social power is potentially for action. Power denotes the existence of possible lines of action beyond commitments. The more open lines of action available to a group, the greater its power, because power functions in an unorganized field. Power diminishes when open lines of action become closed.²

Influence is a concept closely related to power, and many social scientists use the two concepts interchangeably. However, in the case of "influence," behavior is altered in the absence of perceived sanctions. Power is used here to include influence. The manifestations of community power are observable in many concrete acts. These are seen when organizations and persons either do or get others to do such things as:

- Persuade groups or persons to take a particular position
- Persuade others to proselyte
- Give financial support
- Assume leadership roles
- Write letters or send telegrams
- Get advice from others
- Make deputizations
- Get officials to use their influence and power

¹ Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision Making," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, March, 1957, p. 425.

² E. Abramson, H. A. Cutter, R. W. Kautz, and M. Mendelson, "Social Power and Commitment, A Theoretical Statement," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1958, pp. 15-22.

- Get organizations to work actively for a position
- Link efforts of two or more organizations
- Obtain endorsements to legitimize a position
- Create new special-interest organizations or committees
- Get key people to give public speeches
- Get key people to play special roles as mediators or as arbitrators
- Get favorable press releases for a position
- Mail out literature on issues; circulate petitions
- Hold home meetings
- Use force or threaten to use it
- Boycott goods and services
- Blacklist
- Withhold privileges and rewards desired by others
- Bribe others
- Blackmail or threaten blackmail

As suggested earlier, the broadest conception of community is the area of residence of the labor force around functional centers and the accompanying web of institutional relations which support the full range of collective activities. It is often difficult to identify the process by which institutional patterns are maintained by studying customary relationships. For this reason, Part III will attempt to identify the roles which business and unions play in attempts to change and counterattempts to maintain local institutional patterns. This will necessarily lead to the study of how community policy is formed, how projects are initiated and carried out, and how issues are developed and settled. In short, we will focus on the dynamics of community power structure, with special attention to the role of business and the unions.

Issues in Institutional Relations

Considerable variation may exist in communities in the extent to which business and unions are involved in interinstitutional changes. A typology of four different industry-community power models may be constructed. These include (1) an economic-interest model, (2) a public welfare model, (3) a community hostility model, and (4) a status contest model. An *economic-interest model* exists when community issues in any institutional sector are usually translated into economic terms, with groups aligning themselves in accord with their general economic interests. A *public welfare model* is an arrangement in which the general welfare is usually considered more important than the separate interests of business and the unions. A *community hostility model* exists when the community is often arrayed against private economic interests, and institutes punitive measures to change their goals and methods. A *status contest model* exists when func-

tional groups constantly struggle not so much over community goals but over the leadership and the methods of achieving common objectives. Although communities representing each model may be found, the economic-interest and status contest models recur most frequently in Western societies.

Of course, some local issues may not be directly relevant to economic affairs and thus may not involve economic-interest groups. The succeeding chapters will largely limit themselves to community issues which do involve business and unions in some way. Although this will result in ignoring some local problems, most of them will be handled because economic organizations are central to the power systems of most communities in Western societies.

One of the most striking features of modern cities is their endlessly changing character. Technological changes in industry and the rise of new industries pose constant problems of adjustment to both economic and other community institutions. The influx of different types of migrants, changing market conditions, the exhaustion of local resources, the enactment of state and federal legislation, and invading social movements force local institutions to adapt continuously.³ Many of these changes force only minor adaptations in the locality. Examples of these are the introduction of new machinery, building new houses, changing school curricula, founding new church denominations, expanding mass communications agencies, increasing the budget of the community chest, and making economies in garbage collections. Such routine changes usually occur within institutional sectors and do not challenge community power relationships.

What are some of the conditions that activate elements of the community power structure? Three major sources of issues may be identified. The first is institutional disturbances which result from inability to resolve their internal problems, or conflicts between two or more institutions. An illustration of the former is a protracted strike which can only be settled by non-economic agencies, such as government or a citizens' committee. Many issues continually arise within community-wide institutions, such as government, education, and welfare. Interinstitutional conflicts are illustrated in Part II of this book. The second main source of issues appears in response to changes introduced from outside the community, such as racial integration in the schools, a state fair employment practices act, and related national movements. Third, conflicts may arise over issues or projects which have no specific institutional sponsorship, such as the building of a hospital, a sports arena, or a civic center.

The common factors in these sources of issues are that on-going relationships are challenged by events or projects; that new definitions of

³ See among others F. R. Allen; H. Hart; D. C. Miller; W. F. Ogburn; and M. F. Nimkoff; *Technology and Social Change*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957.

relations are demanded; and that there is resistance to threatened changes.⁴ In short, the community behavior of persons and groups may be changed despite their resistance and against their desires.⁵ Of course, persons and groups may exert authority continuously to maintain community arrangements, to prevent the rise of community issues, and to resist change generally. These, too, are problems of community power.

COMPONENTS OF COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

In order to appreciate the full range of community power, five of its components must be taken into account. Each of these components will be briefly defined and later elaborated.

- 1. The *institutional power structure of the society* refers to the relative distribution of power among societal institutions.
- 2. The *institutionalized power structure of the community* refers to the relative distribution of power among local institutions.

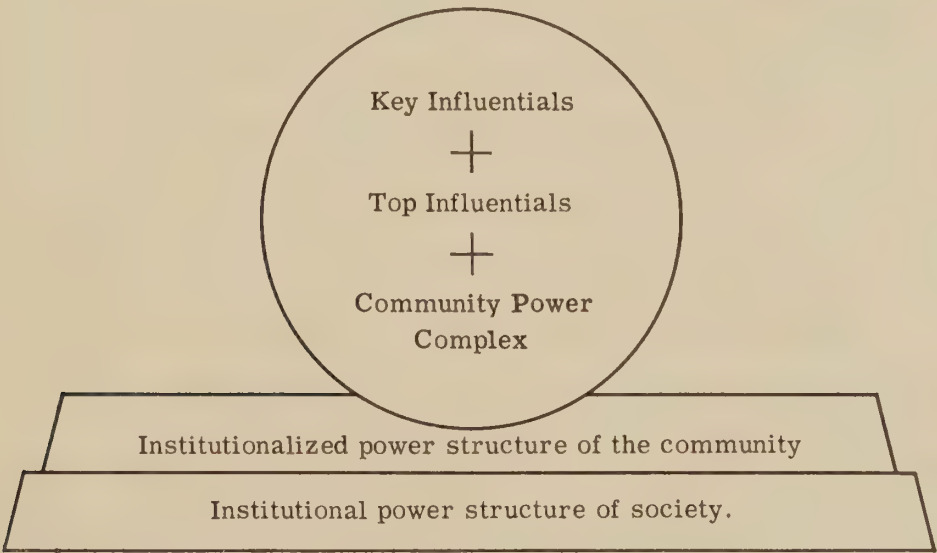


FIGURE 11.1. The Five Components of Community Power Structure.

- 3. The *community power complex* is a power arrangement among temporary or permanent organizations, special-interest associations, and informal groups emerging in specific issues and projects.
- 4. The *top influentials* refer to those persons who are reputed to be of most influence and power in community decision-making. In specific issues

⁴ For a closely related definition cast in a decision-making context, see Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

⁵ This is an application of the definition of power to the community scene as defined by Max Weber. See H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber*, Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 77-78.

particular decision-makers are drawn into various systems of power relations according to the community issues or projects that arise.

5. The *key influentials* are acknowledged leaders among the top influentials.

These components, as diagrammed in Figure 11.1, range from general, diffuse, conditioning sources of control to concrete forces exerted in specific community issues.

Each component may be thought of as conditioning the others. They must not be thought of as a single integrated social structure, but rather as a number of interpenetrating types of structures. They should be useful to sensitize the observer to the wide sources of authority, influence, and power exerted generally and specifically in community affairs.

Institutional Power Structure of Society (IPSS)

Properly speaking, the IPSS is not a community component of power. Yet it is of fundamental importance because all communities are tied into the broader society. In the long run there is a strain for local institutional relations to approximate those of the broader society. The IPSS represents a relatively permanent distribution of institutional authority which directly conditions the exercise of community power. It must not be thought of as a crude ranking of the power held by each institution, because each institution exerts authoritative controls in its particular arena, and because reciprocal rather than hierarchical relations characterize normal institutional life. Rather, the IPSS should be thought of as a latent pattern of authority which reflects the relative importance of the values attached to institutional functions in the society, the relative material resources of the institutions, the relative effectiveness of their sanctions, and their relative ability to initiate societal changes. Thus Figure 12.4 in Chapter 12 (see page 479) portrays the IPSS in modern American society as having a dominant economic institution which highly influences government, education, and welfare, while other institutions are dominated obliquely. Since the IPSS differs from one society to another, it is always necessary to specify it in concrete studies of community power to appreciate the general controls at work.

Institutionalized Power Structure of the Community (IPSC)

While institutional relations in a particular locality may reflect those of the society perfectly, variations may occur for a number of reasons. Since societies are not perfectly integrated, individual communities may depart from the modal pattern. Regional variations in resources, historical accidents, and type of functional specialization may also alter the expected patterns. Profiles of the IPSC differ for such cities as Salt Lake; Washington,

D.C.; Miami Beach; Ann Arbor; Oak Ridge; and Pittsburgh. Religion, government, recreation, education, or industry may be the "dominant institution" in a particular city.⁶ The institution may be dominant in the sense that it employs most people, that its ends are valued more highly by the local citizens, that its heads are also the top community influentials, that it gets wide representation on all local agencies, that it initiates changes in the community, that other changes conform to its beliefs, and so on. Figure 2.4 in Chapter 2 (see page 42) displays occupational profiles of several cities which reflect varying proportions of people employed in differing institutions. It provides a crude clue to probable differences of the IPSC in these communities.

Part II of this book documented the business domination of government, mass communication, religion, welfare, and other local institutions. Yet there may be local variations where educators dominate business, local government, newspaper policy, education, welfare and even religion. This may occur in small communities where the university is the largest employer. In other localities, religion may occupy a relatively more dominant role. Such appears to be the case in Rimrock, New Mexico. Vogt and O'Dea compared this community with Homestead, Texas. Both communities had similar ecological settings and similar economies. Yet they differed primarily because of the importance of the Mormon church in Rimrock. Rimrock's original development was possible because a water association was informally developed among church members. After World War II returning veterans faced the choice of underemployment or leaving the community. Land was bought for them through funds borrowed from a church welfare plan agency. In another situation, the villagers, acting through the church organization, decided to have the town's streets graveled. The plan to build a high school gymnasium was discussed in a Sunday priesthood meeting at the church. Arrangements were made for each able-bodied man to contribute 50 hours of labor or \$50 for construction. Weekly dances were held as part of the general church recreation program for the community.⁷

Obviously, domination of the economic institutions by the church or another institution is almost impossible in larger American cities. Yet the power of the economic institution may be blunted by the presence of powerful groups whose values are championed by government, education, welfare, and religion. The relative dominance of institutions may be reflected in the proportion of representatives which each contributes to strategic positions in

⁶ The attempts of urban sociologists to type cities reflects variations in IPSC. See Chapter 2, page 39, and Chauncy D. Harris, "A Functional Classification of Cities in the U.S.," *Geographical Review*, 1943, pp. 86-99; H. J. Nelson, "Service Classifications of American Cities," *Economic Geography*, July, 1955, pp. 189-210.

⁷ Evon Z. Vogt and Thomas F. O'Dea, "A Comparative Study of the Role of Values in Social Action in Two South-Western Communities," *American Sociological Review*, December, 1953, pp. 645-654.

community organizations. For the economic institution, these representatives may be the heads of the largest businesses, banks, unions, locals, and the elected chief officers of the chamber of commerce or central labor council. For government, they would be the mayor, councilman, heads of government departments, and similar positions. Representatives of other institutions are found in the Schedule of Potential Power Positions in an American City in Chapter 14 (see page 524). Another clue to the relative dominance of institutions may be found in the relative representations on policy-making boards of other institutions and community-wide organizations. Thus the city council, board of education, church boards of control, and welfare boards may be completely dominated by the business elite. In some instances, these boards may be dominated by educators, clergymen, or government administrators.

As indicated above, the IPSC must be thought of in a nonissue context. It portrays the institutionalized profile of power in the community. The institutions do not act as entities, but as conditioning forces for the community power complex described below. Institutional representatives are usually concerned with problems customarily arising within their sectors. Though they may become involved in the interinstitutional rivalries in the broader community, they are not necessarily community influentials. Rivalries may arise in response to the following questions: What institutional interests shall be dominant in the community? Who will act as the community spokesmen on symbolic occasions? How much representation will each institution get on community-wide agencies? When intrainstitutional conflicts threaten the well-being of the city, institutional representatives may become directly involved in the community power complex.

Community Power Complex (CPC)

The CPC refers to a power arrangement among the temporary or permanent organizations, special-interest associations, and informal groups emerging in community decision-making. Projects and issues are usually not the routine affairs of local institutions. In the day-to-day functioning of the community many groups want to sponsor new community projects. Some succeed with no apparent opposition. Most projects do not readily gain community acceptance because (1) not enough interest develops for them, (2) they are quietly vetoed by powerful organizations, or (3) they are absorbed as a project by a specific association. Occasionally, however, groups succeed in establishing their projects, despite the furious resistance of other groups. The continuous process of sponsoring projects, developing issues, gaining support, and marshaling opposition has relevance for the distribution of community power.

The CPC, unlike the IPSC, is issue-relevant in an action context. It is an

emergent organization which arises out of the interaction of concrete organizations functioning in specific situations. It represents a major source of fluidity in the community power structure. In specific projects or issues the power arrangements among the organizations may deviate considerably from that of the IPSC, especially for low-level issues or projects. In high-level issues involving the entire community, the internal power arrangement of the CPC tends to approximate the authoritative arrangement of the IPSC.

The factors preventing a direct transformation of the IPSC into the CPC in concrete issues are many. In the first place, specific issues may not involve the interests of many associations in several of the local institutions. Second, although an issue may affect the interest of an organization its leaders may be unaware of it, or if aware, will not act. Third, and more important, many such organizations as the chamber of commerce, PTA, and American Legion are internally so heterogeneous that their members may split on whether the organization should enter into a fray and what positions it should take. Fourth, people play multiple roles, so that several organizations to which they belong might take contrary positions on a single local issue. For these and other reasons, it is best to view the CPC as a field of forces which will be resolved in a given direction, once the participants and their characteristics are known.

EQUILIBRIUM THEORY OF COMMUNITY POWER COMPLEX

By observing the behavior of many groups in many issues over a period of time, certain stabilities may be expected to appear in succeeding CPC's according to the types of issue and the degree of community involvement.⁸ Thus certain groups may be expected to join opposing forces in tax fights, while others will take opposing positions in race and ethnic conflicts. Other organizations, such as the community chest, may be expected to "take over" some types of projects, and other groups, such as the Taxpayers' League, may be expected to veto any tax increases. With each new issue or project the variously affected groups may be expected to appraise their chances for success. There is enough regularity in their appraisals to give the CPC some predictable semblance of stability or equilibrium. Different groups may therefore be expected to jump into the fray or refrain from doing so as a result of their appraisal of the expected CPC on a given issue or project.⁹

In extreme situations, the CPC may not represent an equilibrium of forces in an issue.¹⁰ One group may dominate the community so completely that no evidence of a countervailing power may be found; i.e., there is no CPC. In another extreme instance, opponents may be so equally pitted that

⁸ See James S. Coleman, *Community Conflict*, Free Press, 1957, pp. 5-6. He types issues as involving economic, power, and cultural values and beliefs.

⁹ Abramson *et al.*, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ We are indebted to William H. Jarrett for his critical suggestions on equilibrium analysis.

issues are not resolved; i.e., a deadlock appears, as in the protracted strike in Kohler, Wisconsin. As a matter of fact, the existence of the CPC exemplifies that power distribution in the urban community is an ubiquitous problem. Some groups are primarily concerned with maintaining their power (or authority), while others are trying to alter it in their favor. Most of the projects or issues arising in the community are "minor readjustments" within the rough boundaries indicated by the IPSC. However, over a period of time the CPC equilibrium may move in a given direction.

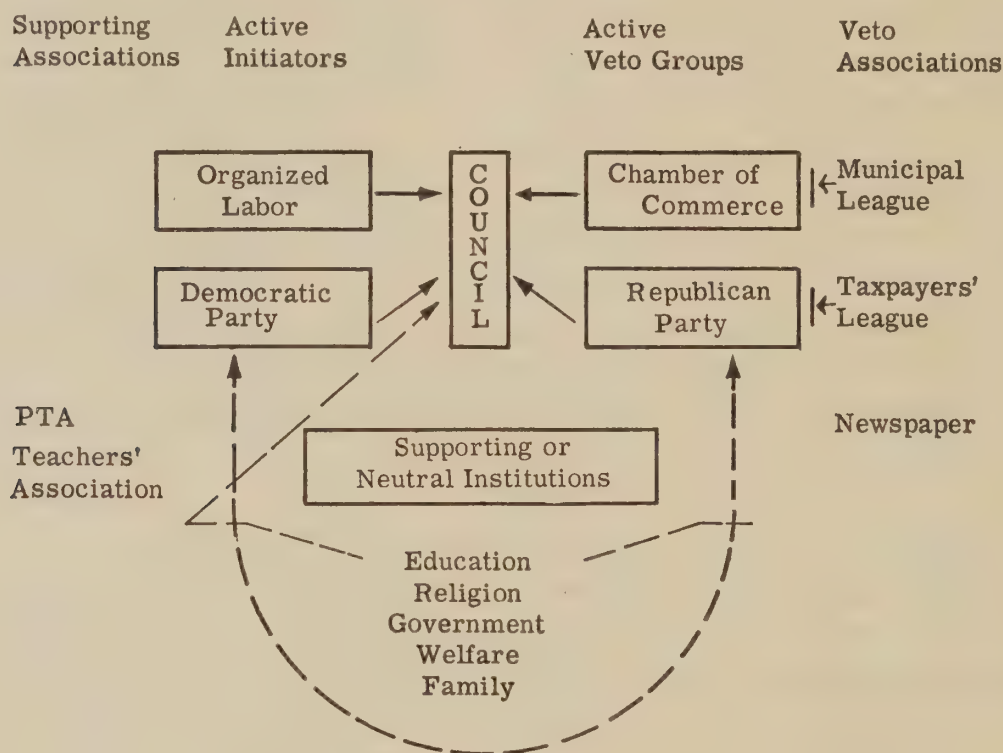


FIGURE 11.2. Equilibrium Model of the Community Power Complex for a Tax Increase Issue.

With this background in mind we may turn to the equilibrium model of the CPC as shown in Figure 11.2. The concrete issue may be an increase in corporate property tax to support an expanding school program. The active initiators are the unions with support of part of the Democratic party. The PTA and the Teachers' Association play a supporting role. The Chamber of Commerce, speaking for the businessmen, and the Republican party play strong veto roles. They get the financial and organizational support of the Taxpayers' League, the Municipal League, and the local newspapers. The Board of Education, which needs funds, is silent, as are the churches. The Council vetoes the proposal. In the following year, the same issue brings the same alignment in the CPC, and the Council passes a small tax increase. Thus, the equilibrium of the CPC moves in the direction of the initiation in this kind of issue.

Institutions tend to avoid direct controversy as institutions because they

are primarily concerned with internal problems of administration. The same thing is true for the officials of churches, government bureaus, welfare organizations, and mass media. They must be cautious and restrained because their work has a public or semipublic character. Many consider officials as public servants, and expect them to conform to the conservative institutional values of the society. If they become too active in community issues, they can easily lose their salaried positions. They must, therefore, resort to indirect means of persuasion. Thus boards of education and teachers usually do not formally commit themselves on issues of tax increases, but operate indirectly through the PTA and teachers' organizations. The same applies to other institutions.

Associations, on the other hand, are less exposed. It is their task to protect and advance their special interests. They immediately jump into an issue and seek to pool their resources with other groups with related interests. The chamber of commerce and the central labor council thus sponsor a broad range of proposals which advance and protect their economic and social investments in the community. Their spokesmen probably have more freedom than other institutional heads to originate action on a wide variety of issues. Not only is it socially legitimate for them to be outspoken about their economic interests; they can act with strong organizational support. Moreover, both interests have strong financial resources and sanctions to apply in cases of conflict. Not only do they initiate and veto many projects in their own right, but other groups approach them to support or veto power certain projects.

Veto power is extremely important in the CPC, and many organizations devote almost all of their energies to fending off invasions or threats to their vested interests. When the need arises they plan active campaigns of protest to make it appear that the general public is also opposed. Taxpayers' leagues with permanent staffs are found in almost every large city under different names. They are ready to fight against almost every threatened tax increase. Latent veto groups may be quickly organized when they feel their interests or values are threatened. For example, the introduction of slot machines near a public school may provide the spark for mothers to organize for their removal. The constant threat of such latent publics prevents many organizations from undertaking some programs.

POWER ARRANGEMENT TYPOLOGIES OF THE COMMUNITY POWER COMPLEX

It is often difficult to predict the exact power arrangements within the CPC for a given issue. Yet it is useful to attempt to predict the internal organization of the CPC in given types of issues. An examination of the positions taken by the most important 15 to 20 organizations and the kinds of alliances they welded in several issues may help construct models of incipient

CPC structure.¹¹ Figure 11.3 (page 447) portrays three types of models of the internal organization of the CPC based on a structured-unstructured continuum. In a two-sided issue, with one model for each side, it would be possible to construct twelve types of CPC structures by considering each model in combination with the others.

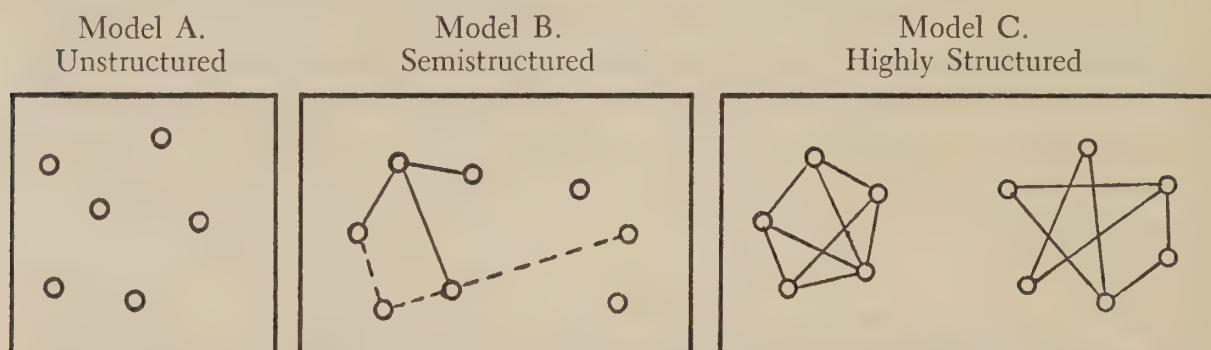


FIGURE 11.3 Power Arrangement Typologies of Organizations in the Community Power Complex.

Attempts to work with these models may reveal that most of the important associations usually take a “go it alone” position on most issues, avoiding obligations and alliances with other organizations, as in Model A. The reasons for this should be investigated because some scholars feel that this is the pattern in the large heterogeneous metropolitan communities of the United States.¹² In the same community several important organizations may form alliances and coalitions on some issues which may persist over time. The result may be a highly structured CPC where strong alliances are maintained in an almost permanent posture of hostility, as in Model C.¹³ This seemed to be the case in Bristol, C. Juarez, and Steelport. Model B shows the CPC, or one side of it, as displaying a tendency toward coalition.

It is possible that under some conditions a different CPC structure arises for every issue and that no pattern appears. This is highly unlikely, however, because different associations have common goals which they can more readily attain through coöperative effort. By studying the overlapping memberships of officials in local associations, by spotting their common informal meeting places, and by examining alliances on state and national issues, the student may get clues into the incipient structure of the CPC. Verification is always necessary in concrete issues because fluidity is introduced into the CPC by different types of issues which vary in their degree of community involvement.

Top Influentials (TI)

Top influentials refer to those persons who are reputed to be of most influence and power in community decision-making. In specific issues particular

¹¹ Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Robert A. Dahl also suggests this. See his “A Critique of the Rating Power Elite,” *American Political Science Review*, June, 1958.

¹² Rossi, *op. cit.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

decision-makers are drawn into various systems of power relations according to the community issues and projects that arise. Often, the top influentials are the heads of business firms, labor unions, institutional representatives, and officials of powerful associations in the CPC. However, such persons, those in high society, and certain "big shots" are not necessarily in the TI pool. The TI are usually influential persons who have been actively interested and involved in community issues and projects in the past. As will be demonstrated later, they do not necessarily form an integrated social system, but rather a pool of *potential decision-makers* or project leaders, who have demonstrated by their past activities (1) a concern for community problems, (2) the ability to initiate organization in community affairs, (3) the capacity to influence the direction of policy of the associations to which they belong and the policies of community-wide organizations, and (4) the power to veto important projects.

Chapter 14 will elaborate methods by which the TI may be identified. Table 59 reveals the occupational and other characteristics of the TI in several types of communities. The TI are predominately big businessmen associated with large and important local firms. In addition, a few labor officials, lawyers, clergy, and welfare leaders appear in the lists. What the table does not show is that the TI have belonged to many important organizations in the past; that they have often held top offices in the important associations in the CPC; that they hold high positions in their present organizations; that they have and continue to play leadership roles in local projects; and that they have important contacts with state and national groups.

Top influentials at one time or another devote a great deal of time, energy, and money to community affairs. Although this can sometimes be justified as harmonious with their economic interests, often it cannot. The positions which they occupy enable them to devote considerable attention to local affairs. Since they are usually heads of their organizations, they can delegate work to subordinates and thus free themselves for community activities. Their positions of high authority reduce their responsibility to others for their community activities. They have, for example, more freedom of action than their subordinates. As a matter of fact, their authority also assures them a measure of support for almost any undertaking they assume.

Top influentials usually have had a considerable amount of administrative experience which they can profitably apply in community projects. For this and other reasons they are often thought of as "natural leaders." Whether they do in fact have better leadership qualities than many others can only be determined by examining their careers. In some communities the TI may constitute an hereditary elite whose influence derives almost exclusively from their positions; in other communities they have achieved power. Irrespective of their leadership ability, the test of membership within the TI is whether their influence extends over persons and associations over which

they do not have formal authority, and in areas in which they have no direct economic interests. If so limited, then they are either institutional representatives or associational heads in the CPC, and not TI.

SOLIDARITY OF TOP INFLUENTIALS

The definition of TI used here avoids reference to their internal relations, because they may vary considerably. As in the case of the CPC, it is the task of the researchers to ascertain the structure of the TI. This can be done by observing over a period of years in all kinds of community events the interpersonal relations of people who (1) initiate major community policy, (2) undertake the direction of major community projects, and (3) play veto roles in major projects and issues. Preliminary evidence suggests that considerable variability exists in the internal organization of the TI in different types of communities. Thus, the TI in Regional City constitute a highly enduring and solidary social system who monitor community issues, while the TI in Bristol are more diffusely structured, and those in newly planned communities are nonsolidary and change with issues.

In order to sensitize the researcher it may be well to consider a number of possible TI models. These models should be based on at least six important features which may vary considerably. They are:

1. The type of issue or project. Are the same TI found in all issues or do they vary with each?
2. Size. Is the TI system large or small, and does it vary in size according to the issue or project?
3. Tenure. Is membership to the TI provisional or permanent? Closely related, is there high or low circulation in the membership?
4. Recruitment. Do TI occupy their position by virtue of their hereditary positions, or do they achieve the TI status? That is, is TI status achieved or ascribed?
5. Internal solidarity. Do the TI comprise a highly solidary and cohesive collectivity who act together in all major projects or issues, or are they individuals acting more or less independently of each other?
6. Type of decision-making. Do the TI make all important decisions independently, or do they consult groups which may be affected by their decision?

Figure 11.4 attempts to take into account these characteristics in the construction of several types of TI structures.

At one extreme is the exclusive elite type, made up of a few elites who have more or less inherited their positions for life. They are a relatively small cohesive and exclusive group who make unilateral decisions for the community. This type tends to be found in (1) one-industry towns where the dominant family asserts authoritative control, (2) communities with a

solidary ruling aristocracy, and (3) localities dominated by a strong economic-political clique with its clique. In extreme cases, where the TI are a very small and highly integrated clique, they are also the KI.

At the other extreme is the democratic type. There is no limitation on the number of the TI, for members tend to change with the type and seriousness of the issue or project. Here the TI constitute a highly individuated and temporary social system of associational representatives who have little independent and enduring power. In the extreme case, this definition almost characterizes the Model A-CPC structure having no TI. The democratic type of TI structure tends to be found in new communities which may be in process of developing TI,¹⁴ and in communities in which all major groups are highly organized and have more or less equal power.

The two middle types, the fluid influentials and the core elite, appear most frequently in contemporary Western society. The two types differ primarily in the size of the elite core and the ease of access into it. To be sure, both types have some degree of fluidity in their internal organization. Thus the type of issue or project tends to involve different influentials,

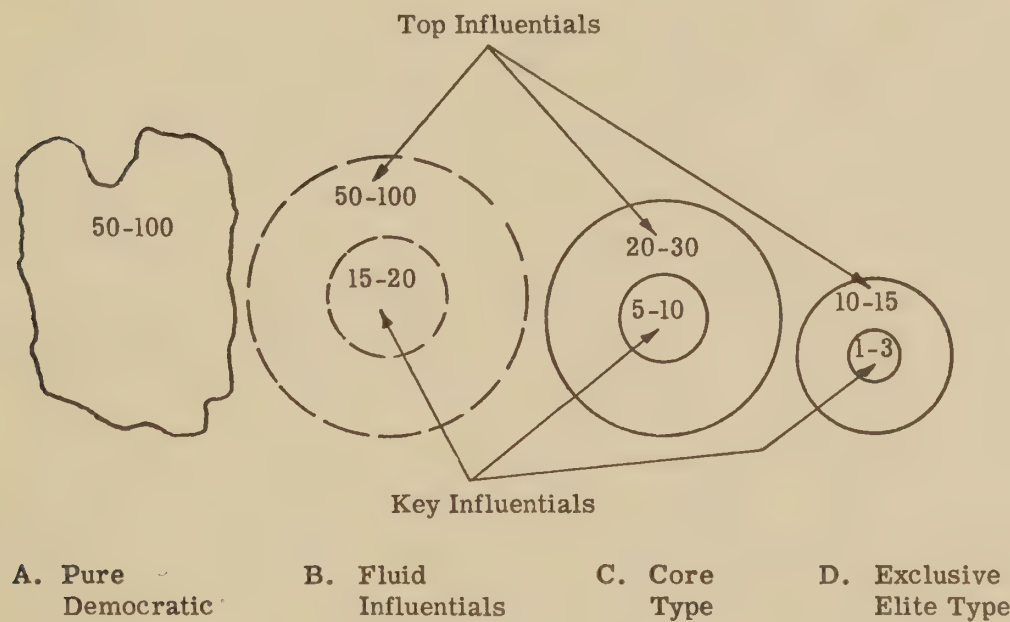


FIGURE 11.4 Four Types of Top Influence Structure.

although a core of varying size tends to be found in most issues. Some degree of mobility in and out of the TI is also found in both types of structures. Furthermore, the influentials may consult with some groups affected by the issues, although the elites always retain some independent authority. It may be useful to think of the two fluid types as being comprised of first- and

¹⁴ This was the case in the garden suburb of Greenbelt, Maryland. See William H. Form, "Status Stratification in a Planned Community," *American Sociological Review*, October, 1945, pp. 605-613.

second-rate influentials, as Hunter does, or it may be convenient to think of the core elite as KI. The latter are selected as leaders by other influentials.

For purpose of exegesis it was assumed above that single TI structures characterize the community. However, as in the case of CPC structures, TI structures may vary according to the issue or type of cleavages found locally. In fact, the TI may not constitute a single solidary or homogeneous system. They may display the internal cleavages found in the city. For example, in C. Juarez, Mexico, two solidary and opposing TI structures of the core type were found which reflected the basic cleavage between government and business in the CPC. While in this case both TI structures were of the same type, it is conceivable that each side may have a different type of TI structure. In many communities undergoing rapid industrialization, a basic cleavage may exist between the old timers and the newcomers. The TI structure of the former may conform to the exclusive elite type, while that of the newcomers may approximate the fluid type.

If the stratification system of the community corresponds to a simple hierarchy, only one type of TI structure probably exists. However, two or more opposing elite groups may exist and polarize at the middle or lower ranges of the community power structure. Such power instabilities and cleavages will manifest themselves in the top three components of the community power structure.¹⁵ In a given case, therefore, the actual structure of the TI system may correspond to any combination of the types proposed in Figure 11.4. Even in a community not marked by permanent power cleavages, the TI structure in a given issue may vary with the number of major blocks involved. The purpose of identifying the type of structure is to facilitate the task of predicting issue resolution. Different type of structures have different strengths and weaknesses which must be taken account in prediction.¹⁶ Chapter 17 explicates matters of forecasting issues in detail. Successful prediction is usually easiest in lower-level issues in a community with marked gradations in the IPSC, highly structured CPC's, and the exclusive elite type of TI. Prediction is much more difficult for high-level issues in communities which have flat IPSC profiles, unstructured CPC's, and fluid TI structures.

INTERNAL ARRANGEMENTS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES

The above descriptions of the components of the community power structure dealt primarily with internal relations within each component. Rela-

¹⁵ For amplification of variability in stratification structures, see Gregory P. Stone and William H. Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," *American Sociological Review*, April, 1953, pp. 149-162.

¹⁶ Regional variations in structures dealing with hospital building issues were found by Paul A. Miller. He evaluated their efficacy in *Community Health Action*, Michigan State College Press, 1953.

tions among components were only alluded to briefly. Since only the most fragmentary research is available on this problem, the following discussion is mostly theoretical speculation. The studies by Hunter and others, dealing primarily with the activities of the TI, have left many unanswered questions about the dynamics of the larger power structure. Absence of systematic background research on the CPC has led some students to question findings about the TI. Without knowledge about the role of organizations in community issue and projects, the student may easily exaggerate the independent power of the TI and the KI. Such questions arise as: Can the TI make community policy independent of the CPC and IPSC? Can leaders in the latter defeat the will of the TI and the KI? Which components of the power structure initiate most of the community issues and projects? Are there power struggles among the component organizations? What do answers to these questions tell us about community organization?

Contest for Power

These questions all raise problems concerning the relations among the components not unlike those posed by Lenski in his study of social classes; namely, are they statistical strata or social groups?¹⁷ It may well be that this is not an either-or proposition. The components of the local power structure may shade into each other in some communities or may be highly segmented in other communities. Furthermore, the relative power of the components vis-a-vis one another may vary with communities. It has been suggested above that the sector leaders in the IPSC generally are concerned with administrative problems within their sectors and are usually content to play administrative roles in community projects. The contest for power, if it occurs at all, is usually between the CPC and the TI. If this contest is completely undecided the distinction between CPC and TI disappears, because it deals with internal problems of order within the power structure. To dramatize the relational problems among the components of the power structure only a limited degree of contest is assumed in the following generalizations.

1. Usually low-level issues or projects are initiated by the CPC and institutional sector leaders. Low-level issues, by definition, do not disturb power relations among local institutions or groups. Relatively little money is involved, although the energies of many people may be required in some projects. Ordinarily no new organizations need to be formed, but the routine coöperation of many existing organizations may be required. Low-level issues often fail to get resolved because important associations or influential persons are apathetic about them. Therefore, the primary concern of interested

¹⁷ Gerhard E. Lenski, "American Social Classes: Statistical Strata or Social Groups?" *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1952, pp. 139-144.

parties is to get the *endorsement* of powerful organizations and TI. Examples of low-level projects are the formation of health councils,¹⁸ instituting self surveys,¹⁹ getting out the vote, building enthusiasm for the United Nations, and similar projects.

2. High-level issues are rarely initiated directly by IPSC sector leaders. They are primarily initiated by persons in the CPC or TI. In cases where the TI and KI are solidary and control the CPC, issues or projects which originate from the CPC are either vetoed or supported. When projects or issues originate from an autonomous and solidary TI, the process which follows in a "democratic" society is *legitimation*. That is to say, what is required is a public demonstration that the project or issue originated from the community and that the community will determine its fate. Many charity drives originate from the TI and the campaigns which follow are planned parades of community support. The process is one in which TI cue CPC leaders, and those further down fall in line.

3. When the TI are not completely autonomous and solidary, when there is segmentation between the TI and the CPC, issues which originate from the TI require *involvement* of CPC elements. In such situations there is greater probability of community conflict because the TI need the support of the CPC.²⁰ The latter may veto TI proposals, modify, or support them. One technique used by the TI to win CPC support is *coöption*—bringing the opposition inside to voice its criticism and draining off dissatisfactions before they reach dangerous proportions. This, of course, is only one kind of involvement. All too frequently, many aspiring CPC leaders are very happy to be coöpted in the hope of becoming TI's. Moreover, many CPC leaders have no choice but to coöperate with the TI because the latter hold power over them in economic life.

4. In a contest between the TI and elements of the CPC, the TI endeavor to limit the number of groups making decisions. When an issue has to be brought to the people in an election or referendum, it generally means that the TI have lost informal control of the community. For this reason labor leaders try to involve as many groups as possible in their community conflicts with management. This also accounts for labor's desire to bring issues to a vote and management's fear of labor's political activities.

5. Generally speaking, when the TI is solidary, it can exert its will against strong elements in the CPC rather successfully. Another way of saying this is that solidarity among top leaders in the community enables them to succeed in contests involving a large number of secondary leaders in the CPC. As later chapters will show, the TI can arrive at consensus more easily

¹⁸ Floyd Hunter, Ruth C. Schaffer, and Cecil G. Sheps, *Community Organization: Action and Inaction*, University of North Carolina Press, 1956.

¹⁹ Sower; J. Holland; K. Tiedke; and W. Freeman; *Community Involvement*, Free Press, 1957.

²⁰ Coleman, *op. cit.*

because they often belong to the same local organizations, meet together in the same hotels or clubs, and have mutual obligations and similar community orientations. Although few in number, the TI always have the backing of the organizations which they control. Organizations in the CPC which are not directly under TI control rarely comprise a homogeneous group. They meet in different places, avoid obligations, and differ in their community orientations.

6. Community issues may split the CPC and the TI into factions or blocs. When this occurs the TI tend to have less independent power than in communities which have not developed such cleavages. There are several obvious reasons for this, the most important being that where such cleavages exist, the community is more highly organized—it has more organizational density. In conflicts, these organizations can bring their power to bear more readily than in communities which have less organizational density.²¹

7. The social structure of the community conditions the relations among components of the community power structure and the course of community issues or projects. As Coleman points out, in economically self-contained cities (cities where men both live and work), issues tend to be directly economic and political, and the economic interest model dominates. Such issues not only split the TI and the CPC, they also tend to involve lower social classes in acrimonious disputes. In smaller, isolated, highly stratified communities, conflicts, if they develop, tend to be restricted to the influentials. In one-class suburbs, conflicts tend to revolve around social values and styles of life rather than around economic and political questions, i.e., a status contest power model arises.

8. In issues and projects involving unions and management in the United States, the TI tend to be dominated by management personnel whereas the CPC contains organizations which have both economic and other identifications. While the TI tend to show greater solidarity in economic issues, it is difficult to get groups with other economic interests to oppose the TI unless they are already integrated into a larger association, such as a political party.

Some of these generalizations concerning the relations among the components of the power structure will be examined in the following chapters. Very few studies have systematically tested these generalizations because of the methodological difficulties involved.

Chapter 12, which examines the relationship between national and community power structures, introduces the reader to the institutional power structure of American society. In Chapter 13 the various institutional power structures of Western society are analyzed, and the forces changing the community structures in contemporary life are set forth. These two chapters have a single purpose, to provide a base from which the local community may be better understood. We have said that, properly speaking, the institu-

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

tional power structure of society is not a community component of power. Yet it is of fundamental importance because there is a strain for local institutional relations to approximate those of the broader society. An understanding of the IPSS provides depth and scope to the understanding of community power structure.

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Chapter 12

NATIONAL AND COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES

THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRY UPON SOCIETY

Four Concentric Patterns of Industrial Society

The Factory

The Corporation

The City

The Mass Market

THE TRANSITION FROM AN INDIVIDUALISTIC TO AN ADMINISTRATIVE ECONOMY

The Scope of American Economy

Competition Versus Monopoly

The Coming of Economy X

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

The Rise of Bureaucracy and the Impersonalization of Power

Formalization of Groups into Pressure Organizations

Group Self-Consciousness and Power Mobilization

Entrance of the State Bureaucracy into the Power Struggle

The "Public-Interest" Theory

Using the Influence of Government for Advantage

The Organizing of Formal Pressure Groups

FOUR CONTRADICTIONS IN MODERN LIFE INTRODUCED BY INDUSTRIALISM

Democratic Ideals Versus Concentration of Economic Power

Provincial Folkways Versus Cosmopolitan Society

Coöperation Versus Isolation

Sympathy Versus Aggressiveness

THE FUTURE RELATIONSHIP OF INDUSTRY AND SOCIETY

*Power Structuring of American Institutions in 1900**Institutional Structure in 1950**Two Contrasting Structures for A.D. 2000*

THE RELATION OF NATIONAL POWER STRUCTURE TO COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES

*Impacts of Absentee Ownership on Community Power Structure**Economic Dominants as Policy-Makers**Effects of a Strong Labor Organization on Community Power Structure**Four Effects of Labor's Rise in Steelport**Power and leadership have been redistributed**The social chances of the person have multiplied**The status system of the community has become more equalized**Labor has become accepted as a legitimate decision-making group in the community**Influence of Government on Community Power Structure**Involvement of a Small Community in Wartime**Growing Involvement of National and State Government**Involuntary Involvement of a Small Company**In city government**In county government**In state government**In federal government*THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRY UPON SOCIETY¹

Industrial civilization has developed about a machine technology, a market economy, and an industrial society. The industrial mode of production has given rise to an economic organization that influences all parts of society. Industrialism as a configuration of technology, economy, and business values emerges as a culture system, one of the most widely spread systems in human history. No modern social institution has escaped the influence of the economic organization of society. The school, the church, the home, and recreational institutions are built upon human values arising from the material framework of modern civilization. Industrial society, therefore, refers to more than machines and markets; it refers to men and institutions locked in the network of relationships dominated by business mores and folkways.

¹ This chapter was adapted from Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, Harper, 1951, chap. 22.

Industrial society has become a society in which social relationships tend to be economic relationships.²

Four Concentric Patterns of Industrial Society

It follows that industry and society are almost indivisible. What affects the economy will inevitably affect society, and vice versa. We may conceive of industrial society as composed of four concentric patterns. Figure 12.1 shows these four patterns to be made up of the factory, the corporation, the city, and the mass market.

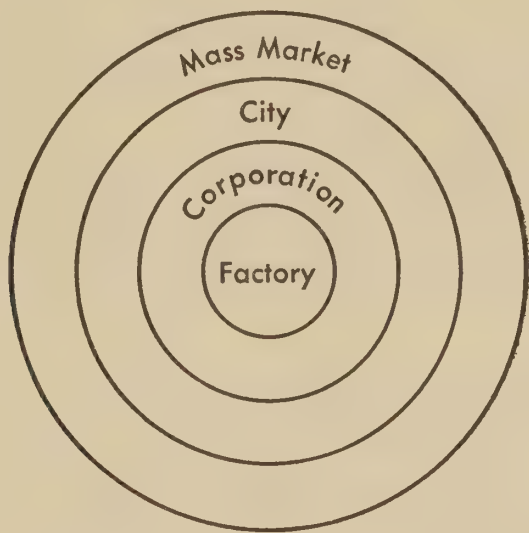


FIGURE 12.1. Four Concentric Patterns of Industrial Society. (Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, Harper, 1951, p. 830.)

THE FACTORY

The hub is represented by the factory, which consists jointly of specialized machines or techniques, knowledge of processes and exchange problems, and a group of persons organized for work activities. The factory is the most significant of all the various work plants of modern industrial society, for it contains the machines of production. The machine industries are in a dominant position; they set the pace for the rest of the industrial system. It is this dominance of the machine process in industry which marks off the present industrial system from all other economies.

THE CORPORATION

The corporation ties the work plant into the economic organization of society. Investors of stocks and bonds are invited from all parts of the nation

² Thorstein Veblen has demonstrated this thesis brilliantly in *The Theory of Business Enterprise*, Scribner, 1927, and *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Macmillan, 1924.

and indeed from all ends of the earth. The only qualification for membership is possession of capital which may be hired for capital goods expansion. The pooling of capital enables the factory to employ mass production techniques and the corporation to seek greater gains in ever larger markets. The private corporation has proved to be the most effective technique ever invented (outside of public finance) for the aggregation of wealth. The rise of the corporation has created a revolution in the relations of those who manage, those who work, those who own and control.

The workman's property in his craft or skill has all but disappeared with the growth of corporate enterprise. The industrial worker has become a worker without ownership of tools and with little need of skill. The owners have become increasingly separated from those who manage, and this separation of ownership and control has effected a radical shift in the property and power status of the absentee owners. With owners dispersed geographically and numerically, the managers have come to make the important decisions affecting the daily conduct of the business.³ However, the major stockholders retain power over production, price, and wage policies.

THE CITY

The city is the great labor center for the factory. The location of the factory has often determined the location of the city; it always has affected the growth of the city. Urban life is an old pattern, but the rise of large cities paralleled industrial growth. The entire countryside became caught up in the "lure of the city."⁴ More and more the sons and daughters of rural families migrated to the city. Work at a machine or in an office replaced work on the land. The new urban dweller became both a producer and a consumer, and the city came to regard him as part of both labor and the market. The range of his activities broadened to serve a growing number of business pursuits. Banking, publishing, retailing, utility, advertising, warehousing, clerking, transporting, educating, doctoring, and preaching became additional founts of enterprise. Paul Meadows has expressed precisely the correlation of industrial life with urban life. He says, "Urbanization is the indispensable partner of industrialization, the measure of its growth, the mirror of its complexities, the interpreter of its values, and the matrix of its expansion."⁵

THE MASS MARKET

A market is a meeting place for the purpose of barter or buying and selling. The local market in which goods are exchanged is a pattern of the early towns, but the long-distance market is associated with the commercial and

³ Cf. James Burnham, *The Managerial Revolution*, Day, 1941.

⁴ Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898*, Macmillan, 1933.

⁵ Paul Meadows. "The Industrial Way of Life," *Technology Review*, March, 1946.

industrial revolutions. Mass production requires mass markets. These markets are sought everywhere—in the country, village, town, city, nation, and in every part of the world. The economic organization of modern society is dependent upon these far-flung markets. Karl Polanyi traces out implications of this fact:

The outstanding discovery of recent historical and anthropological research is that man's economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships. He does not act so as to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets. He values material goods only in so far as they serve this end. Neither the process of production nor that of distribution is linked to specific economic interests attached to the possession of goods; but every single step in that process is geared to a number of social interests which eventually ensure that the required step be taken. These interests will be very different in a small hunting or fishing community from those in a vast despotic society, but in either case the economic system will be run on non-economic motives. In contrast, in modern industrial society control of the economic system by the market means no less than the running of society as an adjunct of the market. Instead of the economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system.⁶

Nineteenth century society tried to make the market economy a self-regulating economy in which neither price, nor supply, nor demand must be fixed or regulated. Only policies and measures were in order that helped to insure the self-regulation of the market by creating conditions which make the market the only organizing power in the economic sphere. It was widely believed that such a system was "natural," allowing men freedom of choice, exercise of natural "instincts" and creative drives, and permitting expression of individual differences. It was not recognized that such a "natural" economic mechanism could be maintained only by some highly artificial stimulants in order to meet a situation which was created by the no less artificial phenomenon of the machine. Land, labor, and capital were called to the market like raw materials to function as agents of production. Wealth was created, but society was slowly splintered. Men failed to realize what the cohesion of society meant. The family, the neighborhood, and the community, in turn, were weakened by the endless churning of large population masses as mobility increased among all levels of society. The chief nexus between an individual and his community became the job. Kinship, neighborhood, political, religious, and recreational ties became secondary to the desire to increase personal wealth or status. Citizenship in the large city all too often lost meaning as special-interest groups with distant leaders jostled for power. New personal freedoms were purchased by withdrawal from the permanent, intimate association of small groups and the acceptance of

⁶ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, Rinehart, 1944, pp. 46, 57.

membership in large, specialized groups. The new urban dweller has been taught to keep his social roots shallow and his baggage light, for he is supposed to be ready for the "better" job opportunity which will help him climb to greater fame or fortune. If he does not, the threat of some economic depression always hovers in the immediate background with dire warnings for those who refused to "play it smart" and seize upon a more secure work position whatever the social sacrifice.

Industrial society in the twentieth century is now a highly interdependent unit. The influences of the factory, the corporation, the city, and the mass market spread out in all directions to affect every work plant and every worker. As we stand in the mid-part of this century almost every person is so exposed to the forces of industrialism that he shares with his associates a common sense of rapid change. One of the basic changes of our society is the transition from an individualistic economy to an administrative economy.

THE TRANSITION FROM AN INDIVIDUALISTIC TO AN ADMINISTRATIVE ECONOMY

The Scope of American Economy

Our economy is not one but many. It is made up of large private corporations and small corporations, independent proprietors, coöperatives, unions, associations, and public businesses of many different sizes and types. Although emphasis has been on trends centered around big business, there remain, of course, a large number of small businesses. The Department of Commerce defines a small business as one having annual net sales of less than \$200,000 in wholesaling, net sales of less than \$50,000 in retailing, a pay roll of 100 employees or less in manufacture. On this basis, there are 2,800,000 little businesses in the country.⁷ Most of these are concentrated in retail trade and service industries. In addition there are more than 6,000,000 farm units. In 1935 there were fewer than 42,000 of these farm units on which more than five persons were gainfully employed.⁸

Yet in spite of the large number of concerns in these and other fields, a study by the National Resources Committee presents the estimate that "altogether little more than a third of the nation's economic activity is carried on by producing units engaging the activity of one to five persons. An almost equal proportion is carried on by a few hundred very large administrative units."⁹ A measure of bigness is the frequency of combinations

⁷ Stuart Chase, *Democracy Under Pressure*, Twentieth Century Fund, 1945, p. 5.

⁸ Horace Taylor and Harold Barger, *The American Economy in Operation*, Harcourt, Brace, 1949, p. 260. Cf. A. D. H. Kaplan, *Big Enterprise in a Competitive System*, Brookings, 1954.

⁹ National Resources Committee, *The Structure of the American Economy*, United States Government Printing Office, 1939, Part I, p. 104.

in which more than one industrial establishment is operated by a single central office. "In 1929—only about one-eighth of the manufacturing enterprises were of the plural unit type, but this small fraction accounted for about 48 percent of the wage earners, 54 percent of the value of the products and 50 percent of the value added by manufacture of all manufacturing enterprises."¹⁰

The student of the American economy must not lose sight of the large number of small businesses. This fact illuminates the psychology and values of our business civilization. Of this we shall have more to say later. But it is big business that is setting the pattern and shaping the course of the political state as well as the economy. The impact of industry on society almost implies big industry. The contrast between big business and little business can often be discerned as the contrast of monopoly and competition.

Competition Versus Monopoly

The advance of science and technology has marched with large-scale production and the mass market. Business corporations capitalizing on these prime assets have grown in size and have moved through a series of progressive changes in their organization. The "most successful," which is to say, the big, corporations have come into such dominance that the whole course of economic organization has changed with them. Industrial capitalism represented the era when major corporations were managed by those who owned them in large part. Finance capitalism, a later development, is characterized by absentee owners and professional administrators. Modern economic society is now confronted with monopoly capitalism. This mature form of capitalistic development refers to the growth of corporations from large to giant structures whose absentee owners have by expansion, combination, merger, and the holding company succeeded in removing these super corporations from the free market and the limitations of a highly competitive price and production policy.

Monopoly replaces competition when a business corporation either through its sole efforts or by collusion (or "coöperation") with others comes into command of the market to such an extent that it can administer price and production irrespective of supply and demand conditions within the market. In our society, the mass market has become subject to such wide fluctuations that monopoly has been a most desired goal of many business interests.

Just as much big business has embraced monopoly and administered prices to maximize its returns and protect itself against the fluctuating market, so too have agriculture, labor, and government. Each has built a structure of administrative controls seeking to strengthen its position in the

¹⁰ Alfred Bernheim *et al.*, *Big Business: Its Growth and Its Place*, Twentieth Century Fund, 1937, p. 3.

economy. Free competitive enterprise has always been based on a presumption that large numbers of small sellers would operate in a self-regulating market. As such, free enterprise is being displaced step by step all over the world. In its place we can observe the rise of an administrative economy which Stuart Chase calls X.

The Coming of Economy X

X is not socialism or fascism as the orthodox creeds prescribe. It is a pattern of centralized, collective controls. We can describe them as they appear in most countries.

FREE ENTERPRISE INTO "X"

A strong, centralized government.

An executive arm growing at the expense of the legislative and judicial arms. In some countries, power is consolidated in a dictator, issuing decrees.

The control of banking, credit and security exchanges by the government.

The underwriting of employment by the government, either through armaments or public works.

The underwriting of social security by the government—old age pensions, mothers' pensions, unemployment insurance, and the like.

The underwriting of food, housing, and medical care, by the government. The United States is already experimenting with providing these essentials. Other nations are far along the road.

The use of the deficit spending technique to finance these underwritings. The annually balanced budget has lost its old-time sanctity.

The abandonment of gold in favor of managed currencies.

The control of foreign trade by the government with increasing emphasis on bilateral agreements and barter deals.

The control of natural resources, with increasing emphasis on self-sufficiency.

The control of energy sources—hydroelectric power, coal, petroleum, and natural gas.

The control of transportation—railway, highway, airway, waterway.

The control of agricultural production.

The control of labor organizations, often to the point of prohibiting strikes.

The enlistment of young men and women in youth corps devoted to health, discipline, community service and ideologies consistent with those of the authorities.

Heavy taxation, with especial emphasis on the estates and incomes of the rich.

Not much "taking over" of property or industries in the old socialistic sense. The formula appears to be *control without ownership*. It is interesting to recall that the same formula is used by management of great corporations in depriving stockholders of power.

The state control of communications and propaganda.¹¹

¹¹ Stuart Chase, *The Road We Are Traveling*, Twentieth Century Fund, 1942, pp. 95-96.

These characteristics exhibit themselves in various degrees in the major nations of the world. Incipient in some, they are well developed in others. The United States has adopted in some degree every item on the list.

Bigness, centralization, and bureaucracy are products of the forces which have developed in modern society. For better or for worse man as worker and as citizen must live with them and make them serve him. The economies and services of large-scale organization possess advantages too great to be given up voluntarily. As long as these advantages are desired, modern organizations will continue to be big, and bureaucracy the prevailing pattern in business, agriculture, labor, and government. Meanwhile a society in transition watches new groups rise to power and older groups fight to retain their earlier position of supremacy. A struggle for power among the powerful organized interest groups is an accompanying feature of the social transition.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

The Rise of Bureaucracy and the Impersonalization of Power

As enterprises grow in size, new forms of social organizations must be invented to control them. The historically recurrent form of organization best suited to do this is the bureaucracy.

Some characteristics of the bureaucracy are (1) fixed and official jurisdictional areas ordered by rules, (2) a monocratically organized office hierarchy, (3) development of a record-keeping staff, (4) development of an expert staff in all offices. Thus the bureaucracy is a hierarchy of offices, a coördinated series of reciprocal responsibilities and duties.¹² This form of organization is not unique to Western culture, nor is it a new invention of the last century or two. It was used in ancient and medieval times to organize armies, religious orders, and nations. The novel element today is the general application of bureaucratic principles in most of the institutions of modern society and especially in the economic organizations.

Bureaucracies simultaneously concentrate and delegate authority. They concentrate authority by giving fewer people at the top the right to make policy decisions, but delegate authority by distributing the actual execution of decisions to numerous functionaries. Thus a large enterprise is organized into units that have considerable vertical communication (communication flowing up and down) but not much horizontal communication between different segments on equal levels of authority. What this tends to do is to foster the self-consciousness of groups. Workers are made aware of their membership in a particular department, of their uniform pay level, of their

¹² H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 196-198.

restricted authority in the enterprise. It thus becomes a relatively simple thing to make the groups so formalized by the bureaucracy do other things. Since many workers are conscious of performing the same tasks as others, they can be organized rather easily to think in group terms. In conditions involving power relations, therefore, the tendency will not be to associate authority with individuals but with groups. The shift is from *personal to impersonal power*, from *informal, sympathetic relations to formal, contractual relations*.

FORMALIZATION OF GROUPS INTO PRESSURE ORGANIZATIONS

The greater the formalization of groups within enterprises and between enterprises the greater their chances of being turned into power-conscious and power-wielding groups. They will apply the same effective techniques of bureaucracies to organize themselves as industry has applied to itself. It should be emphasized that such tendencies occur within two areas. The first and most obvious area is within the enterprise. The self-bureaucratization tendency within industry and the problems that attend it are well known.¹³ The second area of organization occurs among enterprises and among groups within those enterprises. That is, enterprises with similar problems and interests organize associations to "promote and protect their mutual interests" against associations of other enterprises. For example, wool manufacturers organize to protect their tariff against other groups who want it reduced. At the same time, different levels *within enterprises* band together "to protect and promote their interests" against other groups within the enterprises. Thus the workers in the wool enterprises organize unions against the employers in all the wool enterprises.

One measure of the extent of power groupings on a national scale is the presence of lobbies in Washington. The Temporary National Economic Committee found more than 400 lobbies operating in Washington.¹⁴ Stuart Chase has classified them into five groups:

The Big Three—Official business, labor, and farm organizations including such notables as The National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, the American Federation of Labor, The Congress of Industrial Organizations, The Farm Bureau Federation, and The Grange.

Specialized Producers, such as cattlemen, publishers, citrus growers, broadcasting stations, telephone interests.

Professional and Occupational Groups, such as the bankers, insurance companies, advertisers, real-estate men, exporters and importers, doctors, teachers, lawyers.

¹³ Peter M. Blau, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society*, Random House, 1956.

¹⁴ *Economic Power and Political Pressures*, T.N.E.C. Monograph No. 26, United States Government Printing Office, 1941. Four hundred and ninety-five groups registered in 1946 in response to the passage of the Federal Lobbying Act. More than 1800 permanent national organizations are listed by W. B. Graves.

Reformers, such as the conservationists and birth controllers.

The Governments in Exile, representing deposed monarchies, and overturned republics.¹⁵

These groups seek higher tariffs, subsidies, loans, escape from regulation, and so on. The objective is usually a direct subsidy for the interest itself or destruction of a competitor.

Out in the local community the struggle is waged with equal determination though the area of influence is smaller. The listing of the number of economic associations in Kansas City, Missouri, shows the following:

42	functional business associations
15	professional associations
5	general city-wide business associations
10	general district business associations
81	labor union organizations
39	business associations having state, regional, or national headquarters in the city
192	mutual aid organizations

This list of 192 "mutual aid" organizations gives us an impression of the extent of the organizing tendencies among economic groupings.¹⁶ Almost two-fifths are labor unions and three-fifths are business associations. The designation "mutual aid" organization suggests an organization that is partly defensive in nature. It is true that they have been designed to protect their members, but the question should be raised, Against whom? Obviously if the associations are all engaged in "defense" against others, they are in reality collective bargaining agencies living in a political atmosphere. Thus labor unions are not the only collective bargaining organizations. Coöperatives, unions, trade associations, syndicates, and other such organizations are political collective bargaining organizations living in a house of power.

The trend of formalizing occupational groups and business associations into a power group is not a new development in European culture. The guilds and trading leagues of the Middle Ages are their forerunners, but not ancestors. The distinguishing feature or characteristic today is the tendency for functionally related groups to become broken up into rather autonomous groups. For example, it is not unusual for several "mutual aid" organizations, such as a managers' association, a foremen's association, factions of stockholders, labor unions, and perhaps even an organization of customers, to coexist in a particular enterprise. Each group is trying to manipulate the others to obtain as much of the economic or other returns from the enterprise as possible. One large employer reports that he must deal with 23 dif-

¹⁵ Stuart Chase, *Democracy Under Pressure*, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁶ Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society*, Crowell, 1941, p. 432.

ferent unions. Some of the jurisdictional struggles between unions in the same plant wax with more bitterness than is exhibited against the employer himself.

Group Self-Consciousness and Power Mobilization

We have tried to show that rational, self-conscious contractual relationships obtain among the various economic groups today. The relatively little spontaneous give-and-take that characterizes the social contacts of such groups reflects the scarcity of common values outside of their economic struggles. Especially in the bargaining situation their practice is to use every known technique to seize an advantage and keep it as long as possible. Since most conflict situations require accommodations, each group tends to appraise itself in terms of its own strength and weaknesses, and the strength and weaknesses of its opponents. When the favorable opportunity to increase the strength of the organization presents itself, leaders of the pressure group strike out for advantage. They seek not only direct increases for the group but also advantage over their opponents.¹⁷ In this way they arm themselves for a more successful assault in a future campaign. In the eighteenth century an accommodation of conflicting groups was supported by the sentiments and customs of the era, but today the equilibrium is more temporary and is defined by the power resources of the opposing groups. Figure 12.2 represents both formal and informal organizations which cluster about management and labor as they struggle for power. The owners as the investors and the public as consumers become interested parties. The newspaper, radio, community organizations, political party, and finally the government become active participants. Management and labor jockey for support of all these outside groups.

It is to be expected that self-conscious groups are more aware of power situations. They engage in purposive study to invent new techniques to (1) secure a stronger superordinate role or (2) work out more effective organizational methods to mediate their power struggles. It is not always easy to distinguish what techniques are invented to diminish the power of the opposition and what techniques are intended as genuine coöperation. Some techniques may be intended to do both. Some may be designed to achieve one end but actually achieve the opposite.¹⁸ Since force, violence, and conflict have low verbal esteem in America, conflict groups hesitate to admit their intention to engage in political warfare. Euphemistic industrial relations programs are proposed to bring about "peace and understanding."

The reader is warned that many so-called "industrial relations programs"

¹⁷ See E. T. Hiller, *The Strike*, University of Chicago Press, 1928.

¹⁸ The reader might consult labor relations texts for some of these techniques. He also might consult Hiller, *op. cit.*, and Robert Brady, *Business as a System of Power*, Columbia University Press, 1943.

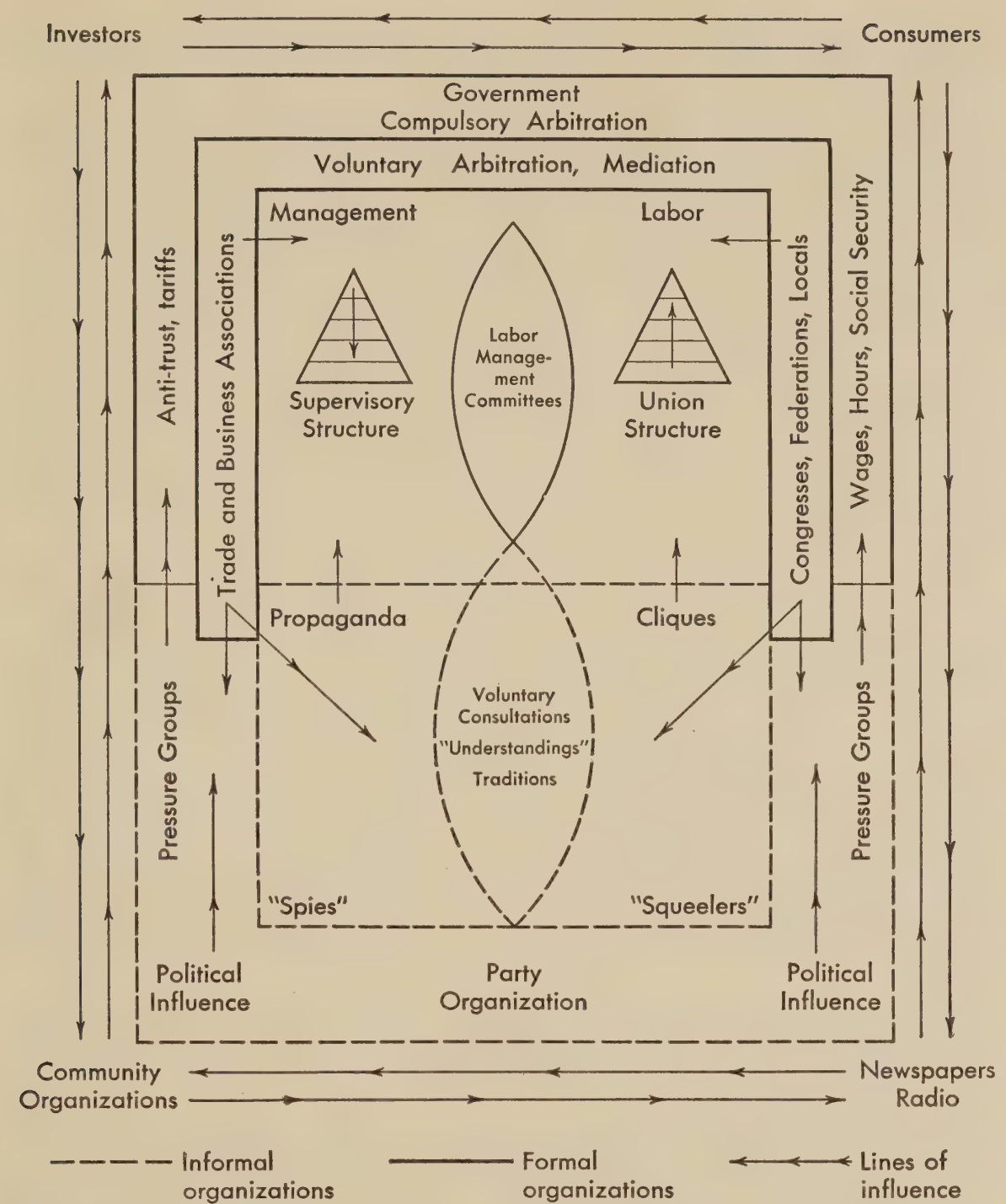


FIGURE 12.2. The Formal and Informal Organizations Within and Without the Work Plant Which Are Drawn into the Struggle for Power. (Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, Harper, 1951, p. 840.)

serve as propaganda fronts for conflicts groups. To avoid being misled he should inspect every program in terms of its stated objectives and in terms of its actual operation. The participants in power struggles do this. In fact, they often become so suspicious of their enemies' programs that they grow to suspect any new plan or new idea. Merely scanning the newspapers and periodicals of labor and management groups will soon convince the reader that (1) the fuller intentions of certain management-labor programs are

really devices to obtain a power advantage and (2) consequently there is distrust and apprehension on each side toward new ideas propagated by the other side.

Some management programs intended to weaken organized labor have often been entitled "Multiple Management," "Leadership in Industry," "Profit Sharing," "Community Relations," "Open Door Policy," "The Congressional System of Industrial Government," "Risk Participation," "Safeguarding the Right to Work," "Employee Counseling," "The American Plan," "The Mohawk Valley Plan," and "Right-to-Work Law." We are not suggesting that all plans sharing these titles have been insidious devices of management to crush organized labor. On the contrary, some extremely sincere and effective things have been accomplished with plans having these titles. The names of programs or their published intentions are not significant, but the long-range intentions in reference to power relations in the future certainly are.

Obviously, both management and labor have some long-term plans. The plans of management groups are often simple; they are sometimes directed toward destroying organized labor but more often toward reducing its strength. On the other hand, organized labor in America generally does not entertain the idea of crushing business. Since destroying business would erase the source of labor's livelihood, the hidden motives of organized labor are aimed at reducing the power of management to hire and fire, sharing to a greater extent in the profits of industry, establishing better working conditions, weakening the authority of foremen and other managers. The most frequent title used for such programs is "Democracy Within Industry." The objective presumably is to "democratize" the power and income within the industry.

On the other hand, some programs have been aimed at mediating the obdurate type of conflicts developing between management and organized labor. These genuine fields of coöperation are resorted to when the other techniques do not work. The American Arbitration Association, the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor, the National Mediation Board, management-labor committees, and fact-finding committees have operated with the ideology that both sides want a fair and impartial settlement of their differences, that neither side is seeking a basic change in their power relations. Their techniques are basically aimed at mediating naked power struggles and trying to secure coöperation. We may look forward to more of these types of organizations within the next few decades.

Entrance of the State Bureaucracy into the Power Struggle

Another trend characterizing the power structure of modern industry is the entrance of a third and often the most powerful party into the struggle,

namely, the local, state, or national government. This trend is a rather recent development arising around the turn of the century and growing spectacularly since 1932. The reasons have been manifold. One explanation suggests that the division of labor in modern society has become so extensive that any extended interruption in the operation of the basic industries can bring the entire economy to a standstill. In order to prevent widespread dislocation in the economy, a universal agency must insure that production continues. Thus any prolonged interruption in the mining of coal will in a relatively short period reduce the operations of the steel and transportation industries. When these two basic industries are crippled the entire economy suffers. The government must step in after a rather brief interval to bring about the reestablishment of production. The same reasoning applies with less force to other industries. One is amazed by the number of overlapping governmental agencies that enter directly or indirectly into the operation and regulation of an industry such as coal.¹⁹

THE "PUBLIC-INTEREST" THEORY

This explanation or argument for governmental intervention may be called the "public-interest" theory. Members of the "new middle class" who are not directly involved with management or labor often urge this role for government. On the whole, the explanation is more inadequate than incorrect, for the "need" for government intervention existed before 1932, yet it was generally not forthcoming before that time. Moreover, if the interdependence of industry makes government intervention necessary in crises, a case could be made that every industry is essential to the economy and that the government should constantly intervene.

Obviously, other factors have been operating to induce government to intervene in labor-management relations. These other factors can only be assessed by appraising historical changes. In the past America has had two sovereignties—business and government. Business was sovereign over its domain; the government had no right to interfere in this domain excepting to legitimize the sovereignty of business. Repeatedly the courts proclaimed that government had no right of intervention in business affairs. They further ruled that many types of labor organizations and tactics were infringements of property rights.

It was not until labor unionism grew and became politically conscious, not until new laws were passed which sanctioned collective bargaining, not until the judiciary was restrained by new laws redefining the power or rather the limitations of property, that government "intervened" in management-labor relations. Of course the Great Depression, with which business seemed to be unable to cope, was the occasion of further governmental intervention.

¹⁹ See John Bartlow Martin, "The Blast in Centralia No. 5," *Harper's Magazine*, March, 1948, pp. 193-220.

Gradually the two sovereignties were redefined, with government becoming more dominant. This does not mean that government has become more anti-business or more prolabor. It means that government has formally established its right to enter the field of labor-management relations. Once in the field it can move in any direction.²⁰

USING THE INFLUENCE OF GOVERNMENT FOR ADVANTAGE

When government intervenes, the immediate question arises, For whom will it intervene? It is almost impossible for even the most fair-minded mediating, arbitrating, or regulating agency to operate without prejudice or discrimination. Especially when dealing with suspicious, almost paranoid groups, no decision is considered a fair decision. To obtain a "fair" decision under these circumstances, the groups involved will attempt to influence the government and its agencies. This involvement of labor and business in government is another trend in the power relations of modern American industry.

Our history shows many attempts of business and labor to use government to further their individual ends. In general, propertied interests have historically been more successful in manipulating government for their own ends.²¹ All kinds of techniques have been used by both management and labor to secure advantages over each other via governmental channels. We cannot go into an extensive discussion of the political roles of business and labor in America. This has been done adequately elsewhere.²² We are concerned only with stressing the trends.

The political position of labor cannot be understood unless we take into account the two-party system in America. The strength and flexibility of this system have always been a source of amazement to foreign observers. It is generally agreed that the parties have not represented radically different programs over the years. The appeals of both the Republican and the Democratic parties have been made to widely divergent groups. It was inevitable that their general programs had to be conservative in reference to property. The result was that no consistent prolabor legislation could be enacted.

From the beginning commercial and propertied interests in America have been able to control government to their own advantage. They achieved this primarily by dominating nongovernmental institutions. By controlling the educational institutions they were able to place into legislative and, particularly, judicial offices men who were indoctrinated with property and business

²⁰ Of course, there has always been some relation between economic and political institutions. How the present situation differs from that of the past is that government not only legitimatizes business but has entered into the conduct of business. In other nations of the world this "interference" is much greater than in the United States.

²¹ Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the U.S.*, Macmillan, 1925.

²² Peter H. Odegard and E. Allen Helms, *American Politics*, Harper, 1938, especially chaps. 8, 9, 10. V. O. Key, *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups* (2nd ed.), Crowell, 1947.

values. It was not, as some would believe, a calculated conspiracy of the propertied to dominate the government and the economy. By presiding over the educational system, the press, and other institutions of communication, they indirectly and automatically determined the kind of people that would become legislators, executives, and judges. The latter naturally did "What was right."

With the extension of suffrage, some friends of labor hoped that labor's numerical dominance might give it control over the legislative bodies. Attempts were made to abandon the two-party system, and to form a labor party dedicated to promoting the best interests of this class. But labor parties, irrespective of their conservative or radical nature, generally failed to attract widespread labor support. American workers were mobility conscious. They did not consider themselves part of the laboring class. In fact, they regarded their position as temporary. One day, they too would be men of property, or at least their children would be. While awaiting that day, they were concerned only with the size of the pay envelope and what they could buy with it. With few minor exceptions in city governments, they never got into power.

This being true, it is understandable why the philosophy of Samuel Gompers held sway for so long a period of time. The essence of this philosophy was that labor should organize but not enter politics directly. Gompers urged that labor should first examine the records of legislators in either party, and vote for those who backed labor bills and vote against those who did not do so. In the meantime the usual techniques of a lobby should be used to secure influence in the legislative councils.

THE ORGANIZING OF FORMAL PRESSURE GROUPS

The effect of following this advice was a gradual weakening of the informal monopoly that the commercial and business interests had over government. Thus those business interests that wanted favorable laws or political favors had to organize *formal pressure groups* for that end. When labor became organized into formal pressure groups, the era of informal monopoly of government by business came to an end. The struggles of management and organized labor thus spread from restricted private affairs to public affairs in which the resources and power of government played important roles.

This is the stage in which we are today, with one significant difference. Labor's traditional policy of "Reward your friends and punish your enemies" had been revised because of some of its shortcomings. The chief of these was that it was essentially an after-the-fact strategy. That is, after a candidate was chosen for office and sometimes elected, his performance had to be observed as to whether or not it suited labor. If not, and if labor was successful, the incumbent might be defeated for reelection. His successor also had to be observed for his position on labor legislation. He too might be

found to be antilabor after a period in office. To avoid this, labor has recently urged its members to attack this problem at the grass roots, namely, within the party organization, and especially in the local primary level. Some leaders of labor have urged their members to "take over" the Democratic party and make it a labor party. Perlman and others have suggested caution. This would be making a new labor party, and labor would lose its influence altogether.²³ Others have suggested that labor remain a pressure group within the party structure. This point of view has generally prevailed.

Since the New Deal, and especially since the end of World War II, labor has organized a number of associations to increase its effectiveness in the political realm. At times these groups have appeared as citizen nonlabor groups, having the semblance of a party. The American Labor party in New York State, the Liberal party in the same state, and the Citizens' Political Action Committee fall into this category. Actually they tend to be organizations which can deliver labor votes to a major party who will choose candidates to labor's liking, or who will sponsor legislation favorable to labor. Since such groups can deliver the votes, which is always to the liking of a political party, they have had a modicum of success.

Other agencies of labor have been more direct and forthright in entering the field of politics. In 1945 the Congress of Industrial Organizations created the Political Action Committee and appropriated funds for political purposes. Some of its intentions were to make labor more politically conscious, to educate labor to behave politically for its best interests, to support candidates in either party with financial and other resources, and to affect the policies of parties at their grass roots. The American Federation of Labor has shown itself to be more cautious than the CIO, but in 1947 it appropriated money to educate its members on political candidates and political issues.

The new techniques were effective, and they produced a reaction in management and conservative groups. By putting pressure on Congress, conservative groups succeeded in restricting the power of the labor unions. These limitations are presented in the Taft-Hartley Bill. The bill contains provisions that the union cannot use funds to back political candidates for office, it must publish financial statements, it cannot propagandize its members in a political sense, its officers must sign noncommunist affidavits before unions can use the services of the National Labor Relations Board, and other restrictions. In addition, business groups have used other devices to influence political parties and restrict the power of labor. Today, the merged AFL-CIO responds as a single organization to encourage direct political action especially by backing candidates, setting social goals, and seeking appropriate legislation. And the struggle goes on.

The Landrum-Griffin bill, passed in 1959 over united labor protests, car-

²³ Selig Perlman, *Labor in the New Deal Decade*, Abco, 1945, pp. 29-36.

ries further regulations to protect union funds from corrupt officials and to force some unions to operate under more democratic control. "Right-to-work" legislation is being pushed by business interests in many states. Strikes in big industries are being fought on a national scale with each side struggling to obtain favorable government backing. Thus we see a struggle for power in the work plant, in the community, and in the general political institutions.

It is easy to become engrossed in the struggles of interest groups as first one and then the other gains advantage. Perhaps what is of most importance is not the temporary shifts of power relations which are established but the kind of society which is being formed. The analysis of social forces at work indicates that society as the cohesive fabric has grown weaker, less integrated, and less stable. This has happened while the nation has grown powerful, both economically and militarily. Why does this contradiction exist?

FOUR CONTRADICTIONS IN MODERN LIFE INTRODUCED BY INDUSTRIALISM

Cultural contradictions in modern society, as truly as pressure groups, splinter the social structure and divide men's minds. They make it increasingly difficult for the citizen to make up his mind as to what he should think, what he should want, and what he should do. Four contradictions may be singled out for analysis.

Democratic Ideals Versus Concentration of Economic Power

We believe in the democratic ideal of political equality—that each man is the equal of any other man in human right and human dignity. We believe that there should be equality between a man's political power and his economic power.

But we are faced with an intense concentration of economic power in the hands of relatively few persons and we believe that private individuals can run a business better than the government can. We believe, furthermore, that concentration of economic power in the hands of government men would be more dangerous to a free society than leaving such power in the hands of businessmen.

The American Republic was founded on the edge of a vast wilderness. Land was free to those who had the courage and initiative to go forth and claim it. Ownership and management of a farm was bought by hard work and persistence. This easy entry into ownership encouraged widespread ownership of property and satisfied the economic ideal. We still believe that every worker should have the chance to go into business for himself. The image of a society of small manufacturers, merchants, free farmers, and artisans continues to keep alive the Jeffersonian ideal. In the America of 1820–1830, 16 out of every 20 Americans owned their independent means

of making a livelihood in the form of small property, mostly free farms. Most Americans could say, "What I work I own and what I own I work." One hundred years later an almost exactly opposite condition prevailed. Seventeen out of every 20 Americans were propertyless and dependent for a livelihood upon the property owned by a small minority. This transference of ownership constitutes a revolutionary change in the entire fabric of society. Most men no longer "make a living"; they "earn a living." The corporation has replaced and is replacing the small businessman all along the business, agricultural, and industrial front. In this shift from a base of widespread ownership to a base of corporate business the relation between political power and economic power is drastically changed. Concentration of economic power has always been regarded as a threat to democratic institutions. We know that large-scale enterprise is here to stay. The private operation of such enterprise has been a mixed blessing. Higher levels of living have been accompanied by distribution problems causing widespread suffering. To transfer ownership to the government would not be a restoration of the Jeffersonian ideal. It would mean that government men would control the same corporate property which businessmen had controlled before. Our tradition has been one in which a free people have feared their government more than they have feared their businessmen. We have believed that businessmen were held in check by competition and the democratic processes, but that government men were eager to seize power and able to establish a coercion that would quickly destroy a free society. As the industrial and corporate growth has moved on, the question of business ownership versus government ownership or regulation has become the major political question of the century. Americans are caught in a dilemma. Democratic ideals are threatened by the concentration of economic power, but the harnessing of such power by government threatens to strangle them. Moreover, we are badly prepared as a body of citizens to think our way clearly through this contradiction. Our psychology is provincial and our society is cosmopolitan. And here lies still another cause of cultural confusion.

Provincial Folkways Versus Cosmopolitan Society

We believe that the only way any man gets ahead is through hard work; we believe that competition determines price and quality and that big business has the same problems as little business except that big business has more and bigger problems; we believe that anyone can understand what business and the nation is faced with by focusing attention upon the problems in the local community.

But society is now a vast world-wide network of interdependent forces which largely determines what local business conditions are and what local problems are. The initial generation of a change in conditions usually originates in a center or centers far removed from the local community. The forces generated tend to be different in kind and in magnitude from those arising in the local community.

Walter Lippmann in his analysis of public opinion differentiated between the “seen” world and the “unseen” world in which each person lives.²⁴ The “seen” world refers to the narrow and immediate pathway over which the daily course of personal life is run. The mental horizon tends to be limited to this “seen” world. Yet it is in the “unseen” world that the vast majority of influences over living are generated. The “unseen” world refers, of course, to the world-wide network of events which come into the local community and act silently upon it.

Men forget that for thousands of generations living has been going on in small communities where the personal relations of face-to-face contact have existed. Individual acts were judged in the arena of public opinion and the important values of life were determined in the concrete terms of the local event. In such a world, provincial thoughtways and folkways were largely insulated against outside forces.

Then, with the coming of industrialism, modern communication and transportation began to spread a multitude of new ideas and new ways of living. The strands of economic life began to draw all local communities into one interdependent economy. F. Stuart Chapin has found a cause for the many economic contradictions which have made it so difficult for the average person to understand the nature of the economic process. He says that throughout the whole of our economic life “there runs the principle of individual decisions and acts, each made independently of all the rest and arrived at on the basis of provincial habit systems trying to operate in a world network of communication.”²⁵

Some of these provincial habit systems in popular economic thinking may be identified. They gain significance as contrasted with the cosmopolitan thoughtways demanded by the modern economic structure. Let us take, for example, the conception of work. Stuart Chase likes to describe how his grandfather plowed the rocky New England fields for long hours each day. *Hard work* meant manual labor mixed with sweat. In contrast, modern life with its many white-collar tasks demands much sedentary or semisedentary activity. *Hard work* may come to mean concentration plus monotony. Grandfather snorts that the younger generation has forgotten how to work; the modern urban dweller replies that “it’s so peaceful in the country” and that the old-timers never knew what nervous strain meant.

In his view of *business* it is not surprising that the average man carries a psychology of small business. The stores and services on Main Street represent BUSINESS to the bulk of Middletown’s citizens. When the local merchant complains of *competition*, he speaks mostly of the prices and quality of products which the chain stores and other local stores place on the local market. In contrast, large corporate industry has largely discarded vigor-

²⁴ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, Harcourt, Brace, 1922.

²⁵ F. Stuart Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions*, Harper, 1935, p. 5.

ous price competition, competing on quality, styling, or advertising of the product. Property in the nineteenth century meant land and buildings—i.e., real estate. Today the richest man in town may have his entire property locked up in a small box labeled “Stocks and Bonds.” *Law* once meant that the local mores against crime had been written down, a far cry from the proliferation of economic and social regulations which municipal, county, state, national, and international agencies have pressed into legal form.

It is this contradiction between the thoughtways of provincial living and the imperatives of cosmopolitan society that causes much of the problem we call social change. Each small locality has been opened up to the drive and play of great forces generated in the large urban centers of society. These forces spread outward and act upon the local community. Provincial habit systems respond, and a myriad of individual acts and decisions take place. Almost immediately, their reverberations move back upon the urban centers. Chapin has likened this process to an alternating current which moves back and forth linking large and small communities of the nation into an endless chain.²⁶ In this process, contradictions between provincial and cosmopolitan habit systems are compounded and their consequences spread over the entire society. The irrationalities of a society which matches efforts to increase production with efforts to restrict production can be understood as a clash of habits as well as a clash of economic structures.

Coöperation Versus Isolation

A third contradiction appears as an opposition of coöperation and isolation.

We are drawn ever closer together. Modern technology, the threat of war, the promise of abundance all force men to recognize that this is “one world.” *We believe* that men must coöperate or perish.

But society is divided into large interest groups, into classes, into regions, into racial and ethnic divisions. In the city, particularly, the person becomes dwarfed by large organizations and the impersonality of social contact. He tends to become isolated in the midst of frenzied attempts to get him to join and participate in organizations.

Industrialism has set loose twin forces of opposition.²⁷ These are coöperation and isolation. Human relations have become both organized and atomized, and this contradiction has strengthened and weakened social structure simultaneously. We can observe that society is in an unceasing process of organization and disorganization.

Modern economic organization requires a very high degree of coöperative activity. The need for coöperative activity becomes particularly clear if our

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁷ Cf. Paul Meadows, “Human Relations in Industrial Civilization,” *Technology Review*, April, 1947, pp. 341–348.

industrial society is compared with a peasant society. In the peasant society almost everybody works at the production of the same things. The subsistence economy of such a society consists of numerous and almost identical units all engaged on the same tasks. Moreover, the contacts are very slight as the individual peasant plows, sows, and reaps his harvest without any outside coöperation. In contrast, each producer in an industrial society turns out a different product, but he does it, not alone, but by close association with many others. The producers of automobiles, steel, glass, cement, and cloth must somehow get along with one another in order to insure that the right proportions of goods are produced. As John Strachey has said, "Men cannot live by tin cans alone." Thousands of different goods and services are needed to keep our economy in operation. Without a proportionate flow of goods, the whole economy would come to a halt or be destroyed.

Much of the tremendous quantity of coöperative relationship in our society is bought as men are tied by salaries and wages into large-scale organizations. In the place of group in-feeling based on custom and sentiment all too often there is only the impersonality of a contractual relationship mediated by a specialized skill or money income.

We have shown how the city with its large population masses is a product of the industrial economy. The transformation of community life into urban patterns has brought a fragmentation which isolates the individual while at the same time placing him in a fast-moving stream of human contacts. The mobility of the urban dweller tends to rip out his community ties (if he lives within a community long enough to develop them). The size of the city makes it difficult for him to see and know people who wish to lead the political and social agencies. He is more apt to read about them or hear about them if he has developed an interest in them. Social stratification builds status walls that make access to some persons all but impossible. Entire strata of people live their lives beyond the daily horizon of other dwellers. In such a society the individual comes to realize that he counts for little unless he is organized within a group. When he is organized in a group he may find that group ends distort individual purpose and morality. In this contradiction, coöperation and isolation are both real and far apart.

Sympathy Versus Aggressiveness

The fourth contradiction singled out for analysis pits two human sentiments against one another.

Modern man is lonely. He seeks companionship, affection, love. *He says* that his religion calls all men his brothers.

But everywhere men compete aggressively and sometimes ruthlessly with one another for money, status, mates, and power. The pattern of competition is encouraged in the school, in the work plant, in the church, and in the home.

The child is taught as was the father that the future belongs to those who have drive and who are willing to push themselves.

The loneliness of modern man is brought about by a convergence of many different forces. Science has shattered much of the comforting religious belief he once held. J. H. Randall has written:

It swept man out of his proud position as the central figure and end of the universe, and made him a tiny speck on a third-rate planet revolving about a tenth-rate sun drifting in an endless cosmic ocean. . . . Purposes gave way to mathematics, human will and foresight to immutable and inflexible mechanical order. Throughout the whole vast windy stretches of infinity, in stone and plant and animal, nowhere a being who felt and suffered, loved and feared and hoped, who thought and knew. Man was alone, quite alone, in a vast and complex cosmic machine. Gone were the angelic hosts, gone the devils and their pranks, gone the daily miracles of supernatural intervention, gone even was man's imploring cry of prayer.²⁸

Modern man has had to rediscover what he could believe in to give purpose to living. The threats of war and depression beating down daily on his personal security have driven him to find some "ways to relax nerves" and capture an elusive "peace of mind." The loosely knit ties of kinship and community life tend to sterilize emotional life and focus it upon the small family. A man or woman who fails to establish himself within a family is left with poor emotional substitutes in the large city. Casual, exploitative relationships of dalliance replace the interwoven ties of marriage. Spectator amusements provide vicarious enjoyments which stimulate but seldom feed and satisfy man's basic biological and social needs. David Riesman and his associates believe that modern culture is so fluid that we are becoming "other-directed persons," at home everywhere and nowhere, capable of rapid if sometimes superficial intimacy with and response to everyone.²⁹

Men in the midst of modern life have sought more purposeful ways to live with one another. Generous impulse is still alive in the conduct of human affairs, but opposed against the desire for sympathetic identification with persons and groups are respectable patterns of aggressiveness and sometimes ruthlessness. Veblen has pointed out that wherever the institution of private property is found, the economic process is marked by a struggle between men for the possession of goods. Such a struggle carries far beyond the subsistence level of living, for the motive that lies at the root of ownership is emulation. The possession of wealth confers honor and brings the holder satisfaction or dissatisfaction as he compares himself with others.³⁰ Veblen

²⁸ John H. Randall, *The Making of the Modern Mind*, Houghton Mifflin, 1926, pp. 226-227.

²⁹ David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd*, Doubleday, 1953, p. 41.

³⁰ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, *op. cit.*

said that pecuniary emulation through invidious comparison becomes the basis of esteem. As such, property or wealth in some amount becomes necessary in order to have any reputable standing in the community. There is no limit to the property desired, for the process of invidious comparison is dynamic. A person desires as much wealth as those have with whom he classes himself. When this is gained he desires more. "The invidious comparison can never become so favorable to the individual making it that he would not gladly rate himself still higher relatively to his competitors in the struggle for pecuniary reputability."³¹

In our society material accumulation is roughly equated with honor. The pattern of aggressive behavior is approved for career climbing. It is "one against all" and "may the best man win." If this aggressive pattern must ride down human sentiment in order to gain material advantage, then sentiment must go. "Business is business," after all. So it follows that even as sympathy and the desire for human response is ground down in business contacts, the need for a more satisfying emotional life remains.

As the four major contradictions are surveyed, it becomes apparent that social and psychological problems have been stirred up in the train of influences which have accompanied the industrial way of life. Industry is intimately tied to the most subtle nuances of daily living. We are drawn to reflect upon the future. Will industry continue to dominate institutional life? Will cultural patterns assume more consistent and less contradictory forms? We do not know the answers to these questions, but we can follow some trend lines and make some speculations.

THE FUTURE RELATIONSHIP OF INDUSTRY AND SOCIETY

Power Structuring of American Institutions in 1900

American institutions may be viewed in relation to their power structuring. Such a view reveals their relatively uneven influence over American life. If we turn to the beginning of the twentieth century we find an institutional power structure in which business institutions dominate. Figure 12.3 is a heuristic diagram which purports to suggest the relative ranking of institutions in terms of their power and influence on American life.³² In this figure the prominent position of business dwarfs the remaining institutions which lie about its base. In 1900 private business was relatively free from government regulation. Businessmen made the important decisions affecting the economy and the society. They became the established social leaders and

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³² Cf. with C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, 1956, and Floyd Hunter, *Top Leadership, U.S.A.*, University of North Carolina Press, 1959.

set the values in most American communities. The school, state, church, recreational and aesthetic institutions were largely controlled by boards of businessmen or lived by their philanthropy. The family was drawn ever more tightly into the orbit of the business institutions as economic self-sufficiency was replaced with an economic dependence upon those who owned factories, offices, and stores.

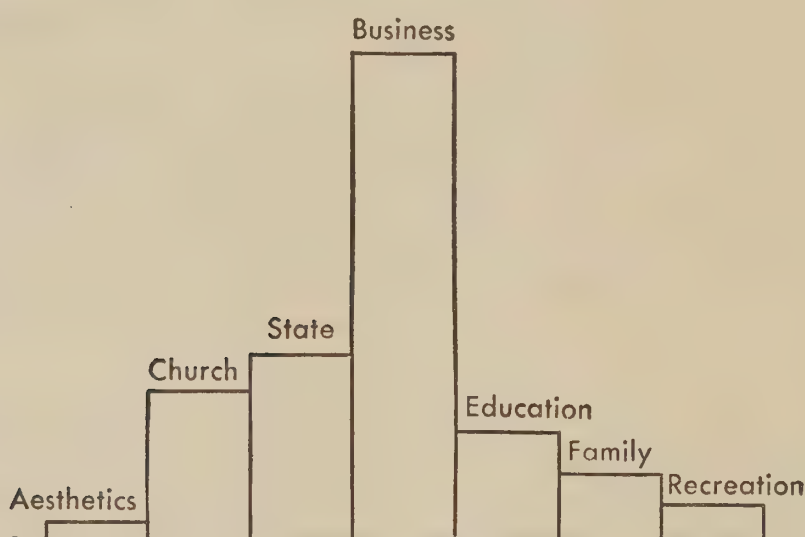


FIGURE 12.3. A Suggested Ranking of American Institutions by Power and Influence in 1900. (Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, Harper, 1951, p. 853.)

Institutional Structure in 1960

In 1960 a change in the relation of American institutions could be observed. Figure 12.4 shows the prominent rise of the political state into a new level of power. The state so increased its power during the 60-year interval that it now threatens to rival the long-established dominance of business institutions. Government men (who are often former businessmen) now make the more important decisions regarding the overall direction of the economy. The 1960 government appropriations calling for a federal expenditure of \$81 billion gives government men a large organization with great national powers and responsibilities. The military organization by reason of the world power struggle has grown to a huge peacetime establishment. The threat of an atomic war gives the military organization an enhanced authority and prestige. Labor organizations have grown rapidly in power. Their active participation in supporting political candidates and parties has revealed a growing capacity to influence elections and governmental policy.

Education has risen slightly in power as the state increasingly recruits its staff from among teachers and college graduates. However, the ideological scare has caused both business and the state to throw increased restraints

about educational institutions. The slight rise of education hangs precariously in the balance. Such institutions as the family, church, and aesthetic institutions seem to have remained at their previous level or to have suffered slight declines. Recreational institutions, led by the movie, radio, and television industries, have come to occupy a larger place of influence, and welfare institutions under state support are obviously growing. The overall picture reveals the power dominance of business and political institutions.

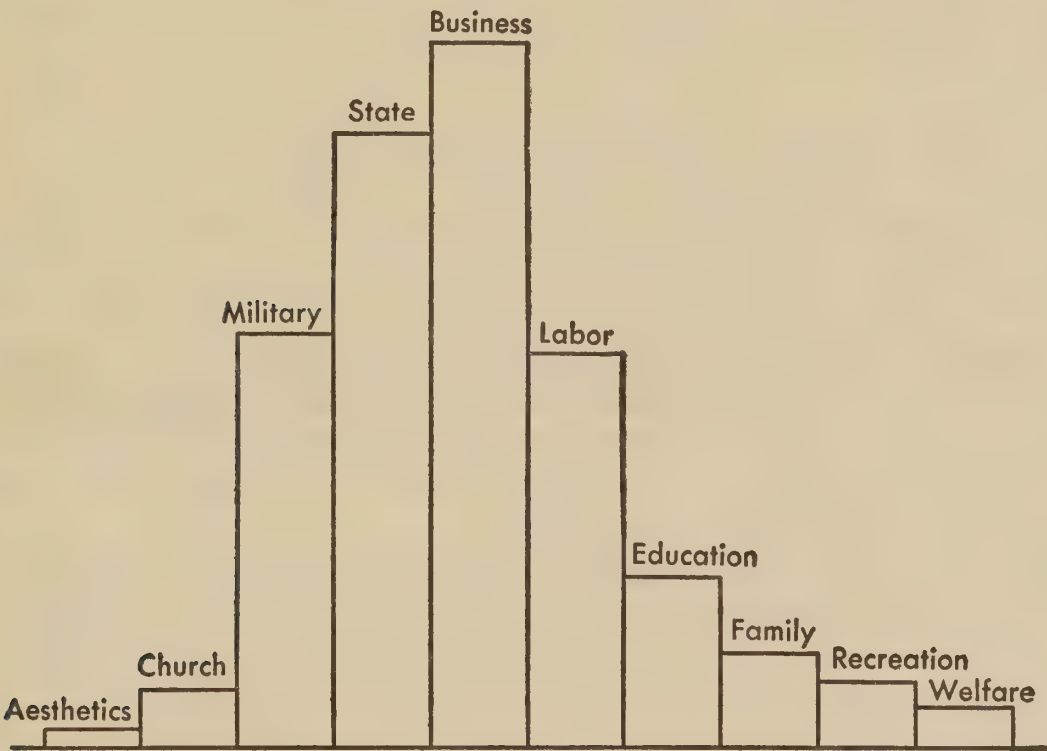


FIGURE 12.4. The Power Structuring of American Institutions in 1960. (Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, Harper, 1951, p. 854.)

The largest question confronting institutional life is the kind of relationship which should be or will be established between the political state and business institutions. Russia with state socialism, Spain with state capitalism, England with democratic socialism, and America with democratic capitalism are the major political-economic amalgams that are present in the world today. The United States with its democratic capitalism is confronted in the world scene with a powerful Russian state which represents state socialism. The external power struggle between these great states is affecting the organization of society even as internal forces act upon the development of political and economic institutions in each nation.

Many writers regard the society of 1960 as in a state of transition. The search for a stable society goes on, and great forces only partly understood and still less controlled will grind away until a new stability is achieved. This particular transition stage in human history is different from all others. For the first time technological advance has accomplished the

miracle of abundance. Men no longer need to starve. The machine on the farm and in the factory can produce a tremendous quantity of food and living commodities so that Americans and, in time, all peoples can live in comfort and security. A utopia of abundance has a material base that will pass an inventory in terms of machines, men, and materials. Against the promise of this material utopia loom the continuing threats of war and of internal strife. Both are real and both are possible. H. G. Wells said many years ago that the world is caught in a race between education and catastrophe.

Two Contrasting Structures for A.D. 2000

In A.D. 2000 two possible forms of institutional structuring may be envisioned. Figures 12.5 and 12.6 attempt to show these possibilities. The structuring of these two hypothetical societies is a study in contrast. Figure 12.5 represents a society in which economic and military security is threatened. As a result, the military, political, and economic institutions have lost their separate identity and are now merged in one all-powerful state. All other institutions defer in complete subservience to the state. Labor organizations have been abolished by state edict.

Figure 12.6 pictures a completely different society—one in which the economic struggle has almost ceased. Men have turned to a struggle for status and prestige in educational, ethical, and recreational institutions. Leisure-time activity predominates and status must be won in the institutions which enrich human living. The family and aesthetic institutions have

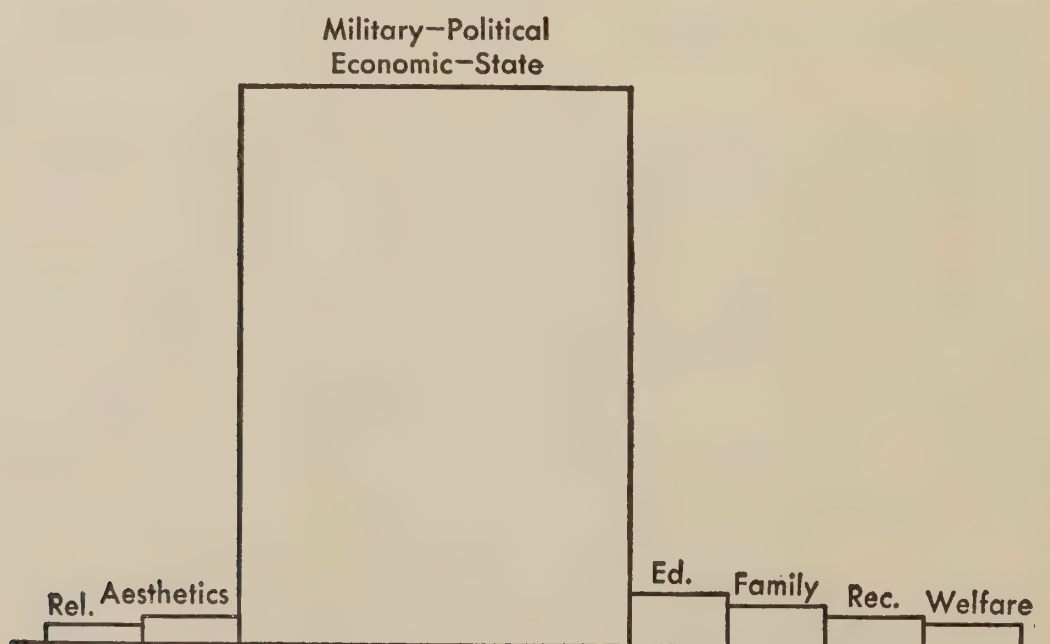


FIGURE 12.5. A Possible Power Structuring of American Institutions in A.D. 2000—Option A. (Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, Harper, 1951, p. 856.)

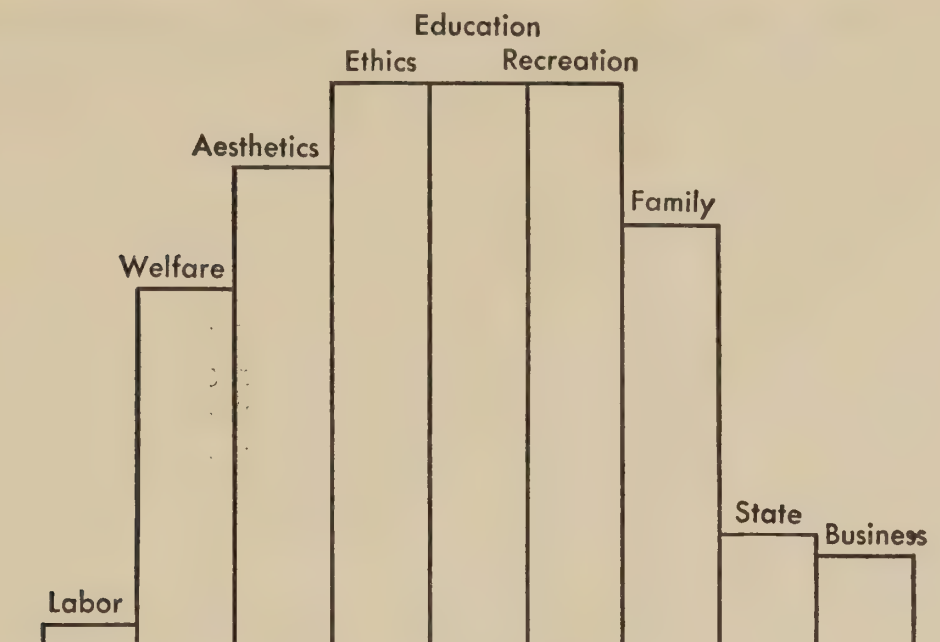


FIGURE 12.6. A Possible Power Structuring of American Institutions in A.D. 2000—Option B. (Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, Harper, 1951, p. 857.)

secured a position of much greater importance, but economic and political institutions have declined to a low level of importance. Automatic machinery has cut labor demands in the manufacture and distribution of goods so drastically that very little time or skill is required to service the economic needs of society. Labor organizations have all but disappeared as the line between owner and worker has become less meaningful. The political state has become greatly simplified by the cessation of economic struggles, which has removed its manifold responsibilities as an umpire. The coordination function is one of interrelating the ethical obligations of the person to society in conjunction with his educational and recreational growth. The ethical, educational, and recreational institutions share this large responsibility.

It must be admitted that human imagination in the middle of the twentieth century is strained by these two contrasts in the structuring of institutions. The revolutionary changes suggested by Figure 12.6 may seem beyond belief. The writers hasten to disclaim any great concern with their success in forecasting hypothetical societies. What is most important is the fact of social change in institutional structuring. To grasp the significance of a changing relationship between institutions is to open the mind to new interpretations of current life and to pose new possibilities in the future. The relationship between industry and society has changed, is changing, and will continue to change. The student of industrial society never forgets that all of his observations and interpretations of industry take place within a changing society. If he shuts his eyes to the larger context he loses perspec-

tive as researcher, teacher, or citizen. The interrelationship between industry and society is not the ending but the beginning of industrial sociology.

THE RELATION OF NATIONAL POWER STRUCTURE TO COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES

The national power structure may be considered as a set of institutional power relations which influence community power structures. Moreover, there is an identity to the national power structure that must be respected. We have shown that big business, big government, big military organization, and big labor act as dominant forces in influencing the central organs of national life. However, local communities do have a degree of independence. Military leaders, for example, will appear only in the largest American cities or in such communities where military bases have been established. Even when a large base exists, military leaders command only intermittent influence in community life. It is similarly true that big business, big government, or big labor may not be powerful in a given community. The reasons for these differences in national and community power structures will be made clear in the following chapters. What is important now is to grasp the way in which the national power structure may penetrate community life.³³ The individual character of community power structures will be shown to be full of surprises as the variations are described.

Impacts of Absentee Ownership on Community Power Structure

WITHDRAWAL OF ECONOMIC DOMINANTS

Warner and Low have presented a historical account of how changes in the technology of the shoe industry altered social relations both in and outside the factory.³⁴ Figure 2.6 in Chapter 2 showed that during the early factory period the skill hierarchy dominated workers' lives and largely fixed their status positions in the community. The hierarchy of crafts was at the same time an age-grade system through which young men were expected to pass. The factories themselves were under the informal control of community traditions. Shoe manufacturers, who were accepted by all classes as leaders, felt a responsibility toward the community.

The mechanization of shoe production largely destroyed the skill hierarchy *and* the age-grade system that accompanied it. Skill workers became semi-skilled, and as semiskilled workers remained on that level. Young men could

³³ Cf. C. Wright Mills, *op. cit.*, chap. 2, pp. 30-46.

³⁴ W. L. Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, Yale University Press, 1947.

no longer anticipate an ascent into jobs requiring greater skills. They lost hope and security. The older people also lost security, status, and confidence in local leaders. Along with changes in production went a change in the structure of business ownership. Note evolution of ownership and control in Figure 2.7. Big city financiers assumed financial and directional control of local factories. Changes in occupational structure and financial control shattered the network of personal relations, loyalties, and obligations.

This fact was not appreciated until a strike was called by the workers in a town that absentee managers considered unionproof and strikeproof. The managers were surprised at the amount of support the strikers received from small businessmen, churchmen, the police, and others. The reason for this was that the captains of industry were no longer the community leaders. They could not count on the support of local leaders. Consequently, the workers won the strike, and an industrial union became a part of the social fabric of Yankee City. Equally important, leadership in the factory, as far as the workers were concerned, passed from management to union leaders.

Pellegrin and Coates have shown that absentee-owned corporations play a vital role in civic affairs within "Bigtown," a Southern city of approximately 200,000.³⁵ This city has had a meteoric growth based on the new industrial plants which were built by absentee-owned corporations. Community projects are usually doomed if they lack the approval of these new corporations. Top executives communicate with one another informally and arrive at agreement on matters of policy. The executives of each corporation are then informed of the decision, making it possible for given community projects to be supported or vetoed by united action.

Typically, the absentee-owned corporation has a list of executives eligible for membership in power-wielding civic organizations. Community leaders expect the corporations to provide civic leadership commensurate with its size, and the corporation expects adequate representation in all groups which chart the course of community affairs. Executives are expected to serve in selected civic posts as part of their job. An executive gets a clearance from his superior permitting him to serve. The researchers report that one interviewee told them, "Only a man who is naive would accept invitations to participate in important community affairs without the blessings of Mr. A., the top executive of our company. For a man to ignore the usual procedure for getting clearance, he'd either have to be unconcerned about his career or be a complete ass. In fact, in my company, executives at any level have to clear all their organizational memberships with top management."³⁶

It has been pointed out that the executive depends for his career advancement upon his superiors rather than upon local individuals or institutions,

³⁵ Roland J. Pellegrin and Charles H. Coates, "Absentee-owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1956, pp. 413-417.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

and hence he is much more concerned with the affairs of the corporation than he is with those of the community.³⁷

Pellegrin and Coates affirm this to be true of the absentee-owned corporation executives in Bigtown but list other motives, such as altruism, desire for power and feeling of respect gained in community participation, and a sense of personal independence not possible inside the corporation.

Another researcher in a small Midwestern industrial community of some 20,000 inhabitants has reported that there has been a withdrawal of the most important economic leaders from participation in community affairs.³⁸ He believes this to be related to three social factors: (1) the establishment by a growing number of locally owned industrial units of direct supplier relationships with a small number of large, nonlocal manufacturing plants; (2) the subsequent introduction into the local economic system of an increasing number of branch plants of large, absentee corporations; and (3) the concomitant dissolution of the extensive networks of interlocking director and officerships which had formerly served to link significant members of local economic dominants within the community.³⁹ As the top economic leaders have withdrawn from community affairs and especially those representing the growing number of large, absentee-owned corporations, the overt direction of the political and civic life of the community has passed almost wholly into the hands of a group of middle-class business and professional men almost none of whom occupies a position of economic dominance. The absentee-owned corporations are taking a "hands off" position with regard to local political decision-making. The corporations are interested in "making friends" but "getting involved" is regarded as inconsonant. Meaningful participation in the decision-making processes of a community are mainly regarded as entailing risks of alienation to their operation and to their positions in the larger social system—risks which could not be offset by any palpable advantages through playing significant roles in the local power structure.⁴⁰

A study of Zanesville, Ohio, has corroborated a number of these trends. Rossi reports that the absentee manager appears to be motivated to participate in local affairs mainly through corporation pressures; his role, however, is defined as "get involved but at no risk to the company." Above all, the executive is not supposed to lose—"losing" being defined as arousing or becoming enmeshed in controversy. The pressures, therefore, induce managers toward "safe" activities which demonstrate corporate and individual good fellowship. *Participation is required, but not leadership.* Local leaders

³⁷ C. Wright Mills and Melville J. Ulmer, "Small Business and Civic Welfare," Senate Document No. 135, United States Government Printing Office, 1946, p. 26.

³⁸ Robert O. Schulze, "Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1958, pp. 3-9.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

and politicians are placed in an anomalous position. Most of them are aware of the lack of real interest on the part of the absentee executives and are frustrated in their attempts to get them involved. On the other hand, local politicians with outside connections are in a position to cause embarrassment and trouble for absentee corporation managers. This merely adds up to yet another reason why the latter executives avoid community involvement.⁴¹

ECONOMIC DOMINANTS AS POLICY-MAKERS

Hunter and others believe that this withdrawal motif is not borne out in many American cities. Rather, major economic leaders of corporations are seen to place themselves in powerful policy-making positions where they exercise influential direction of community decision-making by veto, money, representation, and advice. The usual pattern is for a new idea to grow out of a series of informal meetings held by various leaders and groups. When the time for action arrives, the selection of the policy committee falls largely to the men of power in the community. They will likely be businessmen in one or more of the larger business establishments. Mutual choices will be agreed upon for committee membership. In the early stages of policy formulation there will be a few men who make the basic decisions. Later, top ranking organizational and institutional personnel will be selected for assignments. Civic associations and institutions will be brought in; newspapers will carry stories, ministers will preach sermons, and associational members will hear speeches regarding plans. Most of the top personnel will not be seen at meetings attended by the associational understructure in Regional City, but they will follow the progress of projects they are interested in and will encourage or veto according to their wishes.⁴²

Effects of a Strong Labor Organization on Community Power Structure

“Steelport” is an industrial town of 50,000. Twelve thousand employees work at the steel mill that provides the town’s main livelihood. Eleven thousand of the steelworkers belong to the CIO Steelworkers’ Union. The class and ethnic structure of Steelport is shown as Table 32. The strong labor organization indicates that organized labor has the potential power to be the most influential body in the city. McKee found that the CIO did not dominate the city’s affairs; indeed, he found that business as a group had immensely more prestige and status than labor. Labor is still regarded at

⁴¹ Report by Peter Rossi to Community Power Structure Conference, Cambridge, Massachusetts, April 26–27, 1958.

⁴² Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1951, pp. 92–93.

worst as "an illegitimate intruder and at best a spokesman for a limited interest group."⁴³

However, before 1937 Steelport had been governed almost exclusively by the Republican party. This party was controlled by the Protestant high-status segment of the community. This minority was highly successful in maintaining its superior power. Low-status ethnics had political organizations of their own, each organized along nationality lines. Leaders of each club bargained with Republican leaders for concessions and power in the wards. Working-class groups remained disunited along nationality lines. The

TABLE 32. Class and Ethnic Structure of Steelport

Class	Percentage of Population	Ethnic Composition	Percentage of Population
Managerial	3	Native-born	31.0
Professional	4	English, Scottish, Canadian	5.5
"Old middle class"	5	German, Austrian, Irish	10.5
Lower-middle class	17	Czech, Polish, Italian, Hungarian, Yugoslav	37.0
Working class	71	Romanian, Greek, Russian, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Negro	9.0
		Other	3.0
Totals	100		100.0

SOURCE: James B. McKee, *Organized Labor and Community Decision Making: A Study in the Sociology of Power*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1953, pp. 81, 86.

CIO came into existence in 1937 and by 1940 was prepared to enter the political scene. It wanted to unite all the workers into a single, cohesive organization. The CIO constantly urged the various nationality groups to identify themselves with the working class. The Republican party dominance could be broken if the ethnic rivalry for favors could be eliminated. The CIO supported a public housing proposal as its first community bid for power. The business and professional groups were successful in their opposition, but the CIO emerged for the first time as the spokesman for the working class. In 1944, along with its national organization, the CIO formed a local Political Action Committee. Almost immediately the Steelport political scene changed. With PAC support the Democratic party started to win every local election. Table 12 (see page 173) illustrates this change.

⁴³ James B. McKee, *Organized Labor and Community Decision Making*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1953, p. 176.

Labor had gained political power in Steelport but did not drive ahead to institute a labor program. The CIO has not challenged the community with a political program of issues or candidates representing a radical departure from what is already offered by the existing political parties. The upper-class element after 1937 apparently yielded political power to labor without a struggle. McKee believes that this was because the loss was unimportant to the business community. Businessmen are more concerned with national and state legislation than with municipal legislation. "Rarely does the city administration face a decision that has serious consequences for the business community."⁴⁴ Moreover, by control of the finance committee businessmen have control over the major decisions in the community. When an issue arises it is they who make the decision, or at least endorse it. "As such they have a veto power. And this power rests on the superior prestige which accrues to them by virtue of their position in a business oriented culture."⁴⁵ Business is accepted as the legitimate voice of the community at large. Labor remains only a pressure group in Steelport, although a powerful one. Four major effects may be summarized.

FOUR EFFECTS OF LABOR'S RISE IN STEELPORT

Power and Leadership Have Been Redistributed. Labor officials and union members are represented in the community chest, in special-citizen's committees, and in political offices. Some leaders are definitely included among the top influentials in Steelport.

The Social Chances of the Low-Status Person Have Been Multiplied. The possibility of gaining increased status and rewards have multiplied as a result of labor's rise to power. These opportunities are found inside labor organization as well as in community leadership.

The Status System of the Community Has Become More Equalized. The community is no longer an association of a few restricted groups. Religion, ethnic origin, and occupation no longer play so important a role.

Labor Has Become Accepted as a Legitimate Decision-Making Group in the Community. When labor's participation in community decision-making was regarded as legitimate, conflicts between managerial and labor groups were diminished as each began to conduct negotiations on an informal and mutually respectful basis. Each has accepted the importance of the low real estate tax rate in the community as an essential base for economic prosperity of the steel mills. And each foregoes pressure to promote many new services that could have been financed by taxing steel property. Thus a common interest and identification with capitalism leads to integration and essentially an endorsement of businessmen as the controllers of economic destiny in the community. On the political level, PAC

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.

refuses to identify completely with one political party, nor does it have an overall political program to further a special "labor" interest. It often endorses Republican candidates. Thus the cleavage between the CIO and the middle class is softened, guaranteeing a common ground for community participation. Labor has not "rocked the boat." It has accepted the basic tenets of a capitalist society within the local community. As such it is "respectable," and its leaders, cleansed by noncommunist oaths, are tolerated among the top influentials.

Influence of Government on Community Power Structure

Government activities have been reaching into the local community with increased scope and intensity. The extent of such involvement can be gauged in crisis situations when governmental agencies are set up to take care of needs that the local community is unable to discharge. Government officials often enter the community power structure as transients, but they come with large grants of power, and the whole structure of the community bends to the new forces.

INVOLVEMENT OF A SMALL COMMUNITY IN WARTIME

Seneca, Illinois, is a town which illustrates these trends. Havighurst and Morgan have reported in detail the way in which the institutions of this small American town were changed by an industrial boom during World War II.⁴⁶ This town had a population of 1,235 in 1942, and a population of 6600 two years later. The boom was due to the location of a shipyard on the banks of the Illinois river next to the village. Six million dollars of government money was used to equip the shipyard; another \$6 million was used to expand the facilities of the community. Eighty-two million dollars was paid out in wages to Seneca shipbuilders in a little less than three years. To care for the inrush of workers, public housing projects were built; business, churches, and schools expanded; and the whole institutional complex of the village was transformed.

Government in Seneca passed rapidly from the hands of a village council and a county board of supervisors into a complicated set of relationships between local officials, federal government officials, Chicago Bridge and Iron Company, and United States Navy officials. Seneca's government had been largely a community and county matter, with a small amount of assistance from state agencies, and almost no contact with federal agencies. During the boom the power of initiative was largely withdrawn from the local community. Seneca's governmental decisions were made in federal agencies outside of Seneca, and local government became an instrument for

⁴⁶ Robert J. Havighurst and H. Gerthson Morgan, *The Social History of a War-Boom Community*, Longmans, Green, 1951.

carrying these decisions into effect. The national government provided housing, employment service, health service, and public utilities. The principal federal government agencies and their activities in Seneca were as follows:

War Manpower Commission—Studied the availability of labor in the Seneca area and advised other agencies on how many workers would have to be brought in from a greater-than-commuter distance.

National Housing Agency—Determined the amount of federal housing to be provided.

Federal Public Housing Authority—Supervised the construction and management of public housing projects, and later actually managed the projects.

Federal Works Agency—Determined the need for public buildings and public services and recommended grants accordingly.

Office of Civilian Defense—Organized a War Services Committee of the Civilian Defense Council. This committee broke up into several small committees which worked under various local auspices.

Office of Community War Services—The functions of this office were to coordinate the efforts of various federal agencies in war-production areas, and to advise local agencies in these areas.⁴⁷

The persons who represented local, state, and federal agencies fell into several groups, each group with its own goals and methods of work. Social distance was preserved among the representatives of various agencies. The federal “peck order” was constructed by the researchers with the following ranking:

United States Navy

United States Public Health Service

War Production Board

Federal Works Agency

War Manpower Commission

The Social Service Agencies—Housing, Education, Child Welfare, Social Protection⁴⁸

The United States Navy actually was the final authority on matters in Seneca. All other federal agencies yielded to it.⁴⁹

With the end of World War II Seneca tended to return to conditions prevailing before the boom. Local and county governmental units became more important in controlling their own responsibilities. Local business leaders again made the key economic decisions and took the lead in guiding or monitoring political parties.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 299–300.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 317–318.

⁴⁹ Similar community changes are occurring in numerous communities when military projects have been recently installed or expanded. Such communities include Huntsville, Alabama; Cape Canaveral, Florida; and Hanford, Washington.

GROWING INVOLVEMENT OF NATIONAL AND STATE GOVERNMENT

At the national and state level a growing number of local functions are being subsumed. There are 30 different ways in which government influences the local economy. Government in Table 33 refers to all levels of government in the United States unless a specific level is designated.

Table 33 suggests that more and more individuals in specific government organizations are in a position to influence community activity. However,

TABLE 33. Proportion of Government Activity in 30 Selected Areas of the National Economy

Function	Percentage	Date
Atomic energy research	99	1953
Insurance of bank deposits	96	1953
Unfilled orders of the aircraft industry	95	June 30, 1954
Investments of commercial banks in U.S. bonds	81	1954
Welfare payments made by government	75	1950
Schools and colleges financed by government	72	1950
Unemployed workers received unemployment insurance	63	1954
Scientific research financed	62	1953
Net farm income held as surplus farm goods	59	1953
All loans to farmers	42	1952
All social scientists employed by government	40	1954
Irrigation projects of western states, capital	34	1950
Medical care expenditures	31	1951
All debt in U.S. owned by government	29	1953
Ownership of total land area of U.S. by federal government	24	1953
Gross national product purchased by government	24	1954
All commercial forest land owned	23	1954
All U.S. exports financed by government loans	23	1947-1954
National income collected as net tax revenue of government	23	1954
Total exports which are federal government military exports	20	1953
Nation's nonfarm economy regulated by government	20	1950
Active U.S. merchant marine fleet subsidized	19	1954
Sales of General Motors made to government	19	1953
All employed persons employed by government	13	1954
Personal income collected as personal taxes	11	1954
All electric power produced by federal government	10	1950
All physicians employed by government	10	1953
Employed workers in government enterprises selling goods and services to consumers	2	1950

SOURCE: Compiled by Meyer Weinberg and Oscar E. Shabot, in *Society and Man*, Prentice-Hall, 1956, p. 498.

government officials are usually salaried personnel who lack financial security. They are particularly vulnerable to pressure from the more powerful economic leaders of the community. Indeed, they cannot ordinarily speak for themselves, but only as agency policy permits. They are often more interested in the reputation they can command in an organization than in a specific community. They must try to get along with local leaders. These prescriptions usually close the bounds of their authority in very circumscribed ways. Their potential power is almost always greater than their actual exercise of power. They cannot be ignored in the community power structure, but in most communities the economic leaders have found that there are ways in which they can be controlled.

INVOLUNTARY INVOLVEMENT OF A SMALL COMPANY

The way in which a single company may become intertwined in government functions is illustrated by a rapidly growing new electronics firm in a West Coast city. The president held that community involvement did not pay off for his company and that he did everything to avoid it.⁵⁰ However, he found that a large number of community contacts were imposed upon him and his company, many of them from government agencies. He cited the following:

In City Government. The fire and police departments insist on following certain regulations in the plant building. A fire protection system was installed.

The water department refused to lay a pipe line to plant on complaint that plant sewage wastes might contaminate the water.

The street department was requested to provide badly needed sidewalks and paving, but it has not taken action. The president of the company is going to see the mayor about this soon.

The building inspector insists that a remodeling permit can be issued only if the equipment is installed by union labor; the electrical inspector makes the same demand. The president thinks this union tie-up is a reward for campaign funds contributed by labor unions.

The city council is inquiring into tax relations being worked out for a new plant proposed by the electronics company. The city wants a tax return in excess of what the company believes to be fair. The school officials are watching and demanding that the company pay a larger share of taxes to support new schools in the community.

In County Government. The county planning commission has submitted list of requirements for the proposed new plant. The county commissioners have tried to sell their personal land holdings to the electronics company with the promise that their land could be zoned for industry (and

⁵⁰ Interview held by the authors in July, 1957.

with the implied warning that it may not be easy to find land which the commissioners will zone for industry).

In State Government. The state employment service wants all placement to come through their offices and asks the company to desist from use of private employment agencies. The state employment service has asked for full list of job descriptions.

In Federal Government. The unions at the plant are demanding that an election of representation be scheduled with the National Labor Relations Board. The National Labor Relations Board has been asking for labor force statistics and job descriptions.

Military contracts must be negotiated to provide 80 percent of the company's business. There is a constant coming and going of Defense officials who are negotiating, advising, monitoring, and inspecting company affairs. There has been a tightening of military security, and security regulations are causing increased attention. New facilities have just been purchased to safeguard records.

This is a picture of a small enterprise, and it shows that numerous government officials do exercise a power that cannot be easily ignored. Top influentials have an access to the mayor, councilmen, and department heads. They may exercise certain sanctions, such as withdrawal of campaign contributions for elected officials or threats of their ability to secure dismissal of appointed officials. But mainly they can rely upon their friendly contacts to secure quick and respectful attention to their needs. Men like the president of the new electronics firm who elect to play lone-wolf roles are exposed to the unmitigated effects of bureaucratic regulations. Community involvement is like a magnetic force drawing responsible people into community, state, and national power structures—some are drawn willingly, others are pulled against their will. To stay out is to assert an isolation that cannot be maintained.

In conclusion, it may be said that the national power structure strongly influences community power structures. The impacts can be especially observed in the effects of absentee ownership, in increased strength of labor organization, and in the growing intervention of government in community life.

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Chapter 13

COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES IN WESTERN SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION

The comparative study of international power structures is one of the most challenging frontiers for future research. The growing ties between nations place an increasing importance on understanding different power structures at the national and community level. Whether the interchange between nations involves diplomacy, trade, education, military defense, health, or other international concerns, the power structures of the respective countries are always involved. Much knowledge is needed, but relatively little is known. The writers have been handicapped by the lack of research knowledge, but they have attempted to outline the major factors in institutional power structures utilizing their own travel and research experiences. The generalizations rest mainly on comparative studies of power structures in the United States, Great Britain, and Mexico.¹ Other studies as cited in the bibliography have been consulted.

The present chapter begins by describing similarities and differences observed in institutional power structures of Western society. Next, similarities and differences of community power structures are discussed. Finally, historic factors explaining changes within any given community power structure are identified.

¹ William H. Form spent eight months in Mexico studying the national power structure. Delbert C. Miller spent 15 months in Europe and 3 months in Latin America studying national power structures.

SIMILARITIES OBSERVED IN INSTITUTIONAL POWER STRUCTURES WITHIN WESTERN SOCIETY

Contemporary Trends in Institutional Power Profiles of Western Society

The rising strength of governments and organized labor has been observed in all free nations of the Western world. Military leaders have a more important role also. They are in control of large bodies of armed men as well as large military expenditures. Likewise, education as the training ground for scientists, administrators, and technical specialists has come to command greater attention and greater influence. The centralization of industry is producing a greater degree of absentee ownership, with the salaried manager as administrator of a growing apparatus of branch and chain industries. At the community level, local owners are being replaced in various businesses by mobile corporation managers. All of these trends are filtering in different ways through free industrialized communities today.

DIFFERENCES OBSERVED IN INSTITUTIONAL POWER STRUCTURE WITHIN WESTERN NATIONS

Relative Power of Various Institutional Sectors

The institutional profile for the United States would not fit with exact correspondence any other Western nation. Variations would appear in the relative power of business, education, religion, labor, government, and military sectors. Perhaps the most dramatic variations of these various sectors which can be observed are shown in Figure 13.1.

SIMILARITIES OF COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES OBSERVED WITHIN WESTERN NATIONS

A cross-sectional view of community power structures in Western society reveals many similarities. Three factors appear to explain the central tendencies in the democratic nations: (1) industrial composition, (2) distribution of private property, and (3) distribution of political power.

Industrial Composition

Industrialization produces manufacturers, merchants, and financiers. It requires professionals, technicians, and white-collar workers to provide a

INSTITUTIONAL SECTOR	NATION	MANIFESTATIONS
Business	United States	Private enterprise is dominant and strongly influences the character and growth of all social institutions.
Education	Great Britain	Role of university graduates in government, politics, and industry has a distinctive impact. Education as a status symbol in a relatively rigid class system characterizes one culture pattern, often called the "establishment."
Labor	Great Britain	Labor party is a very strong opposition party. Its socialist ideology has produced a definite policy-making impact upon social structure of Great Britain.
Religion	Spain, Italy, and France	Catholic church is an ideological center fighting communism and the Communist party. Note role of Catholic labor unions.
Political party	France, Italy	Domestic and foreign policy is splintered by the wide range of political parties from extreme right to extreme left.
Government	Soviet Russia, Spain, and Portugal	Totalitarian regimes which dictate to industry, school, mass communication agencies, religion, welfare, and aesthetic institutions.
Military	East Germany, Hungary, and other Soviet satellites.	Military occupation puts military leaders in direct supervision of civilian life.

FIGURE 13.1. Variations in Institutional Power Structures of Western Nations.

variety of services. Skilled and semiskilled workers with machines furnish the manual effort to produce goods. Unskilled workers constitute residual labor requirements for nonmechanized tasks. The wide range of industry requires an appropriate range of workers. The ratio of the various types needed tends toward a series of similar constants. Note the similarity in economic base between Bristol, England, and Seattle, Washington—each a city with approximately one-half million inhabitants—as shown in Table 34. While these two cities were selected for their similarity, this is not an exceptional comparison. Whole families of cities drawn from industrialized countries could be shown to have a similar economic base.

TABLE 34. Economic Base of an Industrial Port City in England and the United States

Bristol, England	Seattle, Washington
Aircraft and guided missiles	Aircraft and guided missiles
Engineering and shipbuilding	Shipbuilding, marine engineering, and gear manufacturing
Paper and polishing	Lumber and lumber products
Chocolate, wine and spirits, tobacco, milling	Flour milling and food processing
Breweries	Breweries
Finance	Finance
Insurance	Insurance
Stock investment	Stock investment
Banks	Banks
Commerce	Commerce
Warehousing	Warehousing
Business offices	Business offices
Government business	Government business
Regional offices of electricity, gas, labor, trade, arts, and broadcasting	Regional offices of military establishments, labor, and housing
University	University
Large State University	Large State University

Distribution of Private Property

Private property is the center of all power in countries where the bulk of capital equipment is privately owned. The relative distribution of private property fixes a set of power relations. In the past 80 years there has been a vast transformation of property as industrialization has advanced. The proportion of workers who own the property from which they produce their livelihood has diminished greatly. This has brought about great changes in the composition of the labor force. Those changes have been most marked in those occupations which have made up the middle class. In 1870, the United States was still predominantly rural. The farmers, businessmen, and free professionals made up the middle class. Each owned property or operated independently. By 1940 all three of these groups had declined. Table 35 shows that the old middle class composed of farmers, businessmen, and free professionals made up 85 percent of the middle-class population in 1870; by 1940 they had declined to 44 percent. On the other hand, a new group of white-collar workers had risen. This new middle class is made up of managers, salaried professionals, salespeople, and office workers. Table 35 shows

how this group increased from 15 percent of the middle class in 1870 to 56 percent in 1940. (These trends have continued through 1960 with increased proportionate growth in all of the occupations of the new middle class. Farmers continue to decline rapidly in the “old middle class” category.)

TABLE 35. Occupational Changes of the Middle Classes in the United States, 1870-1940

Old Middle Class	1870	1940	New Middle Class	1870	1940
Farmers	62%	23%	Managers	2%	6%
Businessmen	21	19	Salaried professionals	4	14
Free professional	2	2	Salespeople	7	14
			Office workers	2	22
Total	85	44		15	56

SOURCE: C. Wright Mills, *White Collar Worker*, Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 65.

The old middle class rested on independent proprietorship; the new rests on possession of specialized abilities and skills. Having a specialized skill—managerial, technical, or clerical—is the basis for attachment to an organization as a wage or salary worker. The tremendous productivity of mass production technique and the application of mass organization are the underlying reasons for this shift.

The ownership of manufacturing enterprises has been increasingly transferred from independent proprietors to corporations. Today approximately 50 percent of American manufacturing is held by about 150 corporations reckoned by asset values.² “In the production of motor vehicles, agricultural machinery, rubber tires, cigarettes, aluminum, liquor, meat products, copper, tin containers, and office machinery, the largest three firms in 1947 did two-thirds or more of all the business.”³

This pattern of large-scale organization in industrial activity is a pattern of industrialization in a competitive world market society. Political relations are polarized as liberal and conservative positions in which liberalism is identified with the buttressing of weak bargaining positions in the economy; conservatism is identified with the protection of positions of original economic power.⁴

² A. A. Berle, Jr., *Economic Power and Free Society*, Fund for the Republic, 1959, p. 14.

³ John K. Galbraith, *American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power*, Houghton Mifflin, 1952, p. 42. Cf. A. D. H. Kaplan, *Big Business in a Competitive System*, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1954.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

Distribution of Political Power

Political power is a dynamic contest in which conservative and liberal (or radical) forces seek dominance. The rise of unionization and the humanitarian movement have released the energies of organized labor. Labor's political power reached new strength in comparable ways in Seattle and Bristol. In Seattle, the Teamsters Union under the driving leadership of Mr. Dave Beck grew to be a powerful economic and political power in the 1930's. Seattle businessmen first fought the militant organizing and bargaining tactics of the aggressive union, but later accepted peace at the price of higher wage rates and concessions on working conditions. It is claimed that Mr. Beck was able to put one hand-picked mayor into office by throwing labor strength behind him. Other labor unions began to grow with the passage of the Wagner Act and with Seattle's World War II boom. At the expanding airplane plant of the Boeing Company, the Aero Mechanics became a union of more than 20,000 members. The AFL Trades, especially in building and construction, experienced large increases in membership. The Longshore Workers Union, although small, added another militant voice to the loose and often conflicting bloc of labor interests. Support was given to Republican and Democratic candidates according to Gompers' best advice about playing the field and not attaching labor fortunes to any one political party.

Elsewhere, in Great Britain, Bristol trade unionism kept pace with national growth. A higher proportion of manual workers became members of unions; by 1939 one saw established the same pattern of relative union strength as now. The Transport and General Workers Union became the largest in the city, not unnaturally with so many Bristol workers in grades and industries for which that union so capaciously provides. The National Union of Railway Men also grew to a membership of some thousands. The second largest union was the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Printing unions also became strong, while the tobacco workers were, and are, divided between their own union and that of the Transport and General Workers.

The labor movement developed politically as in other great cities. Four of the five Bristol seats for Parliament were contested by Socialists in 1918; thereafter the local Labor party was formally organized as such. In 1936 the party won a majority of the seats in the council and has held on to its leadership, although some elections have given almost equal representation to the Labor and Citizen party. The zenith of labor power was reached in Bristol when a local newspaper reported on December 10, 1952, that the Bristol Labor party was in control of every committee in the City Council.

"They gained control of the last Citizen outpost—the Horticultural Show Committee when the chairman and vice chairman of the committee (both Citizen Party members) resigned from office."⁵

⁵ *Bristol Evening Post*, Bristol, England, December 10, 1952, p. 1.

Recently Walter Reuther, an American labor leader, was challenged with the statement that American trade union leaders sound often like capitalists, when they praise the free enterprise system, yet often act like socialists, when, for example, they advocate profit-sharing systems. He replied:

The American labor movement is as radical on basic things as the European labor movement, but we don't dress our things up with socialist slogans because we are not essentially committed to a socialist philosophy. We are pragmatic; if a thing will work, we are for doing it—whether it's radical or conservative, we're for doing it. We are committed to the free enterprise system because by and large it has worked. Now it has a lot of defects, but instead of trying to overthrow the system and substitute in its place a nationalized economic system, where we have to bargain with the government, we prefer to bargain with the private employer, but we prefer to make him more responsible. We sit down and we talk through and think through what are the basic deficiencies in the free enterprise system, what can we do economically and politically to overcome these deficiencies and make the system work more in the interest of the common good. . . . Politically, the American labor movement is essentially trying to work within the two-party structure, but to bring about a basic realignment so that the two parties really stand for distinct points of view.⁶

Democracy is an exercise between leaders and the alert and intelligent participation of the many followers. There is always a tendency for political power to become a direct handmaiden to economic power. Democracies must be responsible to the needs of a majority who express themselves by vote and by effective public action. Leaders seeking to win popular approval respond with action programs. As similar needs arise in industrial nations of similar economic and political bases, then common governmental activities may be observed in the functioning of modern communities.

The governmental activities of city governments in Bristol, England, and Seattle, Washington (two cities shown to be of similar economic base), are compared in Table 36.

Note that all listed functions are common to both cities and that they are almost all municipally owned and operated functions. The few private facilities have been so marked. What is to be especially observed is the extent to which similarity of public function exists even in two cities where the governmental power is based on different philosophies. In Bristol the Labor (Socialist) party holds political dominance with its leaders in almost all key legislative positions. In Seattle, a conservative local government dominates (Republican). Yet each city has almost the same amount of municipal ownership and control. Seattle has a very large municipal monopoly of electric power while Bristol looks to a regional power grid, owned and operated by the national government. However, Bristol operates a large housing

⁶ Henry Brandon, "How Do We Live With Bigness: A Conversation with Walter Reuther," *New Republic*, July 21, 1958, pp. 13-15.

TABLE 36. Municipal Functions in Bristol, England, Compared with Seattle, Washington

Bristol, England	Seattle, Washington
Street lighting	Street lighting
Police	Police
Public health	Public health
A. Personal health service	A. Personal health services
1. Mother and child	1. Mother and child
2. School health services	2. School health services
3. Mental health services Home care	3. Mental health services
B. Environmental health	B. Environmental health (Much of this is done by a national agency—USPH)
C. Welfare services	C. Welfare Services
Ambulance, TB, VD, Unmarried mothers	TB, VD, Unmarried mothers
Libraries	Libraries
Schools	Schools
A. Primary	A. Primary
B. Secondary	B. Secondary
Fire	Fire
Electricity	Electricity
Was municipal but is now national government function	Municipal ownership of dams, power stations, and lines
Art gallery	Art gallery (P) ^a Privately supported but for the public. A university gallery and a small gallery exists.
Museums	Museums—1
City docks	City docks
Very large establishment	Large city dock and warehousing but private sector
Public baths	Public baths
18 Baths	Numerous beaches but few inside baths
Sewers	Sewers
Refuse disposal	Refuse disposal and sewage Disposal plants
Housing	Housing (P) ^a
A very large holding of 30,000 houses owned and managed	Slum clearance and some holdings by federal government
Planning	Planning
A large redevelopment program involving city center, schools, apartments, etc.	Zoning and traffic planning

TABLE 36 (Continued)

Bristol, England	Seattle, Washington
Welfare services	Welfare services
A. Health	A. Health
Medical, dental, and hospital service is under a National Health Service (Some private medical, dental, and hospital care)	Private medical and dental care (P) ^a Some coöperative medicine and dentistry Municipal hospitals Many national veteran hospitals operated by federal government
B. Family allowances	B. Family allowances None but exemptions are granted on income tax
C. Dependency problems	C. Dependency Problems
1. Needy National and private	1. Needy State and Private
2. Unemployed Unemployment insurance under Ministry of Labor Labor Exchange	2. Unemployed Unemployment insurance under State Labor Office Labor Exchange
3. Probation City Probation Officer	3. Probation City Probation officer
4. Children City homes	4. Children City homes
5. Aged, handicapped	5. Aged, handicapped
Municipal airport	Municipal airport
Civil Defense	Civil Defense
Cemeteries Municipal	Cemeteries (P) ^a
Civic catering Five restaurants, works canteens, summer cafes, bakery	Civic catering (P) ^a
Printing and stationery Large office and factory	Printing and stationery (P) ^a
Public works and planning Highways, bridges, sewers	Public works and planning Highways, bridges, sewers
Public markets 3 large markets	Public markets 1 large market
Parks	Parks and beaches
Zoo	Zoo
Water (P) ^a	Water
Transit Private and public	Transit

^a (P) refers to private ownership.

corporation holding some 30,000 homes. Seattle has a national housing program of a much smaller size. All utilities tend to be public in both cities, except Bristol has a private waterworks and a partly private transit system.

The similarities seen here are derived from common urban needs and from similarities in democratic political institutions.

FACTORS EXPLAINING THE APPEARANCE OF DIFFERENT COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES WITHIN WESTERN NATIONS

Economic, Political, and Social Factors

A cross-sectional view of community power structures in Western society may reveal many similarities, but the variations are also notable. This was suggested in the discussion on variations in institutionalized power. The variations occur largely around economic factors, political and governmental factors, and social factors.

Four economic factors seem to be especially significant in describing variations. Each may be considered a quantitative variable that could be scaled on a continuum. These are:

THE COMPOSITION OF THE ECONOMIC BASE

The economic base for various communities ranges from highly homogeneous to highly heterogeneous composition. The one-industry town may be considered at one pole; the highly diversified multiindustry town at the other extreme. In the first, economic power is highly concentrated; in the latter, the power is diffuse.

THE LOCUS OF ECONOMIC POWER

Local ownership and operation may be contrasted with absentee ownership and transient managers. When local ownership is dominant, the top influentials are representatives of a stable group; absentee ownership implies the absence of persons from the community who may have no residential or community interest except as it entails economic gain.

ORGANIZATION OF ECONOMIC POWER

Economic power may be highly organized in both management and labor groups. These twin pyramids of economic power may vary from a highly rigid and exclusive domain to fluid ring structures with many institutional segments interacting in decision-making.

COMMUNITY POLICIES OF LABOR AND MANAGEMENT

The community policies of labor and management may vary from active participation and manipulation of the community to policies of aloof with-

drawal. This factor is important in determining whether potential economic power is translated into active direction of such power in community decision-making.

Political factors are important in ascertaining variations in community power structures as shown by:

DEGREE OF POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL SUBORDINATION
TO ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

In communities where there is an independence of the political institutions, more representative expression of the community may be secured. The variations can range to an extreme of complete political subordination, in which case a managerial or plutocratic domination usually characterizes all policy decisions. At the other pole, political dominance can give leaders of political parties and government agencies a strong coercive power because government is sovereign. Under these conditions, a free election can be a genuine revolution with the people removing discredited leaders by peaceful means.

GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARD LABOR AND MANAGEMENT

Government may range from a punitive agent to a supportive body as it relates to labor and management. It can thus mediate and arbitrate the distribution of power between labor and management.

An illustration of government trying to maintain a balance of power between management and labor is illustrated by the use of a fact-finding committee in a strike dispute affecting city employees. Following is the text of a proposal made to the Transit Commission and the Street Car Men's Union by Mayor Gordon S. Clinton for settling the transit strike.

Recognizing the fact that the present strike is creating a great hardship on great numbers of our citizens, including our transit employees, and recognizing that ultimately a solution must be and will be found and the procedure to find the ultimate solution can as readily be started today as it could at a substantially later date, it is in the public interest that the following proposal be made to and accepted by both parties to this dispute.

In this action I earnestly solicit public support.

The Mayor, the Seattle Central Labor Council, and the Seattle Chamber of Commerce each appoint one member of a fact-finding committee.

This committee to:

(1) Go into all facets and facts pertaining to the present transit-work stoppage.

(2) Submit findings on solution to present stoppage, these findings to be binding upon both the transit union and the Transit Commission.

(3) The effective date of any wage increases to be retroactive to November 1, 1956, and any change in working conditions to be effective as soon thereafter as the committee finds practicable.

In consideration of the above and on the acceptance of the above proposal by both the Transit Commission and the transit union, not later than 12 noon, Thursday, November 29, 1956, and on the further agreement by the union to instruct its membership forthwith to return to work, the mayor agrees to ask leave of the court to dismiss the pending injunctive procedures without prejudice.⁷

Social factors in the community may also explain differences in community power structures. Most important are:

TRADITIONAL DEGREE OF COMMUNITY INTEREST AND ACTIVITY OF
VARIOUS NONECONOMIC INSTITUTIONAL SECTORS

The "noneconomic" institutional sectors, such as education, church, welfare, mass communication, and the family, may exercise great influence in the character of the community, depending upon the range of involvement. The following clipping reveals the role of the church as it is described in active policy formation on race segregation.

It was only a month ago that the Protestant Episcopal Bishops in this country issued a strong pastoral letter condemning race segregation. Now two other powerful religious groups have re-affirmed their support for racial equality and school integration. These are the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States and the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church.

There is good reason why religious leadership should come to the front in dealing with this problem. These religious leaders recognize that the basic question is not merely one of law, but one of morals and have taken their stand on this ground.

There are many facets to the problems raised by the quest for racial justice. The Catholic Bishops stated, "There are issues of law, of history, of economics, and of sociology—their importance we do not deny. But the time has come to cut to the heart of the problem. The heart of the race question is moral and religious."

In the statement of the Methodist Bishops there was strong emphasis upon the problem of law and obedience to it. But in the end, these Bishops likewise put the problem of law on its moral basis. There was no recognition of the possibility of a compromise on moral grounds—it is on this ground, even more than on the ground of law, that the ultimate victory must be won.⁸

DEGREE OF ACCESS TO COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES

The community power structure may vary in admission from a state of free access to rigid exclusion. If the community power structure is enclosed within a network of rigid cliques, then the expressions of many institutional sectors may be deliberately shunted. This is always a real possibility, since the institutions of family, church, state, education, labor, and the like draw

⁷ Reported in *The Seattle Times*, November 28, 1956, p. 6.

⁸ *New York Times*, November 16, 1958.

sustenance from the economic institutional sources and are thereby subordinate to this particular institution more than any other.

It may be noted that none of the ministers of churches in Hunter's Regional City were chosen as top leaders by the influentials. The idea was expressed several times by the influentials that some minister ought to be on the list, but no church leader, lay or professional, was nominated as a top influential.⁹ It will be recalled that ministers, teachers, social workers, personnel directors, small business managers, and accountants were all considered fourth-rate in influence in Regional City.¹⁰ In some studies in American cities, a representative of the church and education is included among top influentials. However, in no study so far reported in the United States have the so-called "noneconomic" institutions been given a majority representation. The reverse situation was demonstrated in English City where business representation was only 25 percent among top influentials.¹¹

In a relatively stable economic system and when a high degree of occupational inheritance takes place, the transmission of property from father to son (or sons) may build rigid elements in the community power structure. It can be seen most clearly in one-industry towns, but it is equally visible in multiindustry communities where a few families have come to dominate the economic life of the community. Community structures in both America and Europe may be found where the social system has been congenial to the growth of a social aristocracy and where business control has a history of hereditary growth. Indeed, Hunter points out that for Southern United States Regional City, only 15 of the top 40 policy leaders gained positions of prominence on their own. All the others inherited their fathers' business or were helped by the wealth and the connections of their fathers.¹² But the overall picture in the United States is presented as one of "consistent decline in the proportion of the sons of owners of large business who assume positions of business leadership."¹³ The proportions shown in Table 37 provide a measure of the degree to which occupational inheritance at the upper level has declined and vertical mobility has been increasing.

The researchers conclude that there is evidence of a long-term, continuing trend to a greater degree of vertical occupational mobility in American busi-

⁹ Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1953, p. 83.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 109, and Floyd Hunter, *Top Leadership, U.S.A.*, University of North Carolina Press, 1959, pp. 177-178.

¹¹ Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1958, pp. 9-15, and "Decision-Making Cliques in Community Power Structures: A Comparative Study of an American and English City," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1958, pp. 299-310.

¹² Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

¹³ W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen, *Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry, 1928-1952*, University of Minnesota Press, 1955, p. 67.

ness. However, occupational inheritance of business leadership ranks high. Forty-one percent of the 1950 business leaders have fathers who were owners of businesses or major executives. In 1920 when these leaders were growing up, only 9 percent of the adult males in the labor force were classed as business owners or executives. It can be seen that there is a very high occupational overrepresentation due to the tendency for sons of business owners and managers to be trained and assisted to business leadership.

TABLE 37. Long-Range Trends in Occupational Mobility into United States Business Leadership: Business Leaders of 1900, 1920, 1930, and 1950 from Specified Occupational Backgrounds

Occupation of Father	Business Leaders				Difference Between 1900 and 1950
	1900	1920	1930	1950	
Owner of large business	17%	16%	14%	8%	-9
Owner of small business	19	23	20	18	-1
Major executive	15	13	17	15	0
Professional man	11	10	13	14	+3
White-collar worker	5	7	12	19	+14
Laborer	7	10	11	15	+8
Farmer	24	21	12	9	-15
Total	100	100	100	100	00

SOURCE: W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen, *Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry, 1928-1952*, University of Minnesota Press, 1955, p. 67. Much of this increase in vertical mobility is due to the upward occupational status of the entire labor force made possible through proportionate increases in professional, semi-professional, managerial, and white-collar occupations.

In Europe the pattern of occupational inheritance is probably more intensified. A family business is commonly passed on from father to son and as business leadership is shifted, so is community leadership. This can be seen in the father-son chains of businessmen in Bristol, England, and Seattle, Washington. Bristol is a city nearly 1000 years old; Seattle is 100 years old. This difference in time coupled with the differences in economic and social structure bring some interesting contrasts in the family background of business leaders in the two cities. Table 38 represents these differences for major businesses.

Note that in the case of four major Bristol industries all of the present business leaders were born in Bristol and received the family business. The father of each leader was born in Bristol and was either a founder or an inheritor of the family business.

TABLE 38. Leaders of Major Business Establishments in Bristol, England, and Seattle, Washington

	Bristol	Seattle
<i>Bristol Airplane Co.</i>		<i>Boeing Airplane Co.</i> (Founded by William Boeing)
Joint Managing Director:	Sir Reginald Verdon-Smith	President: William M. Allen (born: Lo Lo, Montana), lawyer, 1925-1945, member of law firm of Holman, Sprague and Allen until 1945. President of Boeing, 1945.
Father:	Sir William Verdon-Smith, Chairman, Bristol Airplane Co., George White and Co.	Father: Charles Maurice Allen, mining engineer, Montana.
Joint Managing Director:	George S. M. White	
Father:	Sir G. Stanley White, Deputy Chairman, Bristol Air- plane Co., George White and Co. Stockbrokers	
Grandfather:	Sir George White, founded British and Colonial Aeroplane Co. in 1910; Bristol Aeroplane Co., 1919.	
<i>Imperial Tobacco Company</i>		<i>Western Gear Corporation</i>
President of the Board:	Gilbert Alan Hamilton Wills, (Lord Dulverton-First Baron of Batsford)	President: Thomas J. Bannan (born: San Francisco, California), apprentice machinist to president of father's firm. Began 1917.
Father:	Sir Frederick Wills, 2nd. (1839- 1909), owner and Managing Director, Wills Tobacco Co.	Father: Philip Laurence Bannan, President of the Pacific Gear and Tool Works, San Francisco, California.
Grandfather:	H. O. Wills II. (1800-1872), Owner and Managing Director, Wills Tobacco Co.	

TABLE 38 (Continued)

Bristol	Seattle
Great grandfather: H. O. Wills, I (1761-1826), Founder and Manager of Wills Tobacco Co.	
E. S. and A. Robinson Paper Co.	Pacific Car and Foundry Kenworth Motor Truck Corporation
Managing Director: John F. Robinson Father: Foster Gotch Robinson, Chairman, E. S. A. Robinson	President: Paul Pigott (born: Seattle, Washington) Father: William Pigott. Organized the Pacific Car and Foundry Co. in 1911, after serving as blast furnace helper, Hitch- cock Iron & Steel Co., Youngstown, Ohio. Superintendent of Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., Pueblo, Colorado, organized Seattle Co. with W. D. Hofins of Seattle in 1904.
Grandfather: Edward Robinson, Owner and Manager of E.S.A. Robinson, Founder and Manager of E.S.A. Robinson, Former Mayor of Bristol, and M.P.	
Charles Hill and Sons (Shipping and Shipbuilding)	
Executive Director: Richard Hill Father: Charles Loraine Hill, Chairman, Charles Hill & Sons	
Grandfather: Charles Gathorne Hill (died 1934), Owner and Managing Director, Charles Hill & Sons	
Great grandfather: Charles Hill (died 1899) as above.	
Great great grandfather: Charles Hill (died 1863) ^a	

^a Took over family business of James Hilhouse which was founded in early 1700's. There was no young member of the Hilhouse family to carry on, so partner Charles Hill was permitted to assume the business.

In Seattle, only one leader of the four major industries was Seattle-born. The others were born in the states of Montana, California, and Oregon. All of the fathers were born outside the state. Two of the four inherited the family business. The other two used their college educations and their experience to lift them into positions of business leadership.

In both Bristol and Seattle the fathers of the leaders in the eight major industries were in well-placed business or professional positions. In Bristol, the businesses were founded and established in the eighteenth and nineteenth century (except for the Bristol Aeroplane Co.); in Seattle, the businesses were founded and established in the early part of the twentieth century. It must be concluded that historic differences and differences in social and economic structure have permitted more opportunity for diversity in community leadership in Seattle as recruited from the major industries.

HISTORIC FACTORS EXPLAINING CHANGES IN ANY GIVEN COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

Historic Change Factors

Comparative studies of communities reveal that different institutional representatives come to power and influence. The mobility of the top influentials reveals a changing spectrum of institutional power. A *historic perspective* is vital in understanding community power relations. In a dynamic society, power relations are changing and the community is a microcosm of larger social forces at work in the nation and sometimes in industrial society generally. The variations in institutional power structures of European nations provide valuable contrasts and insights. Many observers have pointed out that many European nations contain forces of industrialization in such an advanced stage that newer societies like the United States may find them especially useful guides to the future. The ratio of industrial workers to agricultural workers is greater in Great Britain, Belgium, and Germany, than in the United States. Likewise, the press of population on the land and mineral resources is much greater in most European countries. Therefore, the differences in economic, political, and social structures are independent factors in explaining a variety of community changes.

Seven social factors may be identified as having special significance in initiating changes within a given community. These are (1) growth and decline of business, (2) business centralization and decentralization, (3) government centralization and decentralization, (4) Transfer of ownership, (5) rise of new organizations and functions, (6) diffusion and discussion of new ideas, and (7) breakdown of traditional values.

Only one example of each factor can be given here, but it will partly indicate how Bristol, England, as a community has been changed in recent years.

GROWTH AND DECLINE OF BUSINESS

This is a major factor in any community. As shown in Chapter 2, one worker added to a production industry can give rise to an average increase of 6-9 people in the community. When a basic industry expands, a magnified population effect can be thrust upon the community affecting schools, churches, doctors, stores, recreation, homes, traffic, etc.

In Bristol the growth of the Bristol Airplane Company from its initial development in World War I has had major consequences in adding new wealth and new people to the community. The managing director of the company is now a key leader in the city, overshadowing the leaders of the tobacco manufacturing industry which prior to World War II was the major industry.

BUSINESS CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

When a business centralizes its offices in the community, its major owners or executives come to reside there and their concern for the community is heightened. The central offices of the Charles Hill Shipbuilding Company, the Robinson Paper Company, the Imperial Tobacco Company, and the Bristol Airplane Company have this effect. The philanthropy of the Wills family in Bristol from their tobacco fortunes has played a large role in the development of the University of Bristol and in numerous charities. The engineering interests of the Bristol Airplane Company are effective reasons for the support of the rapidly expanding engineering college at the University.

Decentralization has an opposite effect. Bankers are respected, but not a single banker is regarded as a top leader in Bristol. This is because bankers are mainly managers of branch banks whose main offices are in London. In contrast, Seattle has six bankers among its top leaders. Each banker leads a bank whose central offices are in Seattle. Numerous other illustrations could be given as to how a decentralized business fails to give sufficient prestige to its executives so that they may appear as top community leaders. The businesses so affected in Bristol include large retail stores, insurance, chocolate, smelting, and others.

GOVERNMENT CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

The national government can withdraw all power from a community like Bristol by withdrawing a community function and centralizing its administration in London. This is illustrated by the power that the national government has exercised over electricity and gas supply, hospitals, valuation for rating, and relief of the poor. On the other hand, Bristol is the recipient of many regional offices of the national government as the result of the decentralization of electricity, gas, the British broadcasting system, and hos-

pital administration. The city government receives direct national assistance for schools, housing, city planning, docks, public health, and children's welfare, and maintains local control as long as it conforms to national requirements. The division of control between local and national authority is a direct index of the local influence of the political leaders and government heads.

TRANSFER OF OWNERSHIP

Ownership may change from private to municipal, or the reverse; from private to national, or the reverse. When private ownership is replaced by municipal or national ownership, the leaders of these functions tend to be eliminated as top leaders of influence. The new government managers are either required or expected to play neutral roles. Moreover, the career orientation is often directed toward advancement outside the community. The community knows this and regards them as if they were "temporary" or at least "contemporary." It is very common in Bristol for even prominent citizens to be unable to name the regional manager of the gas or the electric board. Yet inside these organizations the managers carry a very large measure of responsibility over the lives of everyone in the community.

RISE OF NEW ORGANIZATIONS AND FUNCTIONS

The rise of the Labor party is of great importance in the current structure of community power relations. The Labor party first became the leading party of the city in 1936. Since then labor leaders have come increasingly into greater power over the affairs of the city. The establishment of comprehensive schools can be traced directly to their influence. The use of high progressive income taxation and real estate rates have reduced the landholding aristocracy. The industrial, labor, and governmental managers have replaced the "peers of the realm" in a bloodless social revolution.

DIFFUSION AND DISCUSSION OF NEW IDEAS

The Labor party discusses further socialization of such industries as the chemical and heavy manufacturing industries. It presses for comprehensive schools and the progressive elimination of grammar schools.¹⁴ These changes, if made, would alter the nature of leadership within the industries affected and within the schools affected.

BREAKDOWN OF TRADITIONAL VALUES

With the rise of the laboring groups and the decline of the aristocracy, many traditional values are being broken. This is affecting the social status for-

¹⁴ A comprehensive school is a municipally operated school as in the United States, for children of both sexes and of all abilities; the grammar school is a school serving an upper ability group of pupils of the same sex in grades 7-12.

merly accorded to the military officer and to the ministry. Secondary and university education is no longer associated with the well-to-do only. New leaders are arising in labor, in government, and in business. Old wealth-holding leaders of society and of the industrial and merchant classes are passing, and new kinds of managerial leadership are arising.

Seven historic change factors have been identified as those which may cause variations in any given community power structure.

No one factor taken alone will give an accurate explanation of the changes occurring in the community power structure in a given community. On the contrary, all factors interact and produce a wide range of variation. However, when data have been accurately collected on each of the seven factors, the changes in the community power structure may be depicted with a high degree of accuracy.

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Chapter 14

THE SEARCH FOR POWER STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

THREE BASIC RESEARCH APPROACHES

Power and Influence as Potential

National Power Potentials

Community Power Potentials

Power or Influence Reputation

Identifying Top Influentials by Nomination

Validating Influence Reputation Against Behavioral Criteria

Actual Influence or Power

Tests of Involvement

SELECTION AND DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY POWER PROBLEMS

SUGGESTED HYPOTHESES FOR THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY POWER WORKING

DESIGNS

Similar Issues in a Range of Communities

Similar Influentials on a Variety of Issues

Similar Communities with a Variety of Issues

Factorial Designs

DRAWING SAMPLE CASES

Defining the Universe of Communities

Communities in Western Society

Significant Community Variables

Five Types of Community Power Models

COLLECTING DATA ON COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES

Tactics for Gathering Data

Direct Observation Techniques

Retrospective Reconstruction

Identification of Reputed Influentials

Power Arrangements of Participants According to Issue
Follow-Through Studies

Interpreting Results

This chapter seeks to describe the research designing of such inquiries as will add new knowledge about community power structure. Research design is concerned with each of the decisions that must be made through the successive stages of problem selection and definition, formulation of hypotheses, consideration of working design, drawing of sample cases, gathering of data, and, finally, the analysis of data and the reporting of results. All of these considerations are especially important because the study of community power is a new field of research and the findings must be considered in the light of current methodology. The writers will introduce some original research in Chapters 15, 16, and 17, and will compare findings with studies made by other social scientists who have contributed work to this field.

THREE BASIC RESEARCH APPROACHES

There are three basic approaches which may be employed in the study of community power or influence. These are:

1. Study of the *potentials for power* as based on inventories and influence of persons and organizations.
2. Study of the *reputed power* or influence of persons or organizations as defined by the opinions of community members.
3. Study of the *actual influence* or power as shown by the parts played by persons or organizations in determining the outcome of an issue or project.¹

An initial research decision involves the approach which will best coincide with the selection and definition of a fruitful research problem. Each approach has potentialities, and each has shortcomings.

Power and Influence as Potential

Attention may be centered on producing inventories of those institutions, organizations, or positions in the community which have the necessary attributes for the wielding of power or influence. Such an inventory might begin with the components of the power structure and specify the power potentials of each of the component parts; i.e., the institutional power structure of society, the institutionalized power structure of the community, the community power complex, the top and key influentials.

NATIONAL POWER POTENTIALS

There have been a number of historians, political scientists, and sociologists who have made estimates of the institutional power structure of the

¹ Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision-Making," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, March, 1957, p. 419.

United States. C. Wright Mills has commanded a large audience for his thesis that power to make important national decisions has become centralized in a power elite composed of leaders from big corporations, big government, and big military agencies. He points out that the economy has become dominated by two or three hundred giant corporations that are so administratively and politically interrelated that together they hold the keys to economic decisions. The political order has become a centralized executive establishment and commands power which reaches into each nook and cranny of the social structure. The military order has carved out a sprawling bureaucratic domain fed by a huge national defense budget which runs annually around 40 billion dollars.² He sees an ever increasing interlocking of economic, military, and political structures with an elite that reaches understandings through informal and formal interaction. These men make the decisions which "mightily affect the everyday worlds of ordinary men and women."³

Robert S. Lynd⁴ and Paul M. Sweezy⁵ in different reviews of Mills' book criticize the concept of three powerful institutional hierarchies. Both insist that elites from different institutions act together because the same influential class in society spreads across all institutions and controls them in a common general direction. Sweezy says the facts simply won't fit Mills' theory of three sectional elites coming together to form an overall power elite. What we have in the United States is a ruling class with its roots deeply sunk in the "apparatus of appropriation" which is the corporate system.⁶ Lynd concurs and says that Mills makes "no solid effort to appraise the relative weight and diffused spread of the power of property throughout all institutions under capitalism."⁷

To other reviewers, the Mills' theory of a power elite seem too neat and too patterned. Fred Rodell⁸ of Yale University and Dennis W. Brogan⁹ of Cambridge University agree that power is more diffuse in the United States than is indicated by Mills' analysis of the common triumvirate elite. Rodell points out that the electorate has been able to counteract the power of various cliques; e.g., the surprising election of Truman in 1948. Brogan be-

² C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, 1956, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴ Robert S. Lynd, "Power in the United States," *The Nation*, May 12, 1956, pp. 408-411.

⁵ Paul M. Sweezy, "Power Elite or Ruling Class," *Monthly Review*, September, 1956, pp. 138-150.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁷ Lynd, *op. cit.*, p. 410. Cf. C. Arnold Anderson and Harry L. Gracey, "Review of the Power Elite," *Kentucky Law Journal*, Winter, 1958, pp. 1-16.

⁸ Fred Rodell, "An American View of the Power Elite," *Saturday Review*, April 28, 1956, pp. 9-10.

⁹ Dennis W. Brogan, "A British View of the Power Elite," *Saturday Review*, April 28, 1956, p. 10.

TABLE 39. Occupations of 29 Number-One National Leaders, 1956

Occupation	Number of Leaders
Manufacturers	
Heavy	9
Light	5
Publisher	3
Military	1
Banker (commercial)	1
Lawyer	1
Industrial construction engineer	1
Merchant	1
Miller	1
Mine owner	1
Oil	
Processor	1
Producer	1
Transportation	
Railroad	1
Ship	1
Utilities executive	1

SOURCE: Floyd Hunter, *Top Leadership, U.S.A.*, University of North Carolina Press, 1959, p. 177.

lieves that national leaders from various institutional sectors simply do not have the cohesion and the contacts to act as one ruling class. “It is one of the highly visible features of life in Britain, more especially in England, that above a certain income and educational level it is nearly true to say that ‘everybody knows everybody.’ This tie-up is what has been called ‘the Establishment.’ Has the United States got an Establishment? Mr. Mills says ‘Yes,’ I should rather say ‘Not yet.’ ”¹⁰

Daniel Bell says Mills speaks of the united power elite, but the problem of *who unites with whom on what* is an empirical one, and this is missing from Mills’ work. “I can think of only one issue on which the top corporations would be united; tax policy. In almost all others they divide. . . . Except in a vague, ideological sense, there are relatively few issues on which a managerial elite are united. . . . Unless one assumes that everyone ever involved in decision making is a member of the power elite—which is circular—we have to locate the source of such divisions, for these are the central problems of a sociology of power.”¹¹

Floyd Hunter has provided a first answer to the source of divisions of power. In his national power study he has identified 29 “number-one-leaders.” These are shown in Table 39. In general, the number-one national

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.
¹¹ Daniel Bell, “The Power Elite—Reconsidered,” *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1958, p. 248.

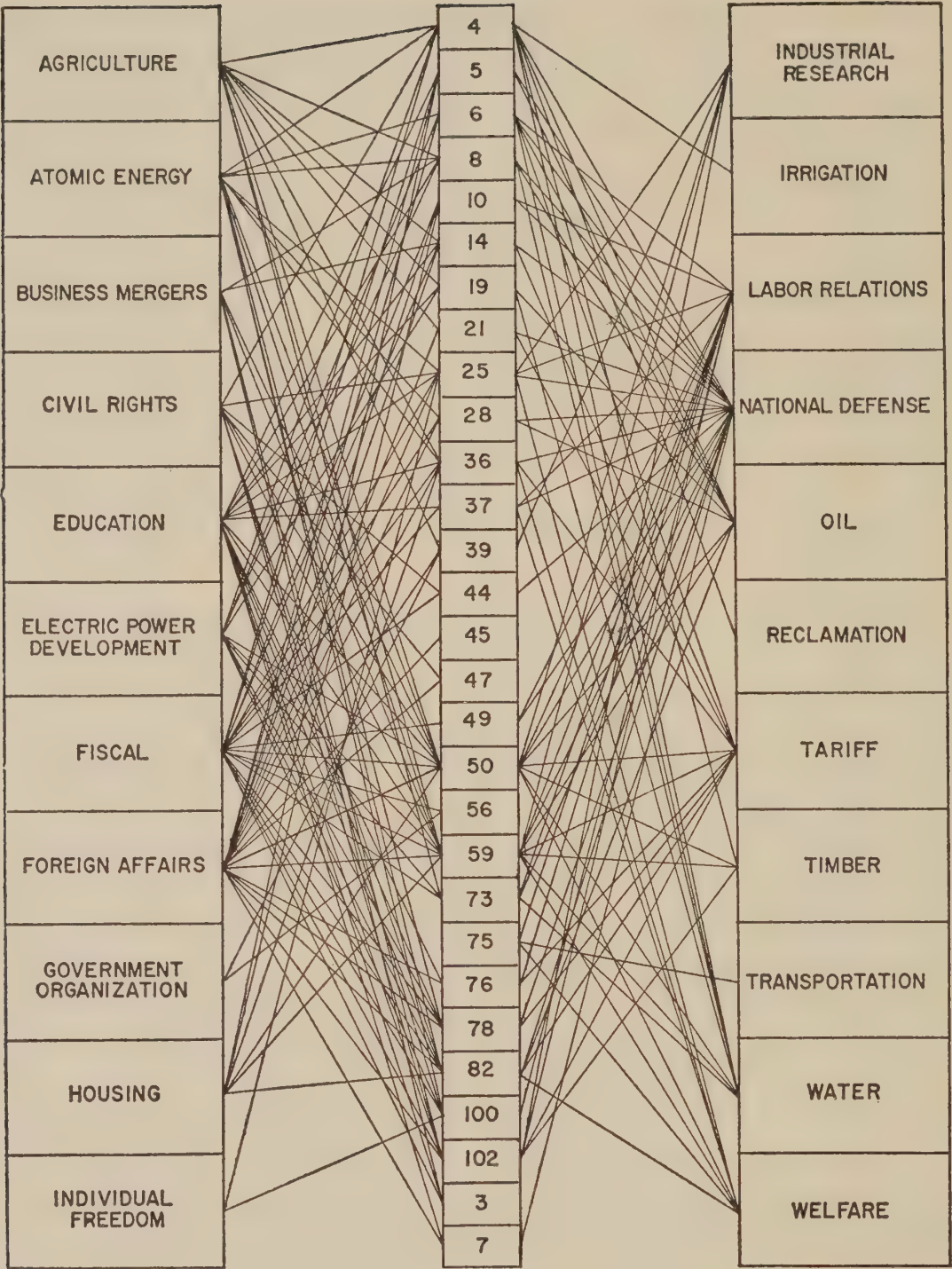


FIGURE 14.1. Twenty-Nine National Leaders Related to Policy Interests, 1958. Numbers are code numbers of top leaders. (Floyd Hunter, *Top Leadership, U.S.A.*, University of North Carolina Press, 1959, p. 190.)

leaders are drawn from industrial power structures. The top policy-makers do work inside and outside government in many ways. They help elect government officials. The Senate elections and the election of the President, especially, are of vital concern to many top policy-makers.¹² The general range of policy matters of interest to the top national leaders and the leaders' gen-

¹² Floyd Hunter, *Top Leadership, U.S.A.*, University of North Carolina Press, 1959, p. 177.

eral orientation to each other at the interest level are illustrated in Figure 14.1. The policies were those mentioned most frequently by leaders during the study and those that were finally designated as those upon which individuals had actually worked. Hunter concludes, "The nation's power system is a series of interlaced and co-ordinated power structures. Those at the apexes of power in communities, states, regions, service organizations, and industrial complexes become generally known to each other. Some of the leaders in the larger units of power become symbolic power figures in the nation. When such leaders think of policy directions and alternatives, they think of interrelated and weighted factors. Although individual units within the power system may appear to act in isolation, it is well known that major changes in pace and direction of any single power unit have profound effects on the whole."¹³

A general assessment of institutional power in the United States may be made as follows:

1. The economic institutions, especially the large corporations, are the most powerful institutions in modern American life.

2. But power is diffuse and is distributed among government, labor, farm, and consumer groups.

3. The electorate, as the body politic, is a composite of widely varying interests which may act at very significant junctures in decision-making. The influence of an electorate may block a coalition of entrenched economic interests. Public opinion arising from the general public can exert countervailing influence to elite domination.

4. The institutional power profile of society is a latent structural pattern of power relations. It can be used as a tentative approximation in gauging community power structures. A heuristic pattern for American society (1960) is shown in Figure 14.2. Note how this figure puts business as the collectivity of property relations in a dominant position. Government, education, welfare, mass communication, church, aesthetic, and recreational institutions are immersed in a system of private property relations. The influence of labor organization is shown to be generally present in structuring American institutions, but it is represented as a weaker force than that of business. However, labor and government represent major opposition power to property interests. The most powerful institutions are *business*, *government*, and *labor*. *Mass communication*, *military organization*, and *education* are of moderate influence. The weakest institutions in ability to make their values dominant are believed to be church, welfare, recreational, and aesthetic institutions. The military institution is assumed to be an adjunct of government and subservient to it. Welfare and education are also shown to be partly dependent on government. Each institution has a certain measure of autonomy, and each can appeal for support of its values to the broad

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

base of power on which all social institutions rest in a democracy, namely, the general public with its apparatus of political parties. The general public is a vast composite of persons in associations and special-interest groups playing such various roles as voter, parent, consumer, and community citizen. It is this underlying reservoir of democratic power that makes any system of power relations dynamic and subject to "revolutionary" tendencies. This is but another way to say that the power potentials are subject to both stability and change.

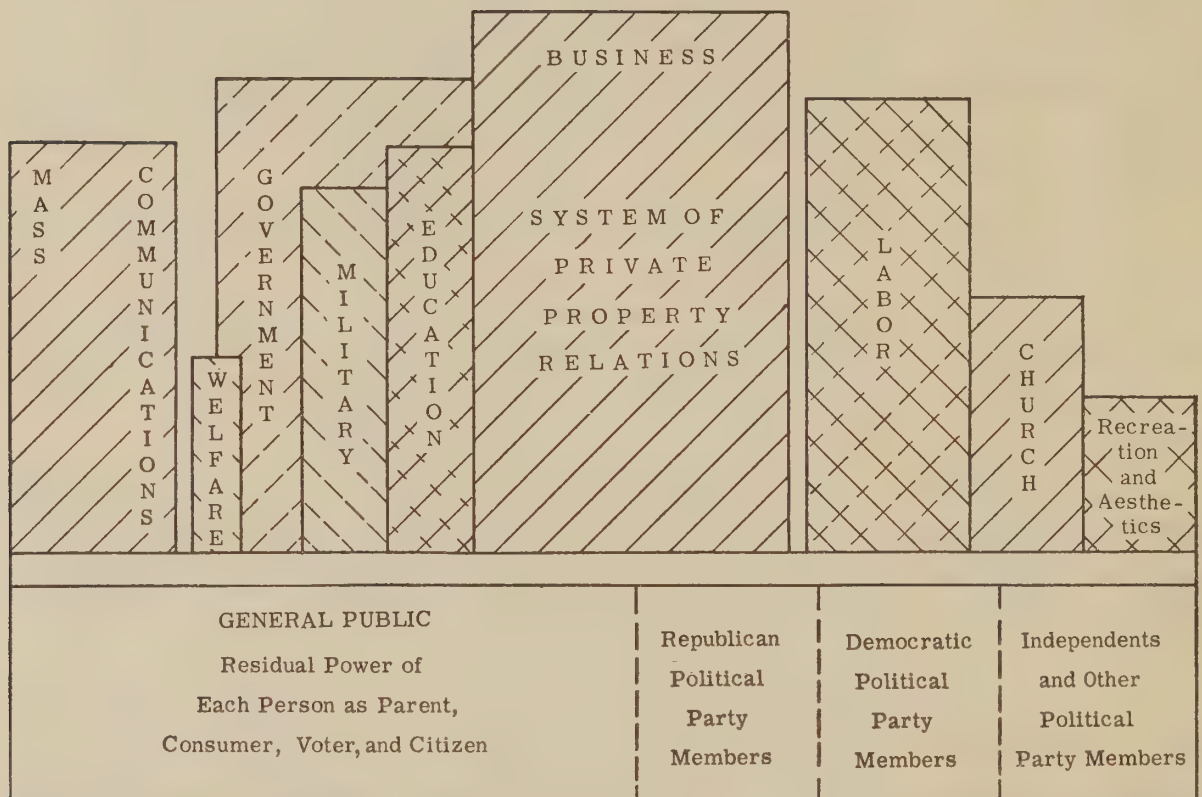


FIGURE 14.2. A Heuristic Projection of the Institutional Power Profile for Modern American Society.

COMMUNITY POWER POTENTIALS

At the community level it is anticipated that a somewhat similar profile of power will be formed. Various researchers studying potentials for power have sought persons who are in position to wield sanctions within these institutional segments.¹⁴ Persons who occupy positions that control economic resources are of major interest in all influence studies. But other sectors cannot be ignored. Figure 14.3 is an inventory of positions regarded as of potential power in community decision-making for Seattle, Washington. Each office has been selected because of the size of the establishment or its economic resources. The objective was to specify offices in such a way as to make the schedule function in any large American city.

Such a schedule may now be filled in with the names of persons who

¹⁴ Robert S. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, Harcourt, Brace, 1937; Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*, Doubleday, 1955.

occupy these positions, and the list may be presumed to be the leaders of influence in community affairs. Implicit in this approach is the assumption that the potential for power or influence will be employed in active community leadership. This is a very broad assumption, and research indicates that it is only partially true. Alternate methods for determining local power elites were employed by Schulze and Blumberg in a Midwestern satellite industrial city of some 20,000 inhabitants.¹⁵ The method based on positions involves selecting certain persons as most powerful and influential on the basis of their official position in the community. In contrast, the method based on reputation utilizes nominations by "juries" of presumably knowledgeable local informants. Persons occupying the top formal positions in the major local economic enterprises were designated as the "economic dominants," and a total of 17 persons was listed as occupying major industrial and financial positions. Using a nominating panel drawn from the voluntary associations of the community, 18 local persons were most frequently nominated as the most influential leaders in community life. There was almost no overlap between these nominated leaders and the holders of major economic positions; specifically, the 17 economic dominants included but 2 of the 18 nominated leaders.¹⁶

In another comparison of position leaders and nominated leaders, the researchers selected as civic leaders 14 objectively defined public statuses: mayor; president of the chamber of commerce; chairman of the community chest; president of the largest labor union; county chairman of the Republican and Democratic parties; commander of the largest American Legion post; regent of the DAR; president of the woman's club; chairmen of the library and the school boards, the PTA, and the bar association; and the publisher of the largest locally owned newspaper.¹⁷ Applying this definition of civic leaders to the selected community, only 4 of the 18 nominated leaders were found to occupy any of the 14 top civic positions in the list.¹⁸

A similar comparison was made in Seattle, Washington, between the holders of the 44 official positions shown in Figure 14.3 and the influential leaders of the community as nominated by a knowledgeable panel. Only 17 out of the top 44 nominated leaders were holders of the potential power positions.¹⁹

These findings indicate that the holders of potential power positions are not necessarily community leaders of influence. To be influential, a leader

¹⁵ Robert O. Schulze and Leonard U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1957, pp. 290-296.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

¹⁷ As utilized by Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties*, Doubleday, 1955.

¹⁸ Cf. F. A. Stewart, "A Sociometric Study of Influence in Southtown," *Sociometry*, February, August, 1947, pp. 11-31, 273-286.

¹⁹ Based on research conducted by Delbert C. Miller during 1955-1957 under a research grant of the Graduate School, University of Washington.

POTENTIAL POWER POSITIONS

Business and Finance

2 largest manufacturing presidents	President, Boeing Airplane Co. President, Pacific Car & Foundry
2 largest investment house chairmen	Chairman, United National Corporation Chairman, United Pacific Corporation
2 largest mercantile stores presidents	President, Frederick and Nelson President, Bon Marché
Largest real estate holder	President, Clise Investments
Largest hotel president or owner	President, Olympic Hotel
Chamber of commerce president	President, Chamber of Commerce
3 largest bank presidents	President, Seattle First National Bank President, Peoples National Bank President, Pacific National Bank
Real estate board chairman	Chairman, Seattle Real Estate Bank Board

Mass Communication

Largest newspaper editors	Editor, <i>Seattle Times</i> Editor, <i>Post Intelligencer</i>
Largest radio-TV stations owners	Owner KOMO Owner KING

Political Party and Government

Mayor	Mayor of City (Republican)
Immediate past mayor	Past Mayor of City (Democrat)
City council chairman	Chairman of City Council
Chairman, Republican party organization	Chairman, King County Republican Party
Chairman, Democratic party organization	Chairman, King County Democratic Party

Education

President of largest universities	President, University of Washington President, Seattle University
School board chairman	Chairman, Seattle Public Schools

FIGURE 14.3. Schedule of Potential Power Positions in Seattle, Washington. (Developed by Delbert C. Miller with the assistance of Stuart Johnson, Esther Hirabayashi, William Wilkinson, and Anthony Baker.)

must become active in community affairs, either as a policy-maker or as an organization leader. Moreover, community variations in the institutionalized power structure must be constantly evaluated through research techniques. A method of greater validity is that of identifying persons and groups by power reputations.

POTENTIAL POWER POSITIONS (*Continued*)*Education (Continued)*

School superintendents	Superintendent, Seattle Public Schools Superintendent, Seattle Parochial Schools
President of major teachers' organization	President, Association of Classroom Teachers

Labor

President of central labor council	President, Seattle Central Labor Council
President of three largest unions	President, Teamsters President, CIO President, Aero Mechanics

Religion

Bishop of major Episcopal church	Bishop, Episcopal Church
Rabbi of leading Jewish temple	Rabbi, Jewish Temple
Local bishop of Catholic diocese	Archbishop, Catholic Diocese

Society or Wealth

President of four largest social clubs	President, Rainier Club President, Washington Athletic Association President, Seattle Yacht Club President, Seattle Tennis Club
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Independent Professions

President of central medical society	President, King County Medical Society
President of bar association	President, Seattle Bar Association

Welfare

Executive secretary, health and welfare council	Secretary, Health & Welfare Council of Seattle and King County
Head of welfare department	Chief, King County Welfare Department
Chairman of community chest	Chief, United Good Neighbor Fund

Power or Influence Reputation

IDENTIFYING TOP INFLUENTIALS BY NOMINATION

This second approach to the study of community power or influence is based on the perceived power or influence structure. "Judges" are asked

whom they perceive to be powerful within the community. Later, when the final list is prepared, the influentials are also interviewed. Among questions which researchers have asked of their panels of knowledgeable persons and the nominated influentials are the following:

1. "Suppose a major project were before the community, one that required decision by a group of leaders whom nearly everyone would accept. Which people would you choose to make up this group—regardless of whether or not you know them personally?"
2. "In most cities certain persons are said to be influential 'behind the scenes' and to have a lot to say about programs that are planned, and about projects, and issues that come up around town. What persons are influential in this way in this community?"
3. "If a decision were to be made in the state capital that affected this community, who would be the best contact man to get in touch with state officials (besides local members of the legislature)?"
4. "Who (besides local members of Congress) would be the best people to get in touch with federal officials in Washington?"
5. "Are there any other people whom these leaders work with and who have not been named so far, but who should be included in a list of community leaders?"²⁰

Note that some of these questions ask informants to designate persons whose opinion or leadership behavior would be influential in a variety of ways. Studies have shown that the frequency of nomination is an adequate indicant of the reputed degree of influence.²¹ Moreover, judges and influentials have shown a high degree of consensus on the choice of key influentials. This can be demonstrated by the sociometric techniques of appraising choice patterns. Figure 14.4 shows all choices of the top 12 influentials (defined by the frequency of judges' nominations) as they themselves chose 10 persons whom they regarded as most influential in a large city of the South.

The top half of the circle in the figure shows by code number those leaders who received the highest number of votes from other leaders for their position as a leader. Figure 14.4 shows that relatively few times did the top leaders go outside the upper-limits group to choose leaders.

VALIDATING INFLUENCE REPUTATION AGAINST BEHAVIORAL CRITERIA

It is possible to run tests to see if such perceived influence coincides with actual behavior. Influentials may be asked with whom they have worked on

²⁰ The original research effort in this area is that of Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

²¹ Foskett and Hohle report a Pearsonian correlation coefficient of $.83 \pm .04$ between frequency of nomination and a degree of influence scale used by judges. See John M. Foskett and Raymond Hohle, "The Measurement of Influence in Community Affairs," *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society, Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, June, 1957, pp. 148-154.

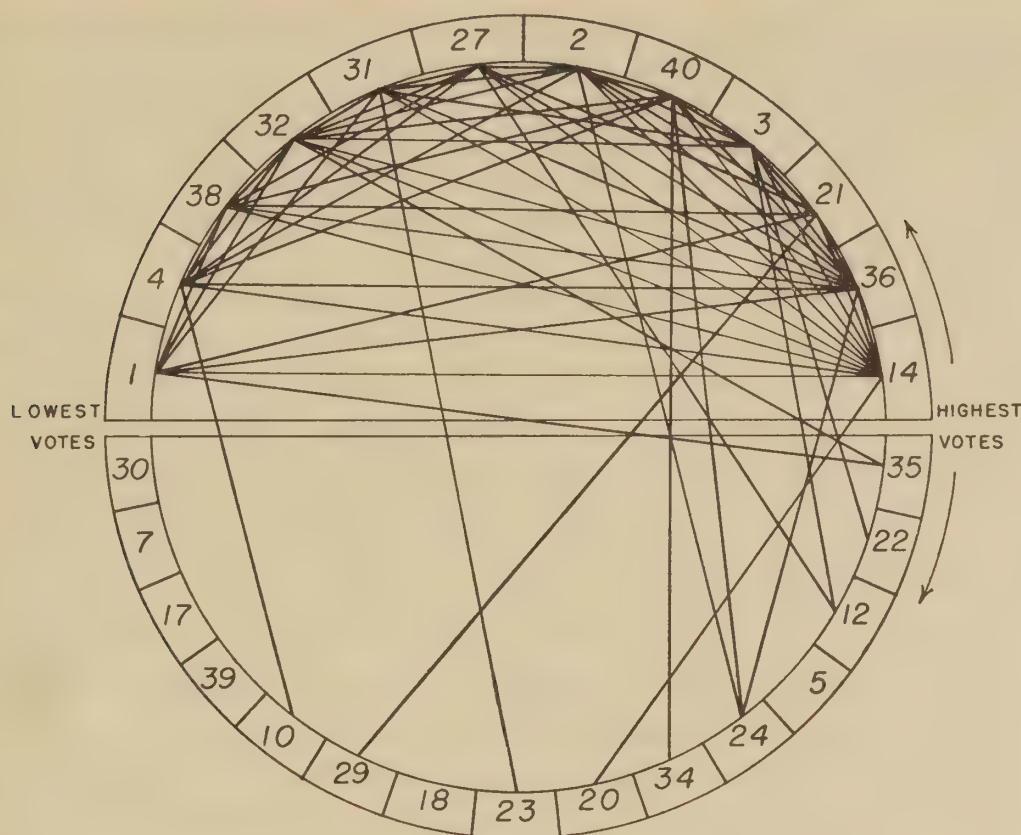


FIGURE 14.4. All Choices of Upper-Limits Group of Twelve Leaders in Leadership. (Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1953, p. 70.)

committees during the last five years. Newspapers may be searched for evidence of community behavior. A pattern of their actual participation in business, social, civic, and professional organizations may be searched. Rossi has suggested that it is important to look for the bases of power. He lists a partial catalogue of bases of power among those who can wield effective influence.

1. *Control over Wealth and Other Resources:* This is rarely sufficient by itself. Wealth needs to be turned into control over resources or institutions that can be used as sanctions—e.g. control over banks, land, mass media—or accompanied by a tradition of community activity and concern. Thus in “Bay City” Massachusetts one wealthy family was very powerful because in the past as well as in the present it had made heavy contributions to the community by endowing hospitals, playgrounds and the like, and was recognized as having a claim to be heard. Another family, equally wealthy, but without such a history would have been resented if it had made any demands on the community.

2. *Control over Mass Media:* Any newspaper publisher is *ipso facto* powerful whether or not his newspaper can wield a great deal of influence with the public. Thus in a Southern Ohio town, the newspaper has a poor reputation in the eyes of the public, yet the publisher plays an important role in the community decisions. The controllers of the mass media are in a strategic position because they can either give or withhold both attention and approval. These powers are exercised within limits, since a newspaper still must publish some news.

3. *Control over Solidary Groups:* Persons who are at head of cohesive organized groups or who are reputed to wield a lot of personal influence over large segments of the public can wield power by threatening to withhold support. Even when support by public opinion is not strictly necessary to the carrying out of a decision maker role, as in the case of a Chamber of Commerce campaign to get new industry into town, the threat of withholding public support may be an effective sanction.

4. *Control over Values:* Those social positions, such as minister, priest, and certain of the professions, which are concerned primarily with the interpretation of cultural values wield power by virtue of their right to make value judgments. A minister's moral judgment counts more because this is his "specialty."

5. *Control over Prestigious Interaction:* Control over entry into desirable social circles is an important sanction over the behavior of decision makers. The transformation of a rough-and-tumble labor leader into a tractable and well-behaved member of the Community Chest in a large industrial city was accomplished by tempting him into the social circles of high level management.²²

Hunter has found that these controls are composites and that a top influential usually must bring a combination of characteristics into play. In his study of Salem, Massachusetts, he discovered that various individuals spontaneously gave their reasons for selecting the top influentials.²³ Thus, a man was considered for top billing if:

1. He belonged to a recognized power clique. He was given additional weight if he was a clique leader.

2. He had the will to exercise power and leadership. Many men possessed a potential of power, but they did not choose to exercise this social prerogative.

3. He had a moderate amount of wealth or property. Great wealth did not coincide with power-wielding.

4. His relationships with major civic associations was such that either within them he exerted influence or influenced their direction by acting through key leaders within them. Often the top leaders delegated civic associational work to a lesser man within a corporate hierarchy and kept in touch with community affairs through him. This latter fact was well known to the associational personnel, and therefore deference was given to the corporate proxy.

5. His community residence was "satisfactory." Newcomers were often subjected to a trial period, and length of residence had some bearing on one's acceptance. The place of his residence also was a factor in his social acceptance. Newcomers who settled in the community with high status in corporate enterprises often found ready acceptance in business associations. Their

²² Peter H. Rossi, *The Study of Decision Making in the Local Community*, mimeographed, August, 1957, pp. 18-19.

²³ Floyd Hunter, Ruth C. Schaffer, and Cecil G. Sheps, *Community Organization*, University of North Carolina Press, 1956, pp. 37-38.

social acceptance tended, in these latter cases, to follow the social position of corporate executives of similar position; in some cases a man carried his "family background" with him from community to community.

6. He controlled a number of employees. All other factors equal, the greater the number of employees, the greater was the power of the person.

7. He had "control" of a corporate enterprise. Local control, through ownership first, or management second, helps to raise a man's rating in a power scale. Management of an outside corporation gives the local manager power in conformity to the size of the enterprise and in relation to the power of decision the local manager possesses.

8. He was of "prime" age. The prime age of men of power seems to be in the neighborhood of 50 years of age. If he is much younger he may be a "comer"; if much older, he may be discounted in the making of community decisions.

9. He was closely allied with major economic or political enterprises. This is particularly important for the professional man.

10. He maintained good press relations. This includes the ability to keep out of the press and put others forward as public figures. In the latter case, those "in the know" are aware of the "fronting" situation, and carefully watch the "front man" to ascertain what the "number-one-man" is doing.

11. His personal qualities were in conformity with standard community conduct. This did not mean he had to be of any personality stamp, but his general behavior had to be accepted.

12. His social clubs and church affiliations were in conformity with his life station. Hobbies and types of recreation may have some bearing on a man's acceptance by other leaders. Golf, yachting, and tennis are helpful to establish contacts with the leaders and they may be symbolic of prowess and status.

13. He had an adequate rate of interaction with other community leaders. The "lone wolf" enterpriser may be a powerful individual within a particular industry, but if he has no interaction with community leaders on civic matters, his own community power of decision is abrogated. If a man is too biased or stubborn in most situations, he finally is disregarded or largely discounted in community issues or projects. The writers have found that a man who becomes stamped as controversial may also be shunted aside as damaging to the success of a project.

Actual Influence or Power

A third approach to the study of community power structure employs *decisions* as its reference point in seeking to understand the part played by persons or organizations in determining the outcome of a community issue

or project. Studies of decision-making may be carried out in laboratory settings or by field research in a community context. This discussion will be limited to the latter studies, since it is difficult to transfer easily the laboratory findings to the natural group situation where the decision-maker is always found embedded in an organizational context.

The study of decision-making process involves a temporal sequence of complex social relationships involving various parts of the community power structure. The community power complex and the top influentials become engaged in such major processes as defining the issue, involving and activating the community power complex, involving the top influentials in the issue, and the mobilization of the community power complex. The very complexity and apparent uniqueness of the processes involved makes generalization beyond the specific issues especially hazardous. Yet the issue offers the most direct approach to the validation of decision-making forces and the role specific individuals and organizations play at crucial junctures in community life. Almost all researchers would prefer this third approach of following through decisions if means could be found to handle the methodological problems. It has been suggested that only by comparing how *different types of issues* are settled by *different types of decision-makers in different types of communities* are we going to arrive at generalizations concerning the decision-making process in American communities.²⁴ More discussion of this point will be made under research design.

Floyd Hunter has demonstrated how an issue may be followed. He found that one of the most lively issues in Regional City was the city's Plan of Development. Figure 14.5 shows how Hunter followed the role of various influentials as they involved themselves in this project. The figure identifies the institutions and associations with which the leaders, who were all given code numbers, were involved in getting the project activated. With the exception of numbers 1, 5, 8, 31 and 39, the leaders named to the official committee operate outside the policy-making power group. This policy-making power group contains the key influentials. But to activate the project it was necessary to get "workers." Those men who have been given code numbers above 40 are understructure personnel. Most of them are small businessmen, one is a minister, two are lawyers from outlying sections of the city, one is a labor representative, and one is a secretary of a dry cleaning association. Number 31 is a top policy leader. He represents the upper-limits power leaders in the policy group. He is also a person identified with big business in the community. When the Plan of Development project was to be officially launched he was asked to take the presidency of one of the more powerful civic associations for a year to "swing that group into line." He was given an impressive buildup by the newspapers and for a year devoted

²⁴ Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

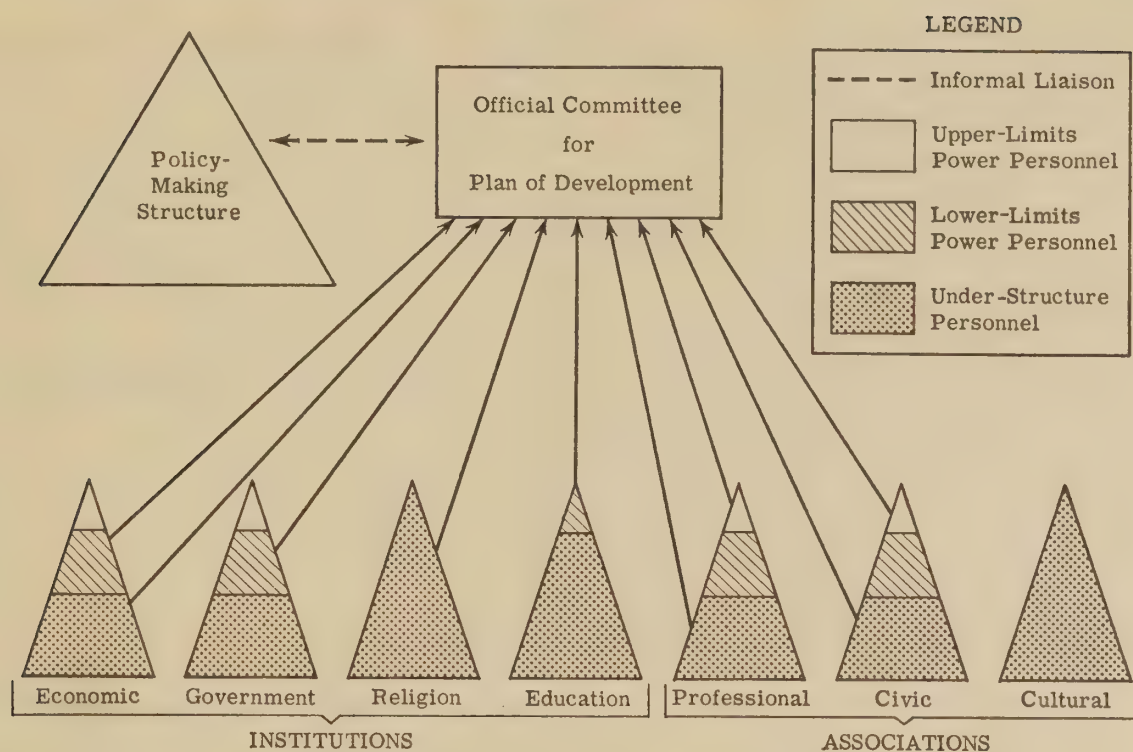


FIGURE 14.5. Pattern of Participation of Three Strata of Institutional and Associational Personnel in Activating Program of Regional City's Plan of Development. (Adapted from Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1953, p. 97.)

great amounts of time to the project. His leadership was well received and the project has been put across successfully.²⁵

TESTS OF INVOLVEMENT

The use of the decision-making process to identify parts and functions of the community power structure requires construction of tests of involvement. *Test 1* might be called *Involvement by issue or decision saliency*. The saliency of an issue or decision may range from the following levels of intensity:

Level 1. *Decision of routine administration*

Close the West End garbage dump.

Promote a police lieutenant to captain.

Make Broadway Avenue a one-way street.

Level 2. *Adaptative decision caused by ecological forces*

Build new school.

Open new streets.

Direct city planners to prepare comprehensive plan.

Install sewers.

²⁵ Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

Level 3. *Introduction of new instrumentalities or new rules*

New procedures of public safety.

Reorganize budget procedures.

Increase wage rates of firemen.

Level 4. *Maintenance of institutional or associated authority when status quo is threatened*

Right-to-work initiative.

Abolition of city planning department.

Level 5. *Increase of authority in some institutions or association giving it greater control of some operation in the community.*

Industry personnel are packed on city planning commission.

Labor personnel dominate private welfare agencies.

Level 6. *Existence of established authority challenged by revolt*

Factories are besieged by sit-down strikers.

Violence against police and nonstrikers on picket line.

It may be assumed as influentials or groups involve themselves in issues of increasing saliency their roles will be more clearly indicated and their power more accurately gauged.

Test 2 might be called *involvement by temporal sequence in issues of relative saliency*. This test is concerned with the times of entry for any person or group. It is important to know whether an influential person or group is simply brought along, or whether such a person or group takes the lead in influencing others to become involved. It might be assumed that early entry would involve greater influence than late entry if effort is held constant. Figure 14.6 is proposed to account for the predicted order of entry for community complex leaders, top influentials, and key influentials in a community issue according to level of issue saliency. In issues of low saliency, such as levels 1 and 2, components of the community power complex act and resolve the issues without referral to the top and key influentials. In issue

ISSUE SALIENCY	COMMUNITY POWER COMPLEX	TOP INFLUENTIALS	TOP INFLUENTIALS
Level 1	1	—	—
Level 2	1	—	—
Level 3	1	2	3
Level 4	3	1	2
Level 5	3	2	1
Level 6	3	2	1

FIGURE 14.6. Order of Involvement of Components of Community Power Structure According to Saliency of Issues.

saliency level 3, dealing with new procedures or rules, elements of the community power complex discuss, but top influentials recommend, and later key influentials decide on what is to be done. In issues threatening the status quo (level 4) the top influentials recognize that their authority is threatened. They discuss and refer the matter to the key influentials and the two groups jointly decide to activate the community power complex. In issues of saliency level 5 and 6 the key influentials were threatened and took the lead in activating the top influentials and the community power complex.

Test 3 might be called *involvement by sanctions*. What is important here is the strength of sanctions when applied by powerful persons or groups. The researcher wants to know whether available sanctions when wielded were effective in activating or reducing action. The specific evidence that behavior was effectively altered upon introduction of sanctions will be extremely convincing. Floyd Hunter shows how such sanctions can function in the case of a professional writer who ran afoul of a powerful manufacturer who complained bitterly about the writer's editorial in a trade journal on price control. The manufacturer was able to disturb the writer and his employer so that the writer's dismissal followed. He secured a new position writing straight copy for an advertising agency.²⁶

The three approaches to research study of community power may be summarized as the search for (1) *potentials for power and influence*; i.e., inventories of persons and organizations in a community who are in a position to influence or apply power to decision makers; (2) *power or influence reputations*; i.e., studies of what community members consider the influence or power structures to be; (3) *actual influence or power*; i.e., investigations of particular issues, projects, and processes in which influence or power have played a part in the determination of the outcome.

SELECTION AND DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY POWER PROBLEMS

Problems and theory are interlocked. Theory suggests research problems and research problems lead back to theory. A brief theoretical position for research investigation in community power may be stated as follows:

The community is a social system in dynamic states of equilibrium and disequilibrium. Industry and labor, through their individual organizations and their associations, are dominant in initiating or sanctioning decisions affecting the total community. They play an interactive role with other social institutions.

Institutional linkages and cleavages exist. Disequilibrium occurs under

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-179.

technological innovation, population and business expansion, and value conflicts. Needs and ideas can rise in any part of the community. Leaders appear, attract partisans, and social struggles for fulfillment of group goals occupy the community arena. Influence and power are exerted by persons, groups, and institutions within and also between institutions.

The community functions as a social unit with boundaries which result from interaction between its *economic base*, its *social base*, and the *prevailing system of power relations*. The economic base is composed of the major industries and business of the community. It shapes land use, occupational composition, and standard of living. The social base is observed in the social classes, the social organizations, the ethnic composition of the populations, the cultural and moral integration of the city. A system of power relations is to be observed in the pattern of power leaders and groups as decisions are made on issues and projects of community concern.

This theoretical statement carries within it implications for research study. It implies that the largest research task is to get a grasp of the interrelations of the economic base, the social base, and the system of community power relations. The field inventory shown as Appendix B was prepared for this purpose. Such field work usually raises questions as to the origin of various functioning parts in the community, and inevitably a certain amount of historic reconstruction is demanded. The trend of the theory and such initial field work is to press the community researcher into the kind of wholistic viewpoint so commonly used in anthropological study. The researcher may assume that the true portrait of a community can be obtained only by studying everything about the community. Julian Steward believes that when the ethnographic method has been put to work on modern communities the method has proved too onerous and few studies have really developed a cultural whole for a large community.²⁷

Arensberg has replied to this criticism by asserting that community study is not the study of whole cultures or of communities. It is the study of human behavior in communities and that it is proper that it focus on special problems as long as they are viewed as forms of behavior in a functionally interdependent context within a whole culture.²⁸

This is the view the sociologist takes in pursuing the study of community power. It means that the researcher tries first to understand the general nature of community organization as a background for his study of community power problems. He must not become trapped into the ramifications of the wholistic view but move on to his problem. He guards against this danger by formulating specific hypotheses.

²⁷ Julian H. Steward, *Area Research Theory and Practice*, Social Service Research Council, 1950, Bulletin 63.

²⁸ Conrad Arensberg, "The Community Study Method," *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1954, p. 120.

SUGGESTED HYPOTHESES FOR THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY POWER

A scientific study requires an hypothesis which, if validated, has the possibility of adding a substantial increase to knowledge. Such hypotheses are drawn out of the accumulated theory and knowledge of a given field. They represent short leaps into the unknown. The field of community decision-making is so sparsely explored that many fruitful hypotheses may be formulated. The list of suggested hypotheses which follow represent some research questions seeking to reveal new knowledge about influential persons and associations and the processes by which community decisions are made.

1. Controversial issues affecting basic values of the institutionalized power structure of the local community tend to be transferred to state and national arenas of decision.
2. All institutions are tending to take neutral positions toward controversial community issues.
3. The governmental and labor segments of the institutionalized power structure of the community are constantly growing in relative power and representation.
4. Community issues increasingly involve state and/or national interests and bring representation from such organizations.
5. The community power structure increasingly coincides with the institutional power structure of the society.
6. The greater the heterogeneity of the community (1) the more issues arise, and (2) the greater is the proportion of community organizations which exercise veto functions over issues.
7. The more heterogeneous the economic and political base of a community, the greater the probability that the community power structure tends to be a fluid coalition of interests which forms when a decision is required and then disbands when the issue is resolved.
8. Influentials from business and labor have a wider and freer range of decision-making participation than do the influentials from other segments.
9. Top influentials serve as agents of integration to mediate the conflicting interests of the community power complex and compromise the differences among the segments of the institutionalized power structure of the community.
10. Entry to the top influentials is more easily available to persons whose economic interests are local in character and who are regarded as having established a life identity with the community.

11. Those people who are outside the top influentials core tend to perceive the decision-making processes as more autocratic than the top influentials themselves.
12. The more solidary the top influentials, the greater is the likelihood that they are characterized by overlapping social identities.

WORKING DESIGNS

The major decision to be made by the researcher who is designing a community power study is whether to select a single community and make an intensive analysis or to decide upon a comparative analysis of two or more communities.

A community context design enables the investigator to examine the effect of certain social variables within a specific context of community relationships. Therefore, the selection of the community is the first step in establishing a control over many observed phenomena. Often this results in trying to find the "typical" community. The selection of "Middletown" is illustrative. Two main considerations guided the choice of the location for this study. They were that the city be as representative as possible of contemporary American life, and that it be at the same time compact and homogeneous enough to be manageable in such a total situation study. In line with the first of these considerations the Lynds sought a location having (1) a temperate climate, (2) a rapid rate of growth, (3) an industrial culture, (4) several industries, (5) substantial local artistic life, (6) absence of any outstanding local peculiarities, and (7) characteristics dominating the Middle West.²⁹

Generally, communities may be regarded as relatively autonomous. However, with the rise of metropolitan regionalism, problems of intercommunity relations appear, such as planning for transportation, land use, industrial development, sewage disposal, etc.

The use of criteria in the selection of locale enables the researcher to gain considerable control over the kind of relationships he seeks to study and he can make generalizations under certain known conditions. Criteria provide the referents for repeating the study in other similar communities.

The comparative community design opens new possibilities. The selection of two or more communities offers an opportunity to test hypotheses under either similar or different sets of conditions. The comparative community design may be likened to the experimental method utilizing an experimental and control community. When the criteria are satisfied in the selection of the communities similar relationships may be predicted. When the communities are selected so that they are different on some desired characteristic

²⁹ Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, Harcourt, Brace, 1929, pp. 7-8.

(for example, an urban community compared with a rural community) the variation in relationships under study may be accurately appraised.³⁰

Both of the designs require that the hypotheses be developed so that a standardized set of variables are utilized. Otherwise, other researchers cannot replicate the study so that hypotheses may be validated or rejected. There are considerable methodological advantages of a comparative research design as against a community context design. Generalizations concerning the decision-making processes in American communities will be expedited by comparing how different types of *issues* are settled by different types of *decision-makers* in different types of *communities*. The aim is to hold one factor constant and allow the other factors to vary. Some of the important axes of comparison are listed below.³¹

Similar Issues in a Range of Communities

This is a research design in which the issues are similar but other factors vary. It is especially appropriate when applied to issues which appear in most communities; e.g., school levy proposals, elections, fluoridation referenda, housing, annexation, and urban planning or renewal.

Similar Influentials on a Variety of Issues

Issues and communities vary but the influentials are the same. This design is especially appropriate to indicate how the content of an issue affects the outcome of a decision, holding influentials constant.

Similar Communities with a Variety of Issues

This is a design which compares communities. It requires a typology of communities based on such criteria as size, economic base, or type of power model. This design is especially appropriate to indicate how the content of an issue affects the outcome of a decision, holding community variables constant.

Factorial Designs

"Factorial designs" permit comparisons of a more complicated sort varying systematically a number of factors. Thus, we may compare similar communities on similar issues and diverse issues, holding issues constant in some comparisons and varying them in others.

³⁰ Cf. W. L. Warner, "Yankee City Series, Community Studies of Newburyport, Massachusetts," in W. L. Warner and associates, *Democracy in Jonesville*, Harper, 1949; A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, Wiley, 1945. (Jonesville and Elmtown are the same community.)

³¹ Rossi, "The Study of Decision-Making in the Local Community," *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

DRAWING SAMPLE CASES

Defining the Universe of Communities

Any research study on community power must limit itself to some selected community or communities. If generalizations are to be drawn from the research, it is important to know what universe of communities the sample represents.

COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN SOCIETY

These communities are often characterized by high industrialization, a considerable amount of private ownership, and democratic political institutions.

SIGNIFICANT COMMUNITY VARIABLES

Schulze has suggested that such ecological variations as central city, satellite, and suburb may be significant in delineating power structures and processes.³² There is good evidence that the less diversified the economic base of the community, the more clustered is the potential for power. The political homogeneity of a community also seems to be a contributing factor. The size of a community is another variable that is related to differences in power structure and processes. A typology of power models might enable the investigator to subsume a number of these variables. Four different power models are suggested to enclose differences in power structures of communities. These are illustrated in Figure 14.7.

FIVE TYPES OF COMMUNITY POWER MODELS

Model A is a pyramidal structure centering in one person. It is an autocratic form which may be identified in some company towns or one-industry towns or cities. This model is characterized by the "fact that local political action, freedom of organizational affiliation (including especially independent labor unionism) unbiased secular and perhaps even religious instruction, and indeed, the whole range of so-called 'civil liberties' are either completely denied or effectively curtailed."³³ The local citizenry are placed in the relative fortunate or relative unfortunate position (depending on the motive of the ruler) of vassals under a feudal overlord.

Model B is another pyramidal structure centering in a tightly knit group of persons. It is an aristocracy which may be identified in a community where a family or small clique have gained control. The Lynds described

³² Notes on Community Power Structure Conference, Harvard University, April 26-27, 1958.

³³ Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order*, Macmillan, 1951, p. 556.

Middletown as a community of this type. Here, the power of a wealthy family of manufacturers became hereditary with the emergence of a second generation of sons. One Middletown citizen described their pervasiveness in the following way: "If I'm out of work I go to X plant; if I need money I go to the X bank, and if they don't like me I don't get it; my children go to the X college; when I get sick I go to the X hospital; I buy a building lot or house in an X sub-division; my wife goes downtown to buy clothes at the X department store; if my dog stays away he is put in the X pound; I buy X milk; I drink X beer; vote for X political parties, and get help from X charities; my boy goes to the X YMCA and my girl to their YWCA. I listen to the word of God in X-subsidized churches; if I'm a Mason I go to the X Masonic temple; I read the news from X morning newspaper; and, if I'm rich enough, I travel via the X airport."³⁴

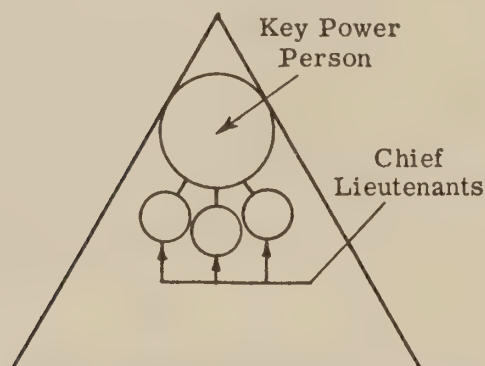
It has been suggested that American small manufacturing cities could be classified into two groups; those in which the industrial pioneers or their sons still dominate the local business scene, and those in which "new blood" has taken over the leadership. There is high probability that the second group would be more prominent in cities having major industries. Model B differs from Model A in that there is always the opportunity for other interests to challenge the existing power structure. The fact that the company does not "own the whole town" means that other economic and social interests may assert themselves. The machinery for independent political action may be used for challenging company supremacy.

Model C, a stratified pyramidal structure, describes a community whose policy-making leaders are drawn largely from the business class. In Regional City, an American city of the South, Floyd Hunter found that the business class formulated policy through the cliques. On community-wide issues policy is channeled by a "fluid committee structure down to institutionally associated groupings through a lower level bureaucracy which executes policy. Intracommunity and extracommunity policy matters are handled by essentially the same group of (business) men in this city, but there is a differentiation of functional activity within this policy group. Finally, it was found that the structure is held together by common interests, mutual obligations, money, habit, delegated responsibilities, and in some cases by coercion and force."³⁵ There is reason to believe that this model fits an older, established community where the social system has been congenial to the growth of a social aristocracy and where business control has a history of hereditary growth. Indeed, Hunter points out that only 15 of the 40 top policy leaders gained positions of prominence on their own. All of the others inherited their father's business or were helped by the wealth and connec-

³⁴ Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, Harcourt, Brace, 1937, p. 74.

³⁵ Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

Model A. Pyramidal Structure
Centering in One Person



Model B. Pyramidal Structure
Centering in an Aristocracy



Model C. Stratified Pyramidal Structure Centering in
Top Group of Policy-Makers

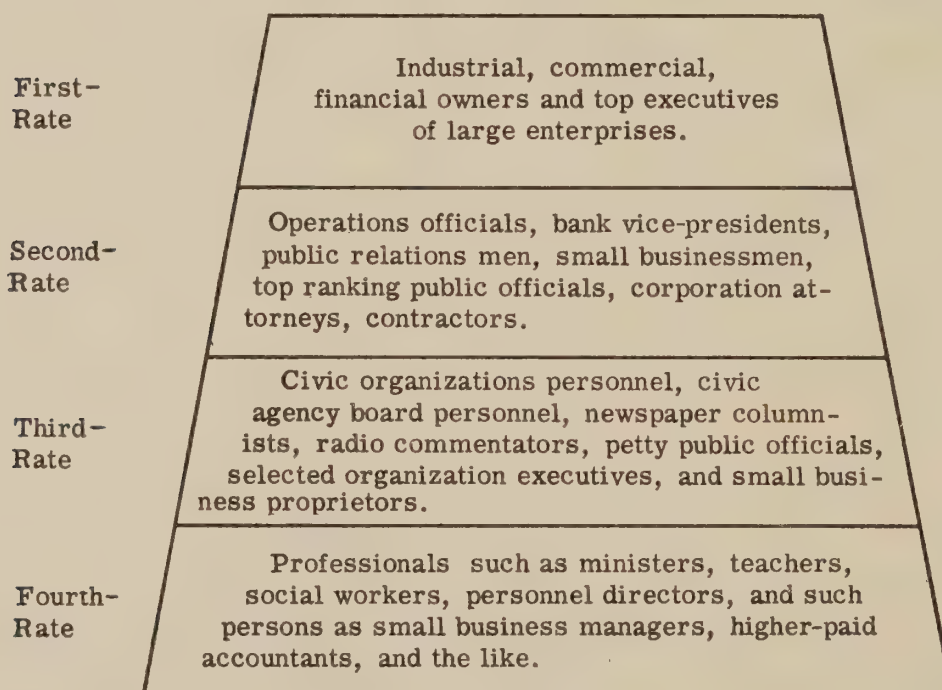
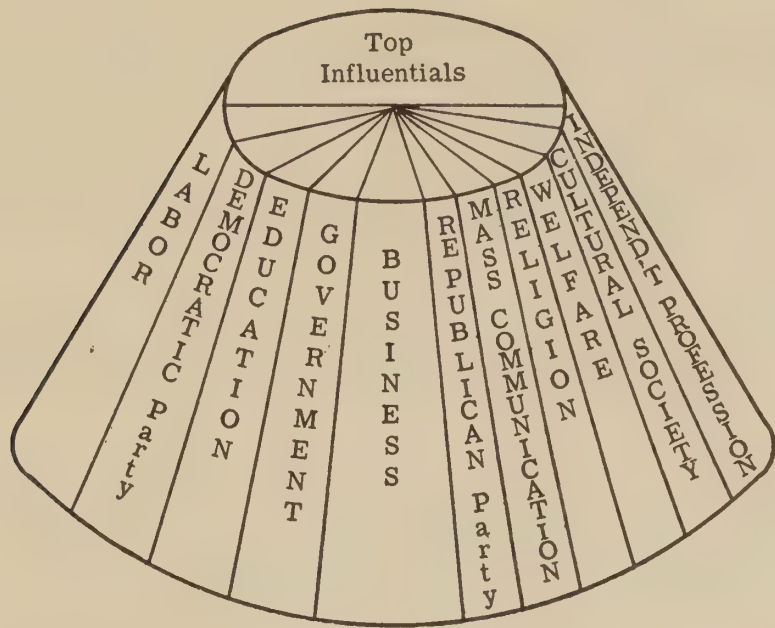


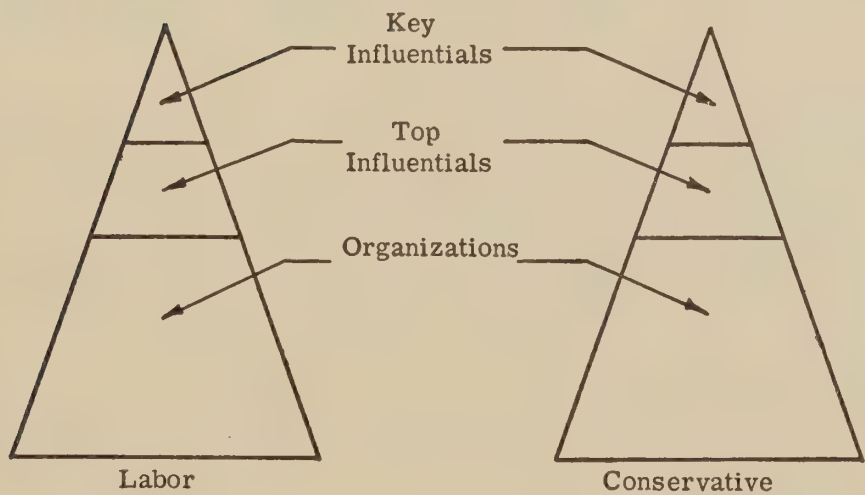
FIGURE 14.7. Five Types of Community Power Models. In Model C the broad base of leadership is drawn largely from the middle class. Model D is heavily oriented toward the business class, but is composed of many institutional segments with power centered in firms and influentials in

tions of their fathers. D. C. Miller has replicated Hunter's methods in a Pacific Coast city and an English city and has found the model does not explain fully the community structure in those two cities. In the first place, similar evidence for solidary crowds or cliques has not been found. To be sure, friendships existed but these are not utilized as a basis for unified common action on community issues. Secondly, there is a question as to whether the full scope of community power is to be found within the corps of leaders

Model D. Ring or Cone Structure



Model E. Segmented Power Pyramids



institutional sectors and across sectors. (Model C after Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1953, p. 109.)

recognized as prominent in initiating or sanctioning actions having consequences for the community. There is some evidence that influence is increasingly centered within the hands of administration leaders who are responsible for large organizations within their own responsibility. Many unobtrusive leaders may exist whose influence through wealth, social status, and political power needs to be taken into account.

Model D, the ring or cone structure, best fits the pattern of the power

structure operating in many modern communities. It is characterized by three major qualities:

1. Increasing heterogeneity of interests within the business sector is shown by the following characteristics:
 - a. Certain manufacturers and merchants view expansion as threat to labor supply and wage level.
 - b. Rise of managers brings a new caution and results in many leaders playing a neutral role.
 - c. Financial and property ties grow more complex as outside interests enter. Branch businesses increase; community improvements seem to some to be assets, to others tax liabilities.
2. Rise of new power structures:
 - a. Labor leaders have come to have an ever stronger voice as agents of their own organization; labor becomes more educated and participates more broadly in community organizations, especially in political parties, government, and welfare organizations. A share in decision-making in the community is more easily attained by citizens of low status.
 - b. Political and government leaders are exercising greater influence over more activities of community life. Military leadership has been given even greater responsibility.
 - c. Educational leaders command greater attention as the need for specialized personnel increases.
 - d. Society leaders may not be neglected in some communities, especially New England and many European countries.
 - e. Major business leaders are being recruited for managerial talent rather than from hereditary and exclusively educated classes.
3. Growing autonomy in all institutionalized sectors:
 - a. Large-scale organization is growing in all sectors.
 - b. Power of administration and policy-making is increasingly concentrated within the specialized personnel of the organization.

A test of the model can be made by discovering the range of leadership displayed in the community and the nature of the participation of various leaders in important decisions affecting their organization, the institutional sector, or other local institutions. It is assumed that leaders play a number of different roles, sometimes taking positive action, sometimes negative, often remaining neutral, and even withdrawing completely from various issues. Different leaders are drawn into community issues depending on the issue at stake.

A study of Lorain, Ohio, by James B. McKee verifies many features of Model D. He says: "No one group can now be called a ruling group in industrial society. This is for two reasons. First, there is no single locus of decision making, but rather a number of loci, each differently structured.

Within the corporation is one, within the community are several, and there are other significant ones within the larger society. Second, a number of groups may have varying effects upon decision making in a given locus. Hence the *pyramidal model of the social order, with power and authority located at the apex, is inaccurate and misleading*.³⁶

Model E—Segmented Power Pyramids. When political parties are powerful in organizing leaders into two or more cohesive groups, the power structure of a community may be described as political blocs. In one English city there was considerable evidence for this kind of political model. On all important issues there is a caucus of the Labor and Conservative power leaders, decisions for voting action taken, and the whip applied to all members to vote in conformance with the decision of the caucus. Community power breaks cleanly along party lines.

Other arrangements are possible within the segmented model. Splinter groups may form a whole series of multiple-power pyramids with a great deal of cleavage between them. French politics reflect the contours of such a model.

COLLECTING DATA ON COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES

The information necessary to secure such variables as size, economic base, social base, and power model may require considerable effort. Use of available sources and classification techniques can shorten the time and effort required. The United States Census of Population gives the following information for most urban places of 2500 or more:

1. Size of population by sex.
2. Size of labor force by sex.
3. Major occupational groups by sex.
4. Major industry groups by sex.
5. Income for stated year of total families and unrelated in dividends.
6. Color of population by sex.
7. Age of population by sex.
8. Years of school completed.
9. Marital status of males and females 14 years and above.
10. Country of birth of the foreign-born white.

³⁶ James B. McKee, "Status and Power in the Industrial Community: A Comment on Drucker's Thesis," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1953, p. 369. Cf. Donald W. Olmsted, "Organizational Leadership and Social Structure in a Small City," *American Sociological Review*, June, 1954, pp. 273-281; Roland J. Pellegrin and Charles H. Coates, "Absentee-Owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1956, pp. 413-420; Orin E. Klapp and L. Vincent Padgett, "Power Structure and Decision-Making in a Mexican Border City," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1960, pp. 405-406.

This census data can now be translated into useful comparative bases by classification methods. The Harris classification discussed in Chapter 2 will provide the economic type. This classification, it will be recalled, singles out cities which are (1) predominantly manufacturing, (2) manufacturing with other characteristics, (3) retail city, (4) diversified city, (5) wholesale city, (6) transportation city, (7) mining town, (8) university town, and (9) resort and retirement town. These classifications may be secured by use of major occupational group data.³⁷

Another similar classification technique has been developed by H. J. Nelson.³⁸ He also used census data and classified 897 American cities according to the proportion of the labor force in each city engaged in manufacturing, mining, transportation, and communication; wholesale trade; retail trade; finance, insurance, and real estate; personal service, professional service; and public administration. His classification has the advantage of showing precisely the degree of variation between various cities using standard deviations from the mean as the measure of variation. Each city can be classified as to its most dominant service function.

City directories are often useful in giving a wide range of information about industries and social organizations of the community. There are three principal divisions of the average directory: (1) the alphabetical name section for individuals and business firms, organizations, etc., (2) the street directory listing each house or building, and (3) the classified advertising section. Most directories also have an introductory section containing facts about the town statistically arranged from the census and other sources. There is usually also a section devoted to the city government, giving the principal officeholders, and often a great deal about the personnel of the various city services.

The determination of power models has, up to now, been largely an end product of research because identification has required a long period of research effort. However, Stouffer has been seeking a quicker method of determining influential persons in a community, and it may soon be possible to type the power structure of communities rather quickly. If such methods prove valid, comparative studies of power processes will be expedited. Stouffer has employed the following methods:

Two two-man teams of researchers (A and B) are sent to a given community. Team A interviews one objectively defined set of five persons in top and/or sensitive roles, endeavoring to determine their individual per-

³⁷ Chauncy D. Harris, "A Functional Classification of Cities in the United States," *Geographic Review*, Vol. 33, 1943, pp. 86-99. Cf. for a more up-to-date classification based on data from 1948 Censuses of manufacturing and business, Victor Jones, "Economic Classification of Cities and Metropolitan Areas," *Municipal Year Book*, International City Managers Association, 1953, pp. 49-54, 69.

³⁸ H. J. Nelson, "Service Classification of American Cities," *Economic Geography*, July, 1955, pp. 189-210.

ceptions of the local power structure. They seek the influential leaders by asking "Who runs things in this community?" They ask for central community issues and issue cleavages within the community. Team B, using an identical questionnaire but operating independently of Team A, interviews a second previously designated set of five persons in roles comparable to those occupied by A's respondents. The general efficacy of this quick (Q) method may thus be checked by comparing Team A's results with those of Team B. In each of the nine communities already studied, the two sets of findings have reflected a high degree of correspondence.

In three of the nine communities, a further effort at testing the validity of the Q method was undertaken. In each of those, Team A conducted somewhat more intensive interviews with 5 of the 20 persons previously most frequently nominated as influential. Simultaneously, Team B similarly interviewed a different set of 5 among the top 20 influentials. Perception of power structure positions was included in these interviews, and again a significant amount of correspondence obtained. These data, supported by generally corroborative findings from roughly comparable studies, suggest that the Q method be a sufficiently valid and reliable technique to warrant more extensive application. Stouffer eventually hopes to employ this or a similar technique in approximately 100 communities throughout the nation. Such determinations could produce a universe of power structure types from which sample cases could be drawn.³⁹

Robert Lamb suggests another approach to find out quickly where the major economic decisions are made. He suggests that the researcher go to the public library and ask for a copy of Rand-McNally's *Bankers Register*. (If the library does not have it, go to one of the local banks.) There you will find the names of all the local banks and the names of the directors. He suggests that the name of each director be placed on a 3×5 card showing all of his bank directorships. With the list of bank directors in hand, turn to Poor's *Register of Directors*. Here are listed all the most important corporate directors in the United States. From Poor's *Register* you can find the other corporate directorates held by home-town bank directors. This will lead at once to the names of all important home-town businesses, for banks tend to accumulate to themselves the leading financial and business talent in town. This method will not be successful, however, if the local banks are part of a chain of banks which merely maintains managers in the town. The increase of absentee ownership of factories and stores, and even of newspaper and banks in towns and cities of the United States, makes it more and more difficult to understand the patterns of organization of individual communities. To find out what is happening to these plants and businesses, Moody's or Poor's Industrials will give you a picture of the extent to which

³⁹ As reported by Robert Schulze for Samuel A. Stouffer, Community Power Structure Conference, Cambridge, Massachusetts, April 26-27, 1958.

the local factory is still locally controlled or to what extent control has passed to out-of-town groups. If a really extensive study of these matters were being made, it would be necessary to consult the records of the Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington. The trend toward absentee ownership of industries is paralleled by what has happened to local privately owned electric light, gas, water, and street transportation systems. Moody's or Poor's *Public Utilities* is available for investigation of these companies.⁴⁰

There are many formidable difficulties which stand in the way of community power research. Fortunately, they can be surmounted usually, but they are very real. There is a covert character to power structures. Many people do not wish to divulge what they know, and often what they know is more evident by heresay than by actual observation. Moreover, the scope of power relations is broad and variable. Regularized patterns are difficult to identify, for, as issues change, new power arrangements take place. The determination of influence in inner circles where it is so important to know becomes the most difficult to trace, and influentials are busy people. Interview time is precious and often interrupted. In some societies (partially observed in England), power relations are regarded as an area of privacy because social status is involved, and the investigator may find that he is defined as engaged in behavior unbecoming a "gentleman." Questionnaires about such matters will not be answered and interviewing access becomes a necessity.

All of these difficulties indicate that unusual skill is required in the study of power processes.

Tactics for Gathering Data

The basic data in any community power study must come from personal interviews, documents, and direct observations of human behavior.

DIRECT OBSERVATION TECHNIQUES

The researcher finds arenas where he can observe decision-making in action. He watches the City Council in action. He attends school board meetings, the chamber of commerce, the central labor boards. He may observe how a key influential goes about his tasks by "shadowing" him (with his permission) gathering by gentle questioning the influentials rationale for doing as he does. This is a time-consuming technique and most of what may be observed is administrative detail. The frequency of crucial issues is not high enough to make this technique appear to be an efficient process. However, as background for later interviews with influentials the technique has much value.

⁴⁰ Robert K. Lamb, "Suggestions for a Study of Your Hometown," *Human Organization*, Summer, 1952, pp. 29-32.

RETROSPECTIVE RECONSTRUCTION

Many good issues may have occurred in the recent past, and the decision-making processes may be reconstructed by interviewing the participants. The tricks of memory may introduce bias into the data but the cross-checking of interviews will eliminate much of this bias. The difficulty here is finding the participants and following the broad and variable outlines of an issue in such a large social web as a community.

IDENTIFICATION OF REPUTED INFLUENTIALS

This is the widely applied technique of identifying those persons reputed to have high influence in the community. Hunter, in his pioneering work in Regional City, asked a set of informants to designate whom they thought to be persons who could get things done. The persons who received a large number of designations were interviewed. These leaders then made nominations and the final ranking based on frequency of choice was considered to be the power hierarchy of the town.

Experience with this technique indicates that while respondents perceive such an order in the community under study, it is a potential order, not a working arrangement. The way things actually get done depends on whether or not powerful individuals choose to become involved. In some cases, it depends on whether they happen to be in the city or not.

POWER ARRANGEMENTS OF PARTICIPANTS ACCORDING TO ISSUES

This technique requires that a number of different issues be reconstructed such that various patterns of power arrangements among influentials and groups may be identified. A wide range of such power arrangements may be depicted, such as might occur when there is considerable fluidity in the community power structure. Figure 14.8 shows four different issue resolutions utilizing issue vector analysis as described in Part II. Each power arrangement depicts vectors of influence brought into play by influentials representing different institutional segments as issues activated those segments. The resolution of the issue is shown as a resultant of the community forces. The search for a central pattern among these various power arrangements is a quest for the recurring elements of a community power structure.

FOLLOW-THROUGH STUDIES

Decision-making may be studied as issues arise, are contested, and resolved. Interviews are made with the participants, and direct observations are made of people and groups. A matrix of alignments may be worked out, processes identified, and a community power structure can be described in behavioral terms. The difficulty here is that the very complexity and apparent uniqueness of the processes make generalizations very hazardous. The technique is

time-consuming, and the tendency is to stop with one or two issues and to regard these as typical.

A combination of these techniques may be the quickest and most efficient use of research energy. Certainly, the use of issues contested in the immediate past experience in the community and the identification of the reputed influence leaders are short cuts that should be fully explored in collecting data about community power. It is probably true that most researchers would regard the best approach as one employing a comparative framework, preferably following through decisions as they are made by interviews with, and observations of, decision-makers.

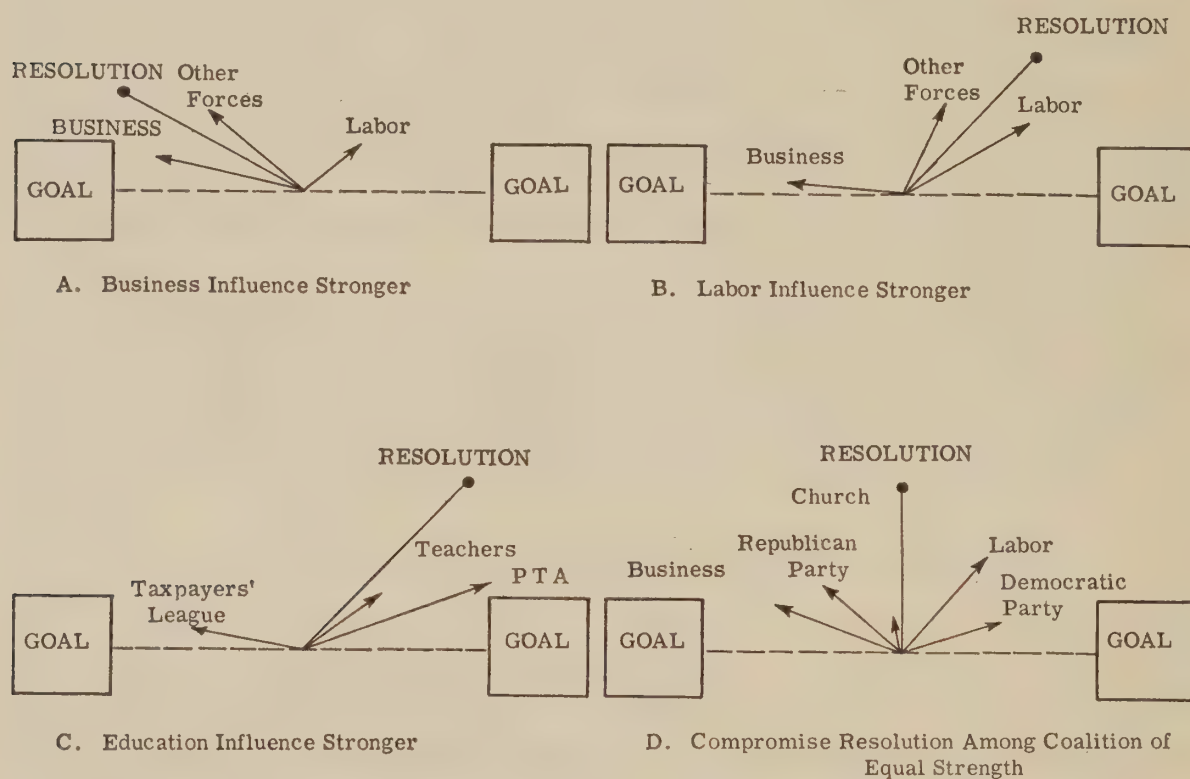


FIGURE 14.8. Four Different Issue Resolutions Resulting from Different Power Arrangements, Utilizing Issue Vector Analysis as Described in Part II.

Interpreting Results

The challenge presented to research in community power relations is to reveal community manifestations so clearly that the relation between society and community is more sharply delineated. Lynd has said, "The need is to view contemporary power, not piecemeal but as a whole, in its full setting, . . . The most characteristic feature of power in society is that separate powers, however based, tend to flow together in working arrangements and so to become a structure of power conterminous with the society; and this means that attempts to deal fragmentarily with power and the problems it raises are largely frustrated."⁴¹

⁴¹ Lynd, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

"Research must focus on specific parts of a larger whole but it need not lose sight of the larger problems. Floyd Hunter has been motivated by the "tenuous line of communication between the governors of our society and the governed." . . . The line of communication between the leaders and the people needs to be broadened and strengthened—and by more than a series of public relations and propaganda campaigns—else our concept of democracy is in danger of losing vitality in dealing with the problems that affect all in common."⁴²

Rossi adds to this theme:

A separation between local government and the local elites of wealth, intellect, and status has become firmly entrenched on the local scene. The local echelons of the party organizations and the elective offices of municipal, county, and even state governments, are manned by persons whose social positions are often many levels below the denizens of the Country Club, Rotary Club, and the Chamber of Commerce. The City Fathers and the county commissioners are recruited, at best, from among local lawyers of somewhat uncertain income and miscellaneous clientele and more likely from among small proprietors and professional politicians. Money, status, and intellect seem in one place and political control in another. How things get done has therefore become more and more problematical as the lack of articulation grows between the political elite and the industrial, commercial, and professional elites. . . . There is a seeming "mushiness" to the decision making process on the local scene, an ambiguity of structure which is hard to tolerate. So much appears on the surface to be haphazard, idiosyncratic, and unique that it is both hard to believe and to study.⁴³

These are the sociological challenges that invite researchers to press on in the intriguing field of community power structure and processes.

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⁴² Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

⁴³ Rossi, "The Study of Decision-Making in the Local Community," *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

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FIELD PROJECTS

1. Describe the structural setting of a local community by using Appendix B, Section I, as a guide.
2. Apply schedule as shown in Figure 14.3, Schedule of Potential Power Positions in an American City, to identify potential top influentials in a large city.
3. Interview a selected panel of community citizens drawn (ideally) from business, labor, education, religion, mass communication, and welfare to obtain their nominations of influential persons as described in Appendix B, Section VI (see page 692).
4. Advanced students and professional researchers are directed to Appendix D for a guide useful for the study of power structure in a local community (see pages 697-700).
5. Advanced students and professional researchers are directed to Appendix E for an interview schedule useful for the study of top influentials in a local community (see pages 701-707).

Chapter 15

COMMUNITY POWER IN MIDDLE-SIZED CITIES

PART I: POWER STRUCTURE

Four Research Hypotheses

Two Border Cities: The Research Setting

Testing Hypotheses

Distribution of Business and Political Influentials

Institutional Cleavages and Social Differentiation of Influentials

Cleavages in Perception of Institutional Relations

Business practices

Governmental practices

Business-government relations

Labor-management relations

Educational linkages

Religious linkages

Community Problems

Conclusions

PART II: ORGANIZED LABOR'S IMAGE OF COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

Research Problems

Auto City: The Research Setting

Findings

Profile of Labor Influentials

Disposition Toward Community Participation

Evaluation of Community Participation

Character of the Opposition

Images of Decision-Makers and Decision-Making Process

Internal Differences

Conclusions

The following chapters present research by the authors testing some of the hypotheses developed in Chapter 14. The advantages of comparative and context design were utilized by a careful selection of communities in the United States, England, and Mexico. The cities were selected so as to provide tests of different hypotheses concerning different types of community power structures.

In Chapter 15, three middle-sized cities are selected for study: Ciudad Juarez, Mexico; El Paso, Texas; and Lansing, Michigan. The first two were studied within a comparative community design, while community context design was employed in the Lansing study. The first part of the chapter compares the strikingly different power structures of two border cities of two nations. The second part of the chapter is a study of a Midwestern automobile manufacturing center. Here, the image of the community power structure, as perceived by organized labor, is studied in detail. These communities represent different community power models.

In Chapter 16, three cities are compared, two in the United States and one in England. Different hypotheses concerning the structure of top influentials are pursued as well as hypotheses concerning economic and political features of the three communities.

PART I: CLEAVAGE AND INTEGRATION IN COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

Four Research Hypotheses

Almost all studies of community power in contemporary Western cities indicate that the top influentials are predominantly businessmen. The next largest representation usually comes from the political institution. This should be expected from the postulated institutional power structures of society (IPSS), which asserts a dominance by business which can only be challenged by the power of government. Although the relation between business and government is fundamental to the study of community power, it is a neglected area of study.¹ American society probably represents the extreme case of strong governmental support of business, for, in other Western countries, interests opposing business have greater social power. However, even in communities where business dominates and the collaboration between business and government is greatest, some degree of segmentation between the two institutions appears inevitable. The consequences of such segmentation on the decision-making process are obvious: power structures which are cohesive and solidary should behave differently than those torn by institutional cleavages. In order to examine institutional relations in

¹ Robert A. Dahl, "Business and Politics: A Critical Appraisal of Political Science," *American Political Science Review*, March, 1959, pp. 1-34.

communities with different power structures, two border cities were selected for study.

Two Border Cities: The Research Setting

In 1955, business and political influentials in El Paso and C. Juarez were interviewed to ascertain the imagery they had of one another.² The two communities were selected because they were the largest border twin cities. Although they were not precisely matched, their common and unique characteristics enabled the testing of several hypotheses on internal community power arrangements.

The two communities have a common geographical setting along the Rio Grande River, which ordinarily trickles through the semiarid region. The communities also share a common historical background, dating back to the late sixteenth century when the area was first opened up by the Spaniards. Prior to 1836, there was only one town at the northern pass. After the Texas War of Independence, the two towns grew slowly. In 1900, each town contained less than 10,000 persons. Being border towns in a semidesert, they developed similar types of economies. Cattle-raising and mining were carried on in the hinterlands. Later, irrigation from the river, supplemented by underground waters, supported considerable cotton growing and other crops. From the beginning, the communities were primarily wholesale, retail, banking, and transportation centers for their wide but thinly populated hinterlands. As points of entry for both countries for a long segment of the border, they also attracted tourist and related businesses. State and federal agencies concerned with international trade and immigration also located in each city.

The two communities grew slowly at first, but, during and after World War II, they boomed. At the time of research, they both had about 140,000 people, exclusive of military personnel located nearby. They both had developed rather elaborate institutional and associational structures, characteristic of middle-sized cities. However, El Paso had become economically dominant. It dominated a wholesale area which extended beyond that of C. Juarez in Mexico. El Paso developed, in addition to its traditional economic activities, ore refinement, oil refinement, cement, meat-packing, clothing, and other

² The research was sponsored by Carnegie Corporation of New York and the United States Public Health Service under grants to Charles P. Loomis to organize studies on the relation of national imagery to technological interchange on the United States-Mexican border. The study reported here was directed by William H. Form, who spent four months at the research site. Most of the field work and data processing was done by William V. D'Antonio. See his "National Images of Business and Political Elites in Two Border Communities," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1958. Also see William H. Form and William V. D'Antonio, "Integration and Cleavage Among Community Influentials," *American Sociological Review*, December, 1959, pp. 804-814.

industries. The demand for cheap labor became so great that 10 to 15 percent of the labor force of C. Juarez was employed in El Paso at the time of research. The presence of over 40,000 military personnel in the area further stimulated business. An aggressive Chamber of Commerce, exploiting the climate, local scenic attractions, and the proximity of Mexico facilitated the growth of tourist business.

To the American tourist, C. Juarez is a tawdry community living off the tourist trade and vice. While the chief source of revenue comes from tourism, a "legitimate" Mexican community exists beyond that known to ordinary tourists. The city has four banks, large import-export houses, and several small but important industries—distilleries, breweries, textile mills, foundries, meat-packing, and cottonseed oil and building products. In addition, it has the usual urban facilities: radio, TV stations, newspapers, retail facilities, and the wide range of formal organizations commonly found in other Mexican communities.

The interdependencies and interrelations between the two communities are many. While El Paso businesses profit from the patronage of C. Juarez citizens, the latter profit from employment in El Paso. In addition, both communities profit from American and Mexican regular and tourist trade. A recognition of interdependence is manifested by the occasional but more or less regular joint meetings of the chambers of commerce, service clubs, fraternal, governmental, and many other organizations of the two cities. Moreover, two-thirds of the population of El Paso are Spanish-speaking residents who have family and other ties across the border. Yet visible contrasts in physical and social structure are found in the two cities. C. Juarez is a more densely populated and poorer community with less adequate institutional resources than El Paso. The Mexican community is also characterized by more internal cleavages, which will be investigated below.

As a matter of fact, the two communities turned out to be ideal research cities because they portrayed different institutional structures and cultural norms. Reconnaissance interviewing during the exploratory research stage suggested that the articulation of the business and political institutions varied in each community and that decision-making might be affected by this differential articulation. El Paso seemed to approach the stratified pyramidal model of community power, while C. Juarez seemed to approach the segmented model. The crucial difference between the communities appeared to be in their different business and political relations.

Four hypotheses about top influentials (TI) in the two communities having different types of institutional power structures are:

1. When institutionalized power structures of communities (IPSC) differ, the relative institutional representations to the top influentials (TI) and key influentials (KI) will differ.

2. Differences in social attributes of top and key influentials will be greater in communities having larger cleavages in their institutionalized power structures.
3. Influentials in communities with greater institutional cleavages will disagree more in their perceptions of local institutional relations and behavior.
4. Influentials in communities with greater institutional cleavages will differ more in identifying local community issues and organizations which resolve those issues.

The four hypotheses are testable by using the comparative community study design described in Chapter 14.³ The hypotheses will be examined in El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez, Mexico.

Testing Hypotheses

In the exploratory interviews with institutional heads and knowledgeable in business, government, religion, education, labor, and mass communication in both cities, a provisional panel of business influentials and a provisional panel of political influentials was drawn up for each community.⁴ Members of the four panels, on whom there was greatest consensus, were interviewed to obtain their images of the political and economic systems in both communities and their nominations for community influentials. They also were pressed to provide three sets of names; people who had greatest influence and power in their own institutions, people with greatest influence in both business and government, and people with greatest influence in the community generally. Eventually, about 40 business and 20 political influentials were interviewed in each community.

These people included the key and top influentials in each community plus a few secondary influentials in the economic and political sectors. Influentials in other sectors (welfare, education, and religion) were omitted because they had negligible influence on business and government relations, international relations, and community projects and decisions.⁵

It should be emphasized that the respondents were asked questions about institutional relations within their own communities and were asked to compare these relations with those existing in the city across the border. Thus, the technique not only enabled the researchers to ascertain the degree of agreement or disagreement between business and political influentials on institutional relations within each community but permitted analysis of institutional relations in a cross-cultural setting. Since cross-cultural compari-

³ These hypotheses are generally concerned with the broader problem of system linkages. A theoretical examination of system linkages may be found in Charles P. Loomis, "Systematic Linkage of El Cerrito, New Mexico," *Rural Sociology*, March, 1959, pp. 54-57.

⁴ The technique was similar to that described by Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

⁵ This was confirmed in subsequent interviewing in 1958.

sons often serve to help people sharpen observations of their own systems, the responses of the groups were analyzed as they applied to both their own community and the community across the border.

DISTRIBUTION OF BUSINESS AND POLITICAL INFLUENTIALS

The first hypothesis reads:

When institutionalized power structures of communities (IPSC) differ, the relative institutional representations to the top influentials (TI) and key influentials (KI) will differ.

For this research, the KI were identified as those who were most frequently nominated as influential by other influentials. Tables 40 and 41

TABLE 40. Primary Economic Identifications of Business Influentials

Industry	El Paso		C. Juarez		Total
	KI	TI	KI	TI	
Banking	3	3	4	1	11
Manufacturing	6	8	10	4	28
Wholesale trade	3	2	2	2	9
Retail trade	1	9	6	7	23
Communications	2	1	—	1	4
Utilities	2	—	—	1	3
Total	17	23	22	16	78

TABLE 41. Identifications of Political Influentials

Identification	El Paso		C. Juarez		Total
	KI	TI	KI	TI	
Executive	4	2	13	1	23
Legislative	—	1	—	4	5
Judiciary	2	6	—	—	8
Nongovernmental	1	5	2	3	11
Totals	7	14	15	8	47

provide data on the primary identification of the business and political influentials in both communities. Although the numbers are small, certain trends are apparent. Relatively big businesses (manufacturing, banking, wholesaling) dominated the influentials in both cities.⁶ Even the retailers were the

⁶ This is somewhat contrary to the findings of Robert O. Schulze, "Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1958, pp. 3-9.

largest ones in the cities. Manufacturers and bankers dominated the KI, especially in C. Juarez where they constituted the majority. The greater representation of retailers among the KI of C. Juarez revealed the greater importance of tourist trade for that city. Striking differences were found in the internal make-up of the political influentials in both cities. Most important of these was the higher proportion of influentials, especially KI, in the executive branch of government in C. Juarez and a higher proportion in the judiciary branch in El Paso. Nongovernment influentials in the Mexican city were all party officials, three of whom were also labor union officials. In the United States city, they were all lawyers. Moreover, four-fifths of the C. Juarez influentials were in office in contrast to half in El Paso. The most important difference between the two communities is in the proportion of businessmen who were political influentials; five of the political influentials in El Paso were also business KI's, while no such overlapping existed in C. Juarez. These differences point to significant differences in the articulation of business and government in the two cities.

In the United States, business is more dominant and informally exerts control over government, while, in Mexico, business domination of government is problematic. In Mexico, the system of political influence appears to be an independent one based on controlling important positions in the executive branch of government and in the dominant party, Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI).

INSTITUTIONAL CLEAVAGES AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION OF INFLUENTIALS

The second hypothesis reads:

Differences in the social attributes of top and key influentials will be greater in communities having greater cleavages in their institutionalized power structures.

Influentials were compared for such social characteristics as age, place of birth, education, social origin, occupational mobility, social mobility, and organizational membership. Table 42 summarizes some of these characteristics. Despite the small numbers involved, the trends clearly support the hypothesis that greater differences are found with the C. Juarez influentials than within the El Paso group.

Thus, C. Juarez businessmen were more than five years older on the average than the politicians, while the difference between the parallel group in El Paso was only about two years. While about half of both American business and political influentials were born outside of Texas, a larger proportion of the Mexican politicians than businessmen were born outside the state of Chihuahua. Educational differences among the influentials were

minimal, although in the expected direction. This was somewhat surprising in view of the larger differences in social origin and occupational mobility patterns of the four groups. About 80 percent of both El Paso influentials had white-collar fathers, compared to 70 percent of the C. Juarez businessmen and 55 percent of the politicians. As expected, about the same proportion (60 percent) of both United States influentials exhibited upward occupational mobility, while the political influentials in C. Juarez experienced somewhat more upward mobility than the business influentials.

TABLE 42. Social Characteristics of Influentials in Two Border Cities

Characteristics	El Paso Influentials		C. Juarez Influentials	
	Business	Political	Business	Political
Age—mean years	51.7%	49.4%	55.6%	49.0%
Education—median	16.0	16.6	12.6	11.4
Born outside state	50.0	47.0	50.0	64.0
Fathers in white-collar occupations	78.0	80.0	69.0	55.0
Upwardly mobile	56.0	58.0	51.0	59.0
Mean number of jobs	2.8	3.6	3.2	3.6
Mean number of organizational memberships	3.0	3.7	4.1	2.7
No party identification	32.0	20.0	90.0	10.0
Number of cases ^a	38	19	37	22

^a Varied slightly because of no answers to some questions.

These differences were reflected in community participation. Here again, the C. Juarez business elite⁷ participated more heavily than the political elite, while the differences in El Paso, though not as extreme, were reversed. The greater cleavage in the institutional structure of the Mexican city is dramatized by the fact that nine-tenths of its business influentials expressed no party identification compared to one-third of American businessmen.

Participation in specific organizations, as seen in Table 43, reflects other institutional cleavages. While the small number of cases call for a cautious interpretation, it is clear that the proportion of business and political influentials found in various El Paso organizations is relatively equal. In only professional associations are the political elite much more highly represented than the business elite. Small differences appeared in the representations in the El Paso Chamber of Commerce and welfare organizations. Almost the reverse pattern existed for C. Juarez. There, minor differences were

⁷ "Elite" and "influential" are used interchangeably; "political influentials" and "politicos" are synonymous terms.

found only in the proportions in professional associations and governmental committees. Vast differences were found in representations of the two groups in the C. Juarez Chamber of Commerce, Asociación Civica,⁸ service clubs, and Catholic and welfare organizations with businessmen predominating. Political influentials had greater proportions in the masonic lodge, labor unions, and cultural societies.

TABLE 43. Proportion of Business and Political Influentials Who Are Members of Selected Local Organizations

Types of Organizations	El Paso Influentials		C. Juarez Influentials	
	Business	Political	Business	Political
Chamber of commerce	95%	70%	90%	9%
Professional organizations	8	80	11	23
Service clubs	76	73	154 ^a	41
Masonic lodges	21	10	—	30
Church organizations	21	21	57	30
International committees	18	21	14	—
Community welfare associations	34	21	33	5
Governmental committees	5	10	5	5
Asociación Civica	—	—	30	—
Labor unions and government clubs	—	—	11	32
Cultural societies	16	5	14	41
Number of cases	38	19	37	22

^a Average more than one organization.

CLEAVAGES IN PERCEPTION OF INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS

The third hypothesis reads:

Influentials in communities with greater institutional cleavages will disagree more in their perceptions of institutional relations and practices.

Since institutional relations differ in the United States and Mexico, respondents in each country were expected to perceive internal relations differently. As explained above, respondents were asked to compare institutional behavior and relations within their country to those across the border. Questions probing differences in the two communities covered the following areas: (1) business practices, (2) governmental practices, (3) business-government relations, (4) labor-management relations, (5) educational systems, (6) religious relations, and (7) community problems.

⁸ A business civic organization.

Business Practices. Mexican business is allegedly less competitive, more oriented to local markets, less aggressive, more family-controlled, more custom-bound, and more deeply embedded in the local community than American business. The following questions were asked of the four groups to compare their images of the practices and social linkages of business:

Is there more free competition in Mexico or in the United States?

Generally speaking, when compared to American businessmen do Mexican businessmen insist on higher profit rates or not?

Are Mexican businessmen inclined to reinvest more heavily in their businesses or not?

Compared to the American, does the average Mexican businessman think more in terms of a mass market, or is he satisfied with adequate profits from a limited market?

Is the Mexican more inclined to concentrate ownership in the family, or does he prefer to have broader stock holdings?

Does the Mexican businessman tend to inherit his business position more or less than the American?

Are Mexican businessmen more inclined to stress family and personal ties in the conduct of their business or less inclined?

Does the average Mexican worker have greater or lesser opportunity to become a businessman compared to the American worker?

Is the Mexican businessman more or less conscious of the social class background of his employees than the American businessman?

Business and political influentials in both countries did not agree in their responses to the questions, although the differences between the influentials in each country were rather small. As might be expected, the Mexican influentials were more defensive about Mexican business practices, especially the businessmen. Thus, while over 70 percent of both American TT's indicated there was less free competition in Mexico, slightly less than 30 percent of the Mexican influentials agreed and almost 40 percent of the Mexican politicians agreed. Almost the identical patterns were found in questions characterizing the Mexican businessman as insisting on higher profit rates, and being more oriented to the local market. Two-thirds of both American groups believed that Mexicans were more satisfied with adequate profits derived from a limited market. Only 30 percent of the Mexican businessmen and 50 percent of the Mexican politicians endorsed this idea.

In two of the three questions dealing with the role of the family in Mexican business, the same pattern of high agreement between the American groups and slight disagreement between the two groups of Mexican influen-

tials was maintained. Thus, while over two-thirds of the American influentials thought that Mexican businessmen inherited their positions more than they did, half of the Mexican businessmen and 60 percent of the Mexican politicians agreed. Again, almost all of the United States respondents thought Mexicans emphasized family and personal ties more in their business than the Americans, but only three-quarters of the Mexican politicians and two-thirds of the businessmen agreed. Two-thirds of both Mexican influentials agreed that family ownership of business characterized them more than the American, a contention held by all of the Americans.

Table 44 confirms the hypothesized pattern of agreement between the American groups and disagreement between the Mexican groups in a question dealing with amount of mobility opportunity in American business. While all the Americans agreed that the Mexicans have less opportunity, an odd reversal was seen for the Mexican groups. Almost half of the politicians insisted that Mexico has equal or greater opportunity, while only one-fifth of the businessmen agreed. Yet no differences were found between them

TABLE 44. Relative Opportunity of Mexican and American Workers to Become Businessmen

Relative Opportunity	El Paso Influentials		C. Juarez Influentials	
	Business	Political	Business	Political
Mexican has greater opportunity	—	—	1	2
Same opportunities	1	—	7	8
American has greater opportunity	36	16	26	9
Other responses	—	—	3	3
Totals	37	16	37	22

in the amount of class consciousness attributed to Mexican employers. About half of each group thought that Mexican businessmen had an equal or less amount of class consciousness as the American businessmen. While a majority of the latter attributed more class consciousness to Mexican businessmen, the politicians represented a more extreme position. In general, the hypothesis was borne out that there is more disagreement between Mexican influentials in their perception of business practices than among the American.

Governmental Practices. Business is presumably an institution calling for rational orientations, while politics calls more for the manipulation of sentiments and emotions. Therefore, the perceptions which business and political influentials have of political structures might be expected to differ

more than their perception of business. Such differences would be greater in Mexico, where a greater cleavage in the institutional power structures are postulated. Respondents were asked to compare the countries in three areas: (1) the degree to which each society more nearly realized seven democratic ideals, (2) the relative degree of mobility possible within government, and (3) the relative amount of graft and corruption in government.

The question in the first area was:

On this card are listed a number of ideals commonly associated with a democratic society. Let us assume that both the United States and Mexico enjoy these ideals to some degree. In which country is each ideal more closely realized?

Table 45 presents data on the degree of agreement between political and business influentials in each country on this question. Probabilities of chi-squares in the last column of more than 10 percent were taken to indicate general agreement, while lower probabilities were interpreted as indicating disagreement.

TABLE 45. Chi-Squares and Their Levels of Probability Between Business and Political Influentials for Their Perceptions of Relative National Attainment of Democratic Ideas

Democratic Ideal	El Paso Influentials		C. Juarez Influentials	
	Chi-Square ^a	Probability	Chi-Square ^a	Probability
Free speech	1.284	.30-.20	2.284	.20-.10
Free press	3.569	.10-.05	0.442	.90-.80
Freedom of religion	0.410	.70-.50	5.790	.02-.01
Free, open, and honest elections	N.T.P. ^b	1.00	10.648	.01-.001
Equal justice before law	7.353	.01-.001	9.859	.01-.001
Protection of rights of property and management	0.542	.50-.30	5.549	.02-.01
Protection of rights of labor	1.044	.70-.50	1.071 ^c	.70-.50

^a Unless otherwise indicated, all chi-squares have one degree of freedom.

^b No test possible.

^c Two degrees of freedom.

As might be expected, the majority of both American influentials agreed that the United States had more nearly approximated all seven democratic ideals. In every case but one, however, a greater proportion of the political influentials indicated that Mexico had realized the ideals to the same extent as the United States. On the average 80 percent of the businessmen, as

opposed to half of the politicians, insisted on American superiority. Only for freedom of the press and equal justice under law were the differences between the groups statistically significant.

As Table 45 shows, the political and business influentials of C. Juarez differed significantly in their evaluations of five of the seven ideals. In all seven ideals, a greater proportion of the businessmen indicated that the United States approximated the ideals more closely. In only two ideals, however (free and honest elections and equal justice under law), did a majority of the businessmen indicate United States superiority. The majority of Mexican politicians (70 percent) indicated that the two countries had equally approximated all seven ideals. The corresponding figure for the business influentials was about 54 percent.

Possible conflict between business and government may develop over graft or corruption in government. Such corruption may, in fact, derive from collusion between businessmen and politicians. Seven questions were posed to tap the general and specific views of business and political influentials of graft in their cities:

1. When graft and corruption occur in the United States, which of the following do you think is generally the case?
 - a. Politicians connive for their own interests.
 - b. Politicians connive with businessmen.
 - c. Politicians connive with labor leaders.
 - d. Politicians connive with racketeers.
 - e. All of these.
2. What is the situation for Mexico?
3. With reference to El Paso, which of these applies?
4. For C. Juarez, which applies?
5. Is there more political corruption in the United States or Mexico?
6. Is there more political corruption in El Paso or C. Juarez?
7. Do you believe that political bossism is more widespread in the United States or Mexico?

No statistically significant differences appeared in the responses of the American political and business influentials, which points to their relatively high institutional integration. In two questions (6 and 7), the responses of the Mexican business influentials differed statistically from those of the politicians. All four groups felt that corruption in the United States is largely a matter of politicians feathering their own nests, although larger proportions of the Mexican influentials indicated that other types of connivance exist. The same pattern was thought to exist in Mexico, but more respondents refused to give their opinions. In the two questions dealing with corruption in the two cities, the dominant image was that politicians by themselves accounted for most of the corruption, but C. Juarez businessmen were willing to concede that other groups (businessmen, union officials, and racket-

eers) entered into collusion. All groups admitted the greater prevalence of political corruption in Mexico generally and C. Juarez specifically. As might be anticipated, the Mexican political influentials had most reservations on this point and on the question dealing with the prevalence of political bossism in the two countries.

This general pattern of identical responses for American influentials and differences between the two Mexican groups persisted in response to questions concerning the social origin of governmental officials in each country. Almost all of the American respondents insisted that recruitment in the United States was more representative of the nation than in Mexico, while almost all of the Mexican political influentials felt equally strongly that the recruitment was more representative in Mexico. The Mexican businessmen were equally split on the question.

Business-Government Relations. An attempt was made to ascertain the degree of cleavage between business and government by directly asking the four groups (1) their evaluation of the degree of coöperation between business and government on both the national and local levels, (2) their evaluation of the degree of government regulation of business, and (3) their evaluation of the amount of government ownership of business current in their countries.

The point is often made that local institutional relations in the border regions of the two countries are not typical of the nations. Since it is difficult to document this, the researchers asked the respondents their impressions. All the Americans felt that business-government relations in El Paso were typical of American cities, and three-quarters of the Mexicans felt that institutional relations in their city were typical of Mexico. Of course, it is possible they all erred in their judgments.

There were no differences between the El Paso influentials in their appraisal of relations between business and government. Seven-tenths of them felt that coöperative relations were closer in the United States than in Mexico. Four-fifths of the Mexican businessmen agreed with them, as contrasted to two-fifths of the Mexican politicians. The majority of the latter felt that the same degree of coöperation existed in both countries. As Table 46 shows, these differences were maintained in estimates of local business and government coöperation. The cleavage in C. Juarez is dramatized by the fact that its businessmen felt that business and government got along better in El Paso than even the El Paso businessmen were willing to admit. From their perspective, Mexican business influentials evaluated government regulation of business in the United States as ideal, a situation with which Mexican politicians agreed. In a rare case of disagreement, four-fifths of the American business elite and only half of the politicians felt that government interfered too much in business. When the same question was asked concerning Mexico, the traditional pattern was reestablished. Over two-thirds of

the Americans saw Mexican government as interfering too much with business. Yet, perhaps as a realistic response, only a bare majority of the Mexican businessmen agreed. Four-fifths of the Mexican politicians appraised the degree of government regulation of business in Mexico as proper.

TABLE 46. Business-Government Coöperation in Two Cities Compared by Local Influentials

Comparison of Business-Government Coöperation	El Paso Influentials		C. Juarez Influentials	
	Business	Political	Business	Political
Closer coöperation in C. Juarez	6	2	2	2
About same degree of coöperation	9	5	7	7
Closer coöperation in El Paso	22	10	30	10
Other	1	1	—	2
Totals	38	18	39	21

Much of the antagonism of businessmen to government derives from its objection to government ownership. When asked to appraise the degree of government ownership in the United States, again the American influentials disagreed, with three-fifths of the businessmen claiming too much government ownership, and less than half of the political elite agreeing. The great majority of both Mexican influentials agreed that the American situation was a proper relationship. When asked to appraise the situation in Mexico, the American TI's protested once again that government ownership was too great, while the Mexican influentials disagreed in line with their occupational identities. In conclusion, it should be emphasized that the solidarity between the American influentials was broken only when the occupational integrity of the political influentials was called into question, but in Mexico the split between the influentials was almost ubiquitous.

Labor-Management Relations. Labor-management relations may vary in the degree to which they are placed in a political context. To be consistent with the general findings reported above, less cleavage should be expected between the American than between Mexican influentials in their evaluations of labor-management relations. This turned out to be the case, for only one-third of *both* American elites agreed that government has too much power in labor-management relations. Expectedly, the Mexican elites were split, with half of the businessmen feeling that the Mexican government had too much power, and a larger proportion of the politicians feeling that the situation was equitable.

In view of this, it was important to ascertain how the respondents assessed the relations between labor and management in their local communities and how they assessed their relative community power. Table 47 reveals that the American influentials perceived labor and management in El Paso primarily as business partners and secondarily as competitors. In C. Juarez, a significant cleavage appeared because one-third of the businessmen felt that labor and management are political enemies, an appraisal not widely shared by the politicians. Apparently, the businessmen wanted to recognize cleavage, while the politicians preferred to present a more solidary picture of labor-management relations.

TABLE 47. Characteristic Labor-Management Relations Described by Influentials of Two Cities

Labor and Management Are:	El Paso Influentials		C. Juarez Influentials	
	Business	Political	Business	Political
Business partners	20	11	7	6
Competitors for Business profits	8	6	12	12
Political enemies	5	3	12	3
Other responses	2	1	7	2
Totals	35	21	38	23

The American influentials recognized that, in general, business had more power than labor in El Paso than in C. Juarez. Despite their view that labor and management are partners and competitors, over half believed that labor had too much power in collective bargaining. The Mexican businessmen had more consistent views, insisting that labor had more power in C. Juarez, that government was prolabor, and that they opposed both. Mexican political leaders also maintained a consistent position—that labor-management relations were about the same in both communities and that they were “properly balanced.”

Educational Linkages. Education systems in both the United States and Mexico are under government sponsorship. Education is expected to prepare the student for a future occupational role, provide him with an ethical basis for an occupation, and furnish him with a broad cultural background. The evaluation of these functions by the business and political influentials of both cities should, therefore, provide further clues concerning the nature of education’s linkage to other institutions.

The preponderant majority of both American influentials felt that United States education was equal or superior to the Mexican in preparing students

for business life, in providing them with adequate ethical preparation for business, and in furnishing them a broad cultural background. Both groups of Mexican influentials also asserted that their educational system was adequately linked to other segments of their society. Predominant majorities even insisted that Mexican education was superior to American in ethical and cultural preparation. As might be expected, the groups split in their evaluation of Mexican business training—70 percent of the business influentials asserting the superiority of American education, as opposed to 50 percent for the Mexican political elites.

Religious Linkages. How religion is linked to other institutions is always a basic concern in the study of power structures. Religion may be closely linked to the political institution or it may be completely separated and dominated. The nature of the articulation of religion into the institu-

TABLE 48. Articulation of Politics and Religion Ascribed to Politicos in Two Border Communities

Choice	El Paso Influentials		C. Juarez Influentials	
	Business	Political	Business	Political
Politics and religion do not mix	11	7	31	20
Religion is basic to political behavior	16	8	5	1
Other responses	8	2	1	—
Totals	35	17	37	21

tionalized power structure is an especially important problem along the border. In the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the Catholic church was shorn of much of its power. Many political leaders still view the church as a political enemy and "take refuge in Masonry." Their suspicions that the church is antigovernment is partly confirmed by the fact that their political opponents in business are ardent Catholics. Along the American border, the business and political influentials are predominantly Anglo and Protestant, and the working class is predominantly Spanish-speaking and Catholic. The upper strata still retain vestiges of the traditional stereotype that the Catholic church is a threatening sleeping giant.

In view of this background, the researchers investigated how the top influentials of both cities evaluated the role of religion in the lives of the business and political elites. Table 48 provides data in response to the questions on how local politicians regard their relations to religion. Clearly, C. Juarez influentials generally agreed that politics and religion do not mix in

Mexico. In El Paso, the situation is more complex. While the politicians were evenly split on the dominant view which American politicians have toward religion, only three-tenths of the businessmen took the view that politics and religion do not mix. This fact must be considered in the context that in El Paso businessmen have dominant political control.

The greater insistence on the relevance of religion to politics on the part of businessmen is further supported by the fact that they attributed a closer linkage between politics and religion in "the city across the border." In response to a direct question, "Do you feel that the clergy in the United States have more or less influence on political life than the clergy in Mexico?" all groups (60 percent) agreed that the American clergy had more political influence, which points to the greater cohesion in the institutionalized power structure of El Paso. Again, a larger proportion of the C. Juarez businessmen attributed more power to the American clergy than did their

TABLE 49. Articulation of Business and Religion Ascribed to Businessmen in Two Communities

Choice	El Paso Influentials		C. Juarez Influentials	
	Business	Political	Business	Political
Religion and business do not mix	11	9	26	12
Religion is an important and positive force in business life	19	8	11	6
Other opinions	7	1	2	—
Totals	37	18	39	18

political confreres, while in El Paso, the businessmen attributed more political influence to the Mexican clergy than did the American politicians. These trends may partially be explained by adherence to a formal creed of church-state separation. They may also reveal, however, a desire on the part of business to gain greater political legitimacy. It may be revealing, therefore, to examine how business and political leaders saw the role of religion in business life.

Respondents were asked whether, in their countries, religion was segregated from business life or whether it was an important positive force. Table 49 reveals the greater segmentation of religion in Mexican institutional structure and its apparently greater integration in the United States. While two-thirds of the C. Juarez influentials asserted that religion and business do not mix in Mexico, less than two-fifths of the El Paso influentials agreed

that this was the case for the United States. The El Paso businessmen, as in the question dealing with the importance of religion in politics, insisted most that religion was either an important and positive force in business life or that it bore some relationship to business.

Somewhat tangential to this area is the concern of businessmen with problems of community welfare. The respondents were asked whether American and Mexican businessmen differed in their concern for community welfare. The majority of all four groups felt that the American businessmen had greater concern than the Mexican. While the El Paso groups were unanimous in their opinion, only two-fifths of the C. Juarez influentials felt that the Mexican businessmen were equally concerned with community welfare. Again, this points to the firmer linkage between business and welfare in the institutional structure of El Paso.

Community Problems

Business and political influentials are both concerned with the solution of community problems. As part of the local power structure, they are involved in initiating projects, screening proposed projects, and combating issues to which they are opposed. The top influentials, as well as the organizations in the community power complex, may represent a cohesive solidary system or one torn by internal cleavages. The top influentials may be thought of as integrated when they agree on the priority of problems facing the community, the groups which may be expected to support the resolution of these problems, and the expected sources of opposition. The thoughts of the four groups of influentials were probed for these three areas.

All four groups concurred that the most pressing problem was to find sufficient water for farming and urban growth. Differences in the priority of problems named by the El Paso influentials were negligible. Next to water, they saw the most pressing problems as traffic control, need for new industry, educational expansion, stimulation of the economy, and delinquency control, in that order. They also agreed that local government and business associations were working actively together to solve these problems. They did not single out organizations which were derelict in their community responsibilities. The prevailing attitude was that the community agencies had agreed on problems and were coöperatively working toward their solution without opposition.

Segmentation between the C. Juarez influentials was not especially apparent in the naming of community problems, for the political and business influentials generally agreed on the number and priority of problems. The need for expanded public utilities and educational services were uppermost problems next to water. Traffic control, improved sanitation, slum clearance, and more industry were lower-order problems. The businessmen felt that

better local government was a middle-range problem, while politicians gave this their lowest priority.

Cleavages were noticed more in response to questions asking for the names of the groups which were working to resolve local problems. Eighty percent of the groups named by businessmen were under business dominance; namely, the Chamber of Commerce, service clubs, Asociación Cívica, and Catholic church organizations. Government-dominated groups were named as not doing their part to resolve community problems.

The political influentials gave almost equal representation to groups under their dominance and under business dominance as helping to solve community problems. Governmental bodies, organizations within the PRI party, and labor unions were named as frequently as the service clubs, church organizations, and Chamber of Commerce. Moreover, the politicians were generally unwilling to recognize groups as failing in their community obligations.

Conclusions

Questions have been raised whether cleavages within the institutional power structures are reflected in the social organization of the top influentials. While the communities studied represent limited types of cleavages, their study revealed that the political and business influentials reflected these cleavages. Four areas were probed for the top influentials: (1) social backgrounds, (2) social participation in the community, (3) perception of institutional relations in the community, and (4) assessment of community problems. In all four areas, cleavages between the influentials in C. Juárez were demonstrated to be greater than those among El Paso influentials. Furthermore, it was found that the political influentials tried to minimize cleavages between institutions more than the business influentials. Certain historical forces altered the details of this pattern.

Some degree of cleavage appears inevitable within the institutionalized power structure of even the most highly integrated cities. This appears whenever one group of institutional representatives tends to minimize the importance of or the efficiency of the work of another institution. The above study dramatized cleavages between two institutions in two different communities. Labor unions did not play a powerful role in either of the power structures. In El Paso, labor was not strong, and, in C. Juárez, it was dominated by the PRI party. In many industrial cities of the United States, labor unions play crucial roles in the community power complex. Their perception of the community power structure itself may play an important part in the way in which they attack local problems and projects. The next part of this chapter examines in detail labor's image of its own power in a Midwestern industrial city.

PART II: ORGANIZED LABOR'S IMAGE OF COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE⁹

Social scientists generally agree that businessmen not only control the American community but know that they do.¹⁰ Yet business leaders and some social scientists fear the growing power of organized labor.¹¹ Labor leaders also feel that businessmen control the local community. Yet, during expansive moods, they claim to be a power bloc to be reckoned with. If, as Riesman and Bell suggest, there is no fixed (hierarchical) structure of power nationally and locally,¹² the images of community power held by local influentials may decisively determine local decision-making. Knowledge of the images of community power held by top influentials in business, organized labor, and the professions is necessary in order to understand the dynamics of issue resolution in the community. Here we will focus on the image of community power held by top labor influentials in a Midwestern city.

Despite labor's increasing economic, political, and social power, there is disagreement about (1) its place in community power structure, and (2) its image of that structure.

1. Several studies have sought to assess the place of organized labor in the local community directly. James McKee's pioneer study of Steelport (a city of 40,000)¹³ showed that the CIO had won formal political control of the community after 1945, but had not altered the basic strength and prestige of business. Moreover, the integration of the Catholic church, ethnic groups, and labor unions into a bloc foreshadowed changes in power alignments. Hart indicated that the UAW in Windsor (population 100,000) was disengaging itself from management-dominated organizations and was substituting union-sponsored activities to meet the social needs of the workers.¹⁴ In Illini City (population 70,000), Wray found that the unions (despite increased bargaining strength) had not genuinely influenced the

⁹ This is a slightly changed version of a paper written by William H. Form and Warren L. Sauer, "Organized Labor's Image of Community Power Structure," *Social Forces*, May, 1960.

¹⁰ See among others Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, Harcourt, Brace, 1937; C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, 1956; Thorstein Veblen, *Absentee Ownership*, Viking, 1938; Hunter, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Edward H. Chamberlain *et al.*, *Labor Unions and Public Policy*, American Enterprise Association, 1958.

¹² David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*, Yale University Press, 1951; Daniel Bell, "America's Un-Marxist Revolution," *Commentary*, March, 1949, pp. 207-215.

¹³ James McKee, *Organized Labor and Community Decision-Making: A Study in the Sociology of Power*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1953, and "Status and Power in the Industrial Community," *The American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1953, pp. 364-370. The population of the communities reported on apply for the time of the studies.

¹⁴ C. W. M. Hart, "Industrial Relations Research and Social Theory," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, February, 1949, pp. 53-73.

programs of local associations. The community representatives of the unions were absorbed into business organizations such as the chamber of commerce.¹⁵ In Steeltown (population 40,000), the unions traditionally used their strength to settle economic and grievance problems, but not political, welfare, educational, or other problems. Yet, in a crisis situation, the unions had power resources which had not been manifested earlier.¹⁶ In Jonesville (population 10,000), the unions had not expanded their activities beyond the narrowest limits of collective bargaining and failed to become a significant force in community life.¹⁷ Somewhat the same situation existed in Regional City (population 331,000)¹⁸ and in the satellite city of Cibola (population 20,000).¹⁹ Whether or not the differences among these localities represent differences along a single scale of development can only be determined by making longitudinal studies of communities containing important structural differences, such as size, degree of unionization, and related variables.²⁰

2. The writers are unaware of systematic empirical studies of labor's image of the structure of community power and its place in it. There are, of course, many partial descriptions of the national situation. In Mills' study of labor leadership, on the national scene, he reported that three-quarters of them believed that business—because of its monetary strength—has more weight than labor organizations. Labor saw its power as derived from its potential voting strength, if properly organized.²¹ Union officials at the local level were reported to be more suspicious of business than state and national officials. In *The Power Elite*, he suggests that labor nationally wants a "share of the directorate" and the status that goes along with it. Labor's image of the power structure or its role in it, however, is not clearly specified.²² In "Labor Leaders and the Power Elite," Mills suggests that labor sees itself as a pressure group and, by inference, that it envisions the structure of power as a force field of pressure groups, in which labor wants a bigger share. "They seek greater integration at the upper levels of the corporate economy [and want] to join owners and managers in running the corporate enterprise system."²³

¹⁵ Donald E. Wray, "The Community and Labor-Management Relations," *Labor-Management Relations in Illini City*, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1953.

¹⁶ Charles R. Walker, *Steeltown*, Harper, 1950, pp. 42-45.

¹⁷ W. L. Warner *et al.*, *Democracy in Jonesville*, Harper, 1949.

¹⁸ Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ Robert O. Schulze and Leonard Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," *The American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1957, pp. 291-296.

²⁰ Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Some Logical and Methodological Problems in Community Research," *Social Forces*, October, 1954, pp. 51-57.

²¹ C. Wright Mills, *The New Men of Power*, Harcourt, Brace, 1948, pp. 133-137.

²² Mills, *The Power Elite*, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-265. Here Mills comes closest to specifying labor's image of its own power.

²³ C. Wright Mills, "Labor Leaders and the Power Elite," in Arthur Kornhauser, Robert Dubin, and Arthur M. Ross (eds.), *Industrial Conflict*, McGraw-Hill, 1954, p. 152.

Daniel Bell asserts that "labor looks upon itself as a cowering minority, often at the mercy of a marauding business class, which is intent on wiping out all of its gains. In its rhetoric and in its propaganda, these images still stand paramount. On the other side of the coin, businessmen have a distorted image of a coherent trade union movement powerfully allied with the 'intellectuals' in an effort to change the social character of the society."²⁴ These stereotypes create confusion and deepen suspicion regarding both labor and business in the public mind. Yet, since the participants may act on the bases of these images, it is urgent to examine whether these are, in fact, the images which they hold.²⁵

Research Problems

The hypotheses we attempted to test are:

1. Labor perceives the community power structure to be composed primarily of an integrated management clique which controls the outcome of most significant community issues. As corollaries, labor (a) sees management's community goals as motivated by specific economic interests, and (b) views itself as an association which is tangential to the community power structure.

2. Variations in labor's image of its community power are accounted for by the age, community involvement, union position, and degree of influence among union personnel. Older ex-AFL union leaders, who participate in more than an average number of organizations and who have high offices and influence within the union, perceive the local power structure as less business-dominated than younger ex-CIO officials, who hold lower union posts and have less influence in local union circles.

The first hypothesis was postulated on the premise that unions currently occupy a position in the community similar to that of minority or ethnic groups.²⁶ The second hypothesis was based on the assumption that a "deviant" image of a power structure is reduced by the greater community involvement induced by increased age, participation, power, and prestige.²⁷

The main source of data was a focused interview with the union representatives considered to be most influential in community affairs. The preliminary slate was made up of the consensual nominations provided by a panel comprised of two knowledgeable from mass communication, industry, and

²⁴ Daniel Bell, "The Language of Labor," *Fortune*, September, 1951, p. 256.

²⁵ The broader study is also concerned with business's view of the community power structure, as well as an organizational analysis of the place of both labor and business in the structure. See William H. Form, "Organized Labor's Place in Community Power Structure," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, July, 1959, pp. 526-539.

²⁶ The usefulness of such a proposition is suggested by Melvin Seeman, "The Intellectual and the Language of Minorities," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1958, pp. 25-35.

²⁷ Mills, *The New Men of Power*, *op. cit.*

government, and professors at Michigan State University interested in local industrial relations. The list of names was further corroborated and expanded during interviews with the labor influentials themselves. The interviews, taken in 1957, were designed to obtain data in four general areas: (1) labor's participation in community organizations and its self-evaluations, (2) labor's self-evaluation of its power in the context of local issues, (3) nature of the "opposition" in the context of local issues and objectives, and (4) labor's substantive image of the community power structure.

It would be cumbersome to describe in detail the internal differences among the respondents' images. Whenever two-thirds of the informants agree, a consensus will be assumed to exist. Larger differences will be described when a pattern is discerned.

Auto City: The Research Setting

Lansing, Michigan, is a city of 120,000, and the capital of the state.²⁸ Its main "industries" are automobile manufacturing, metal manufacturing, and government. Previous to World War I, the auto plants were locally owned. The largest plants (Oldsmobile, Fisher Body, Motor Wheel, Reo, John Bean) are now absentee-owned. However, most of the forges and auto parts plants are still locally owned and hire about 40 percent of the industrial labor force.²⁹ About 80,000 are currently employed in the city, and 20,000 work in automobile and metal manufacturing plants. About half of all workers reside outside the city. About a third of them are organized—20,000 into former CIO unions, and 4000 in former AFL unions. The UAW is the main union in the city. Officers of that and other international unions frequently visit the capital to contact legislators and governmental officials. This and the proximity of Detroit facilitates contacts between local and international union officers. Since World War II, the UAW has encouraged the locals to become involved in the entire institutional life of the city and challenge the dominance of business and industry.

Unlike many other middle-sized cities in the industrial East and Midwest, Lansing contains a relatively small proportion of foreign-born and Negro workers. Native-born constitute about 90 percent of the labor force. Over two-thirds of them are descendants of early New England migrants, later German migrants, and, more recently, migrants from the rural South. Southern-born workers probably comprise 10 percent of the labor force, and Negroes only 4 or 5 percent. The city has been a remarkably stable community, experiencing a slow population and labor force growth. It is esti-

²⁸ For a further description of the city, see Sigmund Nosow, "Labor Distribution and the Normative System," *Social Forces*, October, 1956, pp. 20-31, and Eli Chinoy, *Automobile Workers and the American Dream*, Doubleday, 1955.

²⁹ In a study by the author and Sigmund Nosow of a sample of 580 workers in the community, two-fifths were employed in locally owned plants. See Nosow, *op. cit.*

mated that two-thirds of the manual workers own their own homes. With rare exceptions, the city has consistently voted Republican in all national elections since its founding in 1859. A recent survey indicated that the residents like the city because it is small, conservative, and friendly.³⁰

In summary, the city contains a conservative native working class, many of whose members belong to the UAW, a dynamic and ideologically oriented union which is dedicated to contest management's influence in local, state, and national affairs. In Chapter 18, a systematic analysis is made of the place of organized labor in different components of the community power structures. There it is proved that labor has a minority position in each component and that the power structure conforms to the stratified pyramidal model.

Findings

PROFILE OF LABOR INFLUENTIALS

Despite every effort to get respondents to identify persons of great power and influence in local union circles rather than union officers, all nominations were people who currently occupied important union offices. These were the main officials of the local central bodies; locally stationed regional representatives of the internationals; and presidents, business agents, and treasurers of the locals. The rather sharp break in the number of votes received by the top and bottom 20 suggests that there are only 20 labor influentials in the community.

Table 50 summarizes the chief characteristics of the 39 labor influentials who were interviewed. Their median age was slightly under 50 years. The overwhelming majority were native-born persons who were reared in small villages and cities in Michigan and nearby states. After obtaining some high school education, they came to Lansing in search of employment. As a whole, they displayed remarkably little geographic and occupational mobility, largely remaining in the same community, the same industry, and the same job. Compared to most manual workers, they participated quite heavily in local community organizations, both in the past and in the present.³¹

Most respondents immediately joined the unions when given the opportunity. They became appointive or elective officers from the very beginning. Although they typically held more than one union office from the beginning, the number of offices held increased with level of position in the union hierarchy. Although the total number of community affiliations did not decrease with time, participation tended to shift away from "private" organ-

³⁰ Joel Smith and William H. Form, "Urban Identification and Disidentification," unpublished manuscript.

³¹ Cf. Toimi E. Kyllonen, "Social Characteristics of Active Unionists," *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1951, pp. 528-533.

TABLE 50. Social Characteristics of Labor Influentials, Lansing, Michigan

Characteristics		Percentage	
A. Median number of votes received as union influentials			
Top third	22		
Middle third	5		
Low third	2		
1. Median age	48 years		
2. Education			
Eight years or less	4	10	
Some high school	24	62	
Some college	11	28	
3. Community of socialization (size)			
Under 5000	14	36	
5,000–50,000	17	43	
100,000 or more	8	21	
4. Median years lived in community	27 years		
5. Median number of present community organizational affiliations	3.3		
6. Median number of past community organizational affiliations	3.0		
B. Union background			
Ex-AFL unions	15	38	
Ex-CIO unions	24	62	
1. Union positions			
District, regional, or international	12	31	
High local officers	20	51	
Lesser local officers	7	18	
2. Tenure as union officials			
20 years or more	11	28	
10–19 years	14	36	
Less than 10 years	14	36	
3. Union offices			
Median number of union offices (present)	4.5		
Median number of union offices (past)	4.3		

izations (Elks, Odd Fellows) to organizations in which they participated as union representatives (Community Chest). In the past, respondents constituted a socially intimate and cohesive group. Although present relations tend to be bound by official duties, they all know each other well. This career pattern typified the top 20 more than the bottom 20 influentials.

DISPOSITION TOWARD COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

While participation in community organizations does not automatically lead to social power,³² it is often a condition for widespread influence. All influentials revealed, in response to direct and indirect questioning, that it was important for organized labor to participate in as many community organizations as possible.³³ They further indicated a favorable disposition toward the community as a place to live and as a place for unions to prosper. Three-fifths asserted without solicitation that labor is well organized, or that it is accepted and well represented in community organizations. About two-fifths (see Table 50) indicated that they currently officially represented labor in local associations. However, the group was equally split on the desirability of expanding labor participation. Those who wanted more labor involvement were asked why it had not been realized. Over half (11 individuals) perceived the situation in power terms, either as resulting from opposition or insufficient power on the part of labor to force acceptance. Yet half of all the respondents admitted, on direct questioning, that there was no opposition to labor participation in the community.

The relation between social participation and social power was partially perceived by the respondents. Thus, all of them felt it was more important for the unions to participate in some organizations rather than in others. Health and welfare agencies were given the highest priority, followed closely by political and governmental agencies. When asked directly how they ranked political participation, three-quarters ranked it highest, equally as important as the improvement of wages and economic security.

EVALUATION OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Respondents were asked whether they personally and whether organized labor in general significantly influenced policies of local community organizations. There was almost total consensus that labor exerted genuine policy influence in both levels. When asked to specify the areas of influence, local health and welfare organizations were mentioned most frequently, followed by political and governmental agencies. Almost no other associations were mentioned. In specifying the nature of their influence, equal proportions (30 percent) indicated they made organizations undertake new goals or change their traditional policies and that they made organizations more effective in attaining their traditional objectives. However, only a small minority felt they were successful in influencing local organizations to support union activities and to get them to consult with unions prior to undertaking projects.

³² McKee, *op. cit.*

³³ In response to the question "Are there organizations in the community in which labor should not participate?" only one-quarter answered affirmatively. The justification for labor participation was that it represented the largest segment of the community.

What organized labor felt it achieved by participation is perhaps most revealing of its self-image of power. The data in Table 51 clearly reveal that labor sees its most important local achievements in the area of private health and welfare services. Almost all singled out labor's efforts to raise money for the Lansing Community Chest and in raising the effectiveness of the associated agencies. About half of the influentials interpreted these achievements as resulting directly from pressure they asserted. Yet only a quarter felt that labor had secured increased strength in the political and

TABLE 51. Labor's Self-Images of Community Participation, Lansing, Michigan

	Number	Percentage
A. Official union representatives in community organizations	17	43
B. Indication of opposition to labor's community participation	21	55
C. Indication of union influence on policies of community organizations	34	87
D. Most important achievements of organized labor in community affairs		
Raised effectiveness of health and welfare fund drives	17	44
Improved health and welfare agencies	17	44
Acquired representation in community agencies	11	28
Improved prestige and community image of organized labor	10	26
Improved political position of labor	10	26
Improved economic conditions	9	23
Affected school board policies	4	10
Other	3	8
E. Most important issues facing the community		
Traditional labor issues	(32)	(82)
Housing, slum clearance, unemployment	6	16
Improved health and welfare services	9	23
Local government—inequitable taxes and administration	6	16
Educational improvement	11	28
Nontraditional labor issues	(59)	(151)
Improved parking facilities	24	62
Improved transportation planning	14	36
Civic improvements (city center, new hotels, etc.)	8	21
Annexation	13	33

TABLE 51 (Continued)

	Number	Percentage
F. Comparisons with management		
Relative economic stake in community participation	(39)	(101)
Management has a greater stake	12	31
Stakes are equal	9	23
Labor has a greater stake	10	26
Other	5	13
Not ascertained	3	8
Relative interest in becoming involved in community affairs	(39)	(100)
Management has greater interest	12	31
Interest is equal	15	38
Labor has greater interest	8	21
Other	4	10
Relative unity in community participation goals	(39)	(100)
Management more united	17	44
Equally united	11	28
Labor more united	11	28

governmental area.³⁴ Since institutional routines sometimes cloud the ideological goals of participants, the labor influentials were asked to name the most important problems and issues facing the community. Table 50 shows that only one-third of the issues they named could be classified as traditional labor issues: improved educational and welfare services, equitable taxation, better housing, and more employment, in that order. Two-thirds of the issues are not usually associated with labor's primary goals. They were more parking space, better transportation planning, annexation, and civic improvements. These, in fact, were the primary objectives of local businessmen. Despite the apparent absence of a traditional ideological orientation toward local issues, three-quarters of the influentials maintained that there was consensus within labor on the primary local issues and that they would influence their resolution.

THE CHARACTER OF THE OPPOSITION

Clearly, community problems and issues were not conceived in oppositional terms, because over seven-tenths of the labor influentials agreed that the issues they named were also considered the most pressing by the community

³⁴ This self-evaluation is rather accurate. An overall appraisal of labor's strength in various institutional sectors showed it to be strongest in the welfare arena and weakest in the political. See Form, "Organized Labor's Place in Community Power Structure," *op. cit.*

representatives of business. When pressed to specify any general differences in the community objectives of labor and management, fully one-half indicated that no differences existed or that differences developed only over the methods of achieving identical goals. No pattern was discernible among those who asserted that differences existed in community objectives of labor and management.

A clue to the nature of the cleavage, if any, in community power arrangements revolved around the consultation process. Only one-quarter of the labor influentials indicated that they were consulted from the beginning on the community problems, issues, or projects which they listed. One-half specifically indicated that organized labor was not usually brought in from the beginning to make policy on broad community issues. Despite exclusion from this policy-making group, the respondents did not feel labor lacked power. The question was posed, "What organizations do you feel have the most weight in getting things done or preventing some things from getting done in Lansing?" Both the labor organizations and the Chamber of Commerce were named by seven-tenths of the respondents. Many business and management groups were also named: the board of realtors, local industries, the local newspaper, religious groups, service clubs, and the downtown businessmen's association, in that order. When asked to compare directly the relative influence of management and labor in community affairs, three-quarters unequivocally asserted that management had greater influence.

Why does management have more community power in labor's eyes? Respondents were asked to compare labor and management's relative economic stake interest and internal unity in community participation. As Table 51 shows, no substantial agreement was found on these items. About equal proportions asserted that (1) management had a greater economic stake in community participation, (2) the stakes were even, and (3) labor had a greater stake. Although a plurality (two-fifths) felt that labor and management had equal interest in community involvement, most of the remaining felt that management was more interested in local affairs. When the internal unity of management and labor was compared, over two-fifths asserted that management had more solidarity, and the remaining were equally split in feeling that labor was more united and that no difference existed. A further question on policy consensus was posed, asking whether labor carefully selected community issues on which to use its influence. Two-thirds disagreed, asserting that labor committed its resources on all important community issues.

IMAGES OF THE DECISION-MAKERS AND DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

The image of the organizational texture of community power was supplemented by probing for the image of decision-makers. The first problem was to find the degree of labor representation among these decision-makers.

The sample was asked to "name ten or more persons who, singly or collectively, have enough influence and power to put across a major project or settle a major issue in the community." The consensual list of 50 names provided by the respondents were designated as "top influentials." The top 10 who received more votes were designated as "key influentials." One-fifth of both the top and key influentials were labor union officials, a much higher estimate of labor representation than others were willing to accord labor.³⁵

A series of questions found in Table 52 were then posed to ascertain how this group of top influentials was perceived.³⁶ The questions were designed to ascertain whether the group was perceived as a small solidary clique which acted autonomously and secretively to secure its own narrow interests or whether it was a nonsolidary entity comprised of persons acting openly in response to broad community needs. The evidence, although not decisive, tends to point to the "responsible model" of decision-makers. Two-thirds of the labor influentials felt that the top decision-makers were "the same small crowd of people working together" on most of the issues confronting the community. This "crowd" was not perceived as having autonomous power, because three-quarters of the respondents felt its members had to obtain organizational approval prior to committing themselves.³⁷ The respondents did not exhibit consensus on the question of whether the top influentials resolved issues privately or publicly. About half felt that issues believed were generally or sometimes resolved behind closed doors, and an almost equal proportion felt that they were generally brought out into the open. Similar disagreement arose in response to inquiries concerning the sense of community responsibility found among the top influentials. About half of the respondents felt the influentials acted responsibly, and the other half were split on whether they always or sometimes acted to further their own interests.

Further probing revealed that half of the interviewees felt that management and labor exhibited the same sense of community responsibility. Three-tenths, however, insisted that labor's community representatives displayed a greater sense of community responsibility than management's (see Table 52). Despite these internal disagreements in labor's perception of local power arrangements, it is not ready to abandon the present system. The respondents were almost unanimous in asserting that labor is better off to go along with the present system and not establish an independent community services program.

³⁵ In a slate of top 40 influentials drawn from a community-wide panel, labor had only two representatives.

³⁶ Compare these questions with those used by Hunter, *op. cit.*, Pellegrin, *op. cit.*, Coates, *op. cit.*, and Miller, *op. cit.*

³⁷ This may be a generalization of the practice of local General Motors officials to consult with central Detroit officials prior to committing themselves and of union officials consulting with the local AFL-CIO council prior to taking action.

TABLE 52. Labor's Image of the Community Decision-Making System

	Number	Percentage
A. In your judgment, do you feel that the big community decisions tend to be made by the same small "crowd" of people working together, or do these people change according to the issue confronting the community?	(39)	(100)
Same group	26	67
Group changes	9	23
Other	4	10
B. Do the people who make important community decisions do this pretty much on their own, or do they have to get approval for their actions from the organizations to which they belong?	(39)	(100)
Can act on their own	8	21
Must get organizational approval	29	74
Other	2	5
C. Are the important issues usually quietly solved without the public knowing what they are, or are they usually brought out in the open?	(39)	(100)
Issues are made public	17	43
Depends on issues	12	31
Issues resolved privately	7	18
Other	3	8
D. Do you feel that the people involved in making big decisions, have a broad sense of community responsibility, or are they more concerned with protecting or furthering their own interests?	(39)	(100)
Broad community responsibility	18	46
Further own interests	9	23
Depends on issues, situations, or persons	12	31
E. Do labor or management community representatives generally have a broader sense of community responsibility?	(39)	(100)
Labor more responsible	12	31
Equally responsible	19	48
Management more responsible	3	8
Other	5	13

INTERNAL DIFFERENCES

The second guiding hypothesis was concerned with internal differences in the perceptions of the labor influentials. The latter were divided into "high" and "low" categories for age, union position, number of votes as influentials, and amount of community participation. It was hypothesized that those with greater influence who held higher union positions and who participated in more community organizations would perceive the local power structure as less management-dominated. Correlatively, they would perceive labor as a more integral part of the local power system. In general, older unionists received more votes as labor influentials and held higher union positions. Higher influentials also represented labor in more community organizations.

Most of the questions did not reveal statistically significant differences in the responses of labor influentials with different union careers. Where differences were found, more labor power was perceived by the "top half" of labor influentials. For example, they listed more union officers among top community influentials than the "lower half." Similarly, more of the top half asserted that labor's group power in community affairs was equal to management's.

The reverse of our hypothesis in the area concerned with internal cleavages is the local power system. More cleavage was perceived by the "top half" than the "bottom half" of the labor influentials. A significantly higher proportion of the former observed that there were organizations and activities in the community from which labor was excluded. Similarly, more of this group indicated that management's community representatives would disagree with their list of the most urgent issues confronting the city. The overall pattern then seemed to be that labor influentials who were most involved in community decision-making were conscious of their own influence and ascribed greater power to labor. This very proximity to the sources of community power seemed to make them more aware of the cleavages still existing between labor and management.

Conclusions

The first hypothesis, that labor perceives management as an integrated clique which dominates the resolution of local issues, was substantiated in a very limited degree. While acknowledging management's general dominance of the local community, labor sees its own participation as significant. Although labor contends it is excluded from the process of initiating local projects and issues, it insists it has a powerful voice when it enters a contest. The cleavage seen between itself and management is not set in an ideological context. Neither is local participation generally viewed as a contest with management and other groups. Labor defines its goals as the attainment of a

better social welfare system in a context of growing political power. It tends to project its own image of community involvement on to management.

Variations in this image by social background experiences were rather minimal. There was a slight tendency for the labor influentials who were most involved in community activities to recognize more sharply the shape and reality of business groups. Labor's recognition of its own power also tended to reinforce feelings of cleavage between it and business in community affairs. There was little evidence that animosities in collective bargaining were carried over into community participation.

Only about 20 labor officials out of a union membership of 25,000 were actively involved in community affairs and seriously concerned about labor's place in the local power structure. Among the 39 labor influentials interviewed, there was remarkably little stereotypical imagery, either of itself or management. Indeed, there were large variations and even contradictions in their images of the local power arrangements.

Labor's image of community power may be elaborated in substantive terms. Labor sees itself committed to community participation and to solving the problems attending it. Its present limited participation is perceived as resulting from internal problems rather than from the opposition of management or other groups. Labor's primary community objectives are the strengthening and controlling of private health and welfare services and extending its local political influence. Union officials appraise their community operations as effective, but realize their ineffectiveness in getting other groups to support labor's own goals. In short, labor has made friends, but has not influenced them.

Labor evidences little ideological drive toward obtaining independent community objectives. While traditional labor goals are given at best a secondary priority in the community, management's local objectives are generally endorsed. Thus, business is not seen in an oppositional context, either in terms of community goals or the methods of attaining them. Although labor sees itself surrounded by a sea of management organization, it sees itself as a potentially powerful organization. What it wants most is to be consulted on community problems from the beginning. Many labor influentials suspect that their limited prestige and power results from business's greater interest, activity, and economic concern with community problems.

Labor influentials believe they discern a small active "clique" of decision-makers who mediate most community projects and issues. Labor has a small and inadequate representation in this clique. The clique is not ascribed independent power to make decisions and is perceived as operating publicly and in a socially responsible manner. Although its members are not as selfless as labor, they are not people with narrow economic self-interests. This indeed is how labor prefers to perceive itself.

The same kind of analysis done for labor needs to be done for other

segments of the community. This is currently being done for Lansing and other cities. Such analysis is necessary prior to studying the decision-making process around critical issues, for then we may learn whether the perception of reputed influentials reflect social reality. If so, research can be greatly simplified.

Many scientists are currently studying power in middle-sized cities. Robert Dahl and his associates at Yale University are studying New Haven, Connecticut. John Foskett and his associates at the University of Oregon have studied many local communities. Samuel Stouffer is studying many Massachusetts communities. The power structure of Bay City, a Massachusetts industrial city of 50,000, has been explored by Rossi, Shipton, and Freeman. Many others are engaged in similar work. Before long, enough data will be in to make possible adequate comparative studies.

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Chapter 16

COMMUNITY POWER IN THE METROPOLIS

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Further Validation of Working Hypothesis I

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Community power structures have been investigated systematically in relatively few large cities. Floyd Hunter's pioneer study was conducted during 1951-1952 in a Southern city of 331,000.¹ Pellegrin and Coates report on the impact of absentee ownership of industry in another large Southern city which they call "Big Town."² Miller selected a large Pacific Coast city of the United States and compared it with a city in the southwest of England.³ Norton Long has studied Boston.⁴ Hunter has just completed a sweeping study of numerous large American cities and has shown how community power structures are related to a national power structure.⁵ A number of community power studies in large American cities are in process.⁶

All these cities are located inside Western society, with its characteristic features of high industrialization, widespread private property holdings in production and consumer goods, and democratic political institutions. No one can have confidence that the full range of possible community power structures has been revealed. Indeed, no one can be sure that any model pattern has been identified with a high degree of confidence. However, the outlines of power structure at the community level are becoming clearer with the addition of new studies, especially with more numerous examples available from middle-sized cities.

¹ Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

² Rolland J. Pellegrin and Charles H. Coates, "Absentee-Owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1956, pp. 413-417.

³ Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1958, pp. 9-15.

⁴ Norton Long, "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1958, pp. 251-261.

⁵ Floyd Hunter, *Top Leadership, U.S.A.*, University of North Carolina Press, 1959; cf. Floyd Hunter, "Decision Makers," *Nation*, August 21, 1954, pp. 148-150.

⁶ Peter Rossi is studying Gary, Indiana; John Dean and associates are studying the power structures of numerous cities in relation to intergroup relations issues; Ernest Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew have studied Little Rock, Arkansas, some results of which are found in "Racial and Moral Crisis: The Role of Little Rock Ministers," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1959, pp. 509-518. Charles P. Loomis and associates are studying Denver, Colorado; San Diego, California; Fort Worth, Texas; and other cities.

A COMPARATIVE RESEARCH ANALYSIS BASED ON THREE LARGE CITIES

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an example of comparative research in community power based on three large cities.

Formulation of Hypothesis

Working hypotheses were formulated from a framework of theoretical axioms or postulates. These hypotheses were then examined to determine what data should be collected to make tests sufficient to validate or refute the hypotheses. In Chapter 18, each hypothesis is shown in conjunction with both the theoretical axiom from which it was drawn and the proposed research methods to collect data.

Research Design

Two cities were carefully selected with similar economic, demographic, and educational characteristics. One was located in the Pacific Northwest of the United States, the other in southwestern England. Both are comparable in many ways with Hunter's Regional City. All of the cities qualify under the Harris classification as "diversified types." The following summary shows the close similarity of the three cities:

Southern Regional City, as studied by Hunter in 1950-1951, had a population of 331,000. The city serves as the commercial, financial, and distributive center for the Southeastern section of the United States. It manufactures aircraft, textiles, and cotton waste products. It is a transportation center for rail, air, bus, and truck lines. It is a center of education possessing a large university and many small colleges.

Pacific Coast City had a population of 468,000 in 1950. It is the commercial, financial, and distributive center for the Pacific Northwest. Major transportation lines are centered in the city, and it has a fine port. The city is the largest educational center of the region with a state university and many small colleges.

English City, also a regional city, serves as the commercial, financial, and distributive center for the west of England. Its population in 1950 was 444,000. The major manufactures are airplanes, ships, beer, cigarettes, chocolate, machinery, and paper. It possesses an ocean port. The city houses a provincial (state) university and many private grammar schools.

WORKING HYPOTHESIS I

Businessmen (manufacturers, bankers, merchants, investment brokers, and real estate holders) *exert a major influence in community decision-making,*

as demonstrated by their recognition among the top influentials and their ability to win places among the key influentials and positions of policy-making on boards of community organizations.⁷

Method

Lists of leaders were secured from organizations and informants in nine institutional sectors: (1) business and finance, (2) education, (3) religion, (4) society and wealth, (5) political and governmental organizations, (6) labor, (7) independent professions, (8) cultural (aesthetic) institutions, and (9) social service. The initial lists included a total of 312 in the Pacific Coast city and 278 in the English city.

Ten expert panel raters were selected on the basis of (1) knowledge of the leaders in one institutional sector with specific thoroughness, (2) broad knowledge of the community, and (3) many contacts with top influentials (TI) but not themselves, key influentials (KI).⁸ Raters meeting these qualifications are commonly found among public relations officials, newspaper reporters, and some government officials. Raters were asked to designate each person as most influential, influential, or less influential on this specific criterion: "Person participates actively, either in supporting or initiating policy decisions which have the most effect on the community." Those nominated most frequently as most influential were selected for interviewing.

Personal interviews were held with a 50-percent stratified random sample of 44 TI in the Pacific city and 32 TI in the English city. The sample had been stratified according to the nine institutional sectors enumerated above, and corresponding proportions of leaders from each sector were interviewed. During the interview, each top influential was asked the following question: "If you were responsible for a major project which was before the community that required decision by a group of leaders—leaders that nearly everyone would accept—which ten on this list would you choose, regardless of whether they are known to you personally? Add other names if you wish."

Each respondent was asked to check a social-acquaintance scale for each TI by *don't know*, *heard of*, *know slightly*, *know well*, *know socially* (exchange home visits). He was also asked to check each TI with whom he had worked on committees during the past two years.

The interview included questions on current issues, role played by respondent, and persons and organizations that worked for and against issues. Ratings also were secured of influential organizations and associations

⁷ Miller, *op. cit.*

⁸ *Top influentials* refer to those persons who are reputed to be of most influence and power in community decision-making; *key influentials* are acknowledged leaders among the top influentials. Other definitions of concepts used in this chapter appear in Chapter 11.

in the community. The interview concluded with this question: "There are several crowds in the city [Pacific City] that work together and pretty much make the big decisions. Is this true or false?" The responses were probed.

A career schedule (see Appendix E, pages 706-707) was left with each respondent at the time of interview. This schedule called for background data, career history, and business participation. They were collected later through the mail or by personal visit.

Newspaper accounts during the period of study were used to record activities of TI, committee appointments of TI, activities of their wives, community issues, and interactions between institutions of the community.

Informants were interviewed to validate findings on clique behavior and to describe activities of top influentials and the community power complex in the resolution of current issues.

Evidence for a test of the hypothesis that businessmen exert a predominant influence in community decision-making was secured from three major sources: (1) *interviews*: degree of sector representation based on panel selection of TI, sociometric rank of each TI, and committee participation score of TI; (2) *questionnaires*: participation scores in business, social, civic, and professional organizations of TI; and (3) *newspapers*: participation mentions (acts and opinions) of TI and current committee appointments of TI for community activities.

Results

TOP INFLUENTIALS BY INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION

In each of the three cities, a panel of representative judges from various institutional sectors designated the most influential leaders in the community. Table 53 shows the institutional affiliation of the TI selected by the panels in the three cities. Business has the largest representation among the TI, but there is a considerable spread over the other institutional sectors. A chi-square test applied to the frequency distribution in the three cities failed to reveal any significant variation in the panel selections. However, a different pattern emerged when the KI were selected by the TI themselves.

OCCUPATION OF KEY INFLUENTIALS

The KI are a significant feature of any community power structure, for they are the sociometric leaders. The initiation and sanction of policy tends to be centered about them so that they may greatly influence the values which dominate in decision-making. The KI are those persons who were most often chosen by the TI as the 10 leaders they would want if they were responsible for a major project before the community and were seeking leaders nearly everyone would accept. The 12 influentials with the highest sociometric choice status are shown in Table 54 for the three cities.

TABLE 53. Top Influentials by Institutional Affiliation as Selected by Expert Citizen Panels

Institutional Affiliation	Pacific City (N = 44)	English City (N = 32)	Southern City (N = 40)
Business	33%	34%	58%
Labor	14	19	5
Education	10	9	5
Government	17	9	5
Independent professions ^a	12	13	15
Religion	7	9	—
Society and wealth	—	7	12
Social welfare and cultural leaders (combined)	7	—	—
Totals	100	100	100

^a Hunter says that both of the lawyers in Southern City are corporation lawyers. We have been inclined to classify them as part of the business representation, but have not because they are lawyers of independent law firms. Lawyers are classified under independent professions unless they were reported as salaried employees in a business firm.

In Pacific City and Southern City of the United States, business representation dominates among the KI. A comparison of the proportions of business representation within the TI (Table 53) and the business representation within the KI (Table 54) reveals that the TI chose businessmen more frequently as KI in the two American cities. In contrast, English City retains a representation of business among its KI (25 percent) that corresponds closely to the business representation among its TI (34 percent). Moreover, English City reveals a more even representation from the various institutional sectors of the community among its KI.

This marked difference between the American cities and the English city raises questions about community organization. Why should two labor leaders be among the outstanding leaders in English City, while not one labor leader appears among the key influentials of the two American cities? These and other questions will be explored later when the findings of further analysis have been presented.

INFLUENCE OF KEY INFLUENTIALS THROUGH COMMITTEE PARTICIPATION

Evidence for the influence of the KI was sought by establishing measures of actual behavior for all the TI. These measures included the activity of TI in committee work, as reported in the newspapers over a two-year period, and by their own statements of committee participation. Likewise, we sought evidence of their activity as spokesmen in community life, as

TABLE 54. Key Influentials as Selected by Top Influentials and Ranked by Status as Influential Policy-Makers

Rank	Pacific City	English City	Southern City
1.	Manufacturing executive	Labor party leader	Utilities executive
2.	Wholesale owner and investor	University president	Transport executive
3.	Mercantile executive	Manufacturing executive	Lawyer
4.	Real estate owner-executive	Bishop, Church of England	Mayor
5.	Business (woman) executive	Manufacturing executive	Manufacturing executive
6.	College president	Citizen party leader	Utilities executive
7.	Investment executive	University official	Manufacturer-owner
8.	Investment executive	Manufacturer-owner	Mercantile executive
9.	Bank executive—investor	Labor leader	Investment executive
10.	Episcopalian bishop	Civic leader (woman)	Lawyer
11.	Mayor (lawyer)	Lawyer	Mercantile executive
12.	Lawyer	Society leader	Mercantile owner
Business representation			
	67%	25%	75%

reported by the newspapers. Participation scores were derived from adapted Chapin School Participation Scales for social, civic, professional, and other business affiliations.

Table 55 shows the Spearman rank-order correlations of the top influentials for these various forms of community behavior in Pacific City and English City. These correlations indicate there is a definite correspondence between the policy committee choices designating KI and actual behavior patterns in both Pacific City and English City. The highest correlation is shown to be that between policy committee choice rank and the committee participation for a two-year period as designated by the TI on the interview schedule. KI are very active in community affairs. However, this activity may not be reflected in newspaper accounts. There is no significant correlation in Pacific City between committee choice status and newspaper mentions of community activities; in English City, there is a low negative correlation, indicating that KI have received less newspaper publicity than TI. This lack of publicity is in keeping with two features of civic activity as engaged

TABLE 55. Spearman Rank-Order Correlations Derived from Policy Committee Choice Rankings of Top Influentials and Ranking on Various Measures of Community Behavior

Policy Committee Choice Rank Compared with:	Pacific City (N = 44)	Southern City (N = 32)
Committee appointments accepted during past two years, as shown by newspaper reports	.51	.43
Committee participation for two-year period, as designated by TI on interview schedule	.84	.67
Newspaper mentions of community activities and statements	.15	-.31
Participation in other businesses as owner or director	.53	.33
Participation in social clubs	.51	.47
Participation in civic organizations	.58	.43
Participation in professional organizations	.45	.34
Total social participation in business, social, civic, and professional organizations	.59	.48

in by KI: (1) much of their activity is policy-making and is carried on quietly, and (2) there is a social convention that "key" leaders do not seek publicity. In England, a deliberate effort is made by some KI to keep their names from the newspaper as a role requirement of their social class. The similarities exhibited by KI in the two cities suggest that there are many common role patterns. The influentials participate widely in social, civic, and professional organizations. Based on his research contacts, the writers believe that key community leaders develop skills and influence that enable them to originate action for others. It would appear that such leaders could exchange positions with comparable influentials in other American or English cities and soon come to function effectively as KI in another community. However, marked differences may be discerned between Pacific City and English City. In general, there is more participation of all kinds by Pacific City KI, and especially in other businesses. This is because the KI in Pacific City have a much higher business composition and because they rely more heavily on voluntary organizations for influence in community decision-making.

Interpretation of Results

Validity of the KI, as identified, is now assumed to be demonstrated with sufficient confidence to validate the hypothesis for Pacific City. Business-

men do exert a predominant influence in community decision-making in Pacific City and Southern City. However, in English City, the hypothesis is rejected. The KI come from a broad representation of the institutional sectors of community life. Why should this difference exist between the two American cities and the English city? Two major factors seem to explain much of it.

Importance of Differences in Occupational Prestige Values

The first is the difference in occupational prestige values between the United States and England. In contrast to the United States, “. . . the social status of industry in England, and so of its captains, is low by comparison with the law, medicine, and the universities.”⁹ Top business managers are recruited from the universities (and upper-class families) where the tradition of a liberal education predominates, and this kind of education emphasizes humanistic values and minimizes the business orientation that characterizes the social climate of the typical American university campus. Many top business leaders, educated at Oxford and Cambridge, reported during interviews that they regarded business life as a very useful activity, but did not view it as occupying the whole man. They expressed a respect for scholarly pursuits. Indeed, specialized courses in business administration in the university are very few, and the tradition continues that business management is learned by experience within the firm. This value system plays a role in the selection of community leaders in English City, just as the larger emphasis and prestige of business leadership influences the selection of community leaders in the two American cities.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STRUCTURE OF CITY GOVERNMENT

A second major factor is the structure of city government. In Pacific City, the city council is composed of nine members, elected at large on a non-partisan ballot. These nine members have the following occupational affiliations:

Newspaper owner-editor (district paper)	Business
Merchant	Business
Merchant	Business
Newspaper owner-editor (district paper)	Business
Merchant	Business
Merchant	Business
Housewife (formerly schoolteacher)	Professional
Jeweler (and labor officer)	Skilled worker
Bus operator	Semiskilled worker

⁹ Bosworth Monck, “How to Make a Captain of Industry,” *The Listener*, January 13, 1955, p. 57; cf. C. J. Adcock and L. B. Brown, “Social Class and the Ranking of Occupations,” *British Journal of Sociology*, March, 1957, pp. 26-32.

A background of small business predominates. None of the council members was chosen as a top influential by our panel raters or by top influentials. There is every indication that the top community leaders do not regard the council as a strong center of community power. The council tends to make decisions on community issues after a relatively long period of debate and after power mobilization has taken place in the community. During this period, such groups as the chamber of commerce, labor council, municipal league, PTA, and council of churches take stands. Council members may be approached and appeals made to them. Newspaper editors write articles. KI may make open declarations for or against the current issues and use their influence with the "right persons or groups." The mayor, as administrative head and an elective official, is both relatively powerful as patronage dispenser and, at the same time, exposed to pressure from citizens to whom he may be indebted for his position, either in the past or in the future.

TABLE 56. Occupational Composition of English City Council in 1955

32 Percent Trade Union Members (N = 37)	30 Percent Business Group Members (N = 33)	37 Percent Other Community Sectors (N = 40)
2 Foremen	4 Manufacturers	2 Solicitors
16 Skilled workers	7 Wholesale and retail owners	1 Doctor
5 Semiskilled workers	11 Cinema owners	1 Dentist
8 Clerical workers	4 Contractors	1 Engineer
4 Trade union officials	8 Company directors and secretaries	1 Accountant
2 Unskilled workers	1 Bank official	1 Auctioneer
	8 Insurance officials	1 Teacher
		2 Ministers
		3 Political party organ- izing secretaries
		3 National government officials
		12 Housewives
		12 Retired workers

In contrast to this pattern, English City has a city council composed of 112 members drawn from 28 wards. Each ward elects 4 members. When the council is organized, members are appointed to committees that meet once or twice a week. Issues that arise in any part of the community are quickly

brought to the council's attention. The city clerk is the administrative head of the city government. He is a civil servant appointed by the council on the basis of his administrative ability and serves under a requirement of impartiality as elections come and political parties change in power. The members of the council are released by their employers from work at the time of meetings. They are paid a stipend by the local government for time lost from work and for any personal expenses incurred in attending meetings within or outside the city. Table 56 shows the occupational composition of 110 members (2 vacant seats) of English City council in 1955.

The council is composed of three major groups—trade union members (32 percent), business members (30 percent), and other community members (37 percent). Five of the 12 KI of the community are members and play major roles in their respective parties. The council is the major arena of community decision. Issues reach it directly, are investigated by council committees, and are decided upon by a vote taken in the full council. Community organizations play important roles in debating the issues, but these are definitely secondary or supplementary activities. The community value system condemns any pressure tactics on the council as "bad taste." However, in the council, a caucus of elected party leaders is held before any important vote, and a position is taken by the leaders for the party. The "whip" is applied, and members are expected to vote as instructed. Such action is rationalized as necessary for responsible party government.

Two factors, a different occupational prestige system and a different council-community power complex, seem to explain the variation in the composition of key influentials who come to power in Pacific City and in English City.

WORKING HYPOTHESIS II

Key influential leaders in a community influence policy-making by acting in concert through cliques. Research in community power structure has centered about two major tasks: (1) the identification of influential policy-makers, and (2) the group relationships through which policy-makers wield their influence. A considerable body of research has accumulated to establish identity of the influential persons in the community.¹⁰ However, much

¹⁰ Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, *op. cit.*; John M. Foskett and Raymond Hohle, "The Measurement of Influence in Community Affairs," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, June, 1957, pp. 148-154; Robert O. Schulze and Leonard H. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1957, pp. 290-296; Peter Rossi, "Community Decision Making," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, March, 1957, pp. 415-443; Delbert C. Miller, "The Seattle Business Leader," *Pacific Northwest Business*, February, 1956, pp. 5-12.

less is known about decision-making cliques. Techniques for measuring the degree of clique solidarity are especially meager.¹¹

In a Southern regional city, Floyd Hunter describes a top group of policy-makers drawn largely from the businessman's class. A pattern of 21 clique relationships was shown to exist between the 40 top influentials. The next most recognized groupings were known as "crowds" and were called the "First State Bank Crowd," the "Regional Gas Crowd," the "Mercantile Crowd," the "Homer Chemical Crowd," the "Grower Bank Crowd," and the like. Each crowd had a leader. "Several of the top leaders within the crowds would clear with each other who were most influential in 'actively supporting or initiating policy decisions which have the most effect on the community.'"¹² Forty-four TI were identified in Pacific City, and 32 TI in English City.

Method

The test of the hypothesis in Pacific City relied upon the following kinds of evidence:

Data from interviews with TI.

Measures of group cohesiveness based on committee member selections of KI.

Acquaintance pattern of TI and KI.

Committee participation as reported by TI and KI.

Personal estimates of clique behavior among TI.

Data from questionnaires received from TI.

Activity of KI in community organizations.

Patterns of overlapping membership of KI in business, social, civic, and professional organizations.

Data from informant interviews.

Clique behavior and the dynamics of community decision-making processes.¹³

The identification of clique structures is an extremely difficult undertaking. Many respondents will claim cliques exist simply because they have seen persons together many times or have heard that certain people were good friends. Hunter relied upon the mapping of certain sociometric relationships based on committee choices, on participation patterns of influentials in issues as described by them, and on specific statements of informants. The researcher would like to make direct observations of KI

¹¹ Sociometric analysis is most commonly employed. For a brief statement of various methods of analysis, see Charles H. Proctor and Charles P. Loomis, "Analysis of Sociometric Data," in Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart Cook (eds.), *Research Methods in Social Relations, Part II*, Dryden, 1951, pp. 561-586.

¹² Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹³ The test of this hypothesis was reported in Delbert C. Miller, "Decision-Making Cliques in Community Power Structures, a Comparative Study of an American City and an English City," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1958, pp. 299-310.

when they are acting in relation to community issues and perhaps in other dealings with each other. Since this is almost impossible to obtain, cumulative indirect evidence is sought.

Results

EVIDENCE BASED ON GROUP PREFERENCE

The TI may range from a large group of independent persons to a small, autonomous group which is well organized and is actively organizing support of the community power complex. Along the continuum between these two poles, various degrees of solidarity may exist. In testing the hypothesis, the research task is to assemble the best measures to appraise the degree of solidarity. Important evidence gathered in this study (and in Hunter's) is the choice pattern of ten leaders made by each TI in the sample to the question, "If you were responsible for a major project which was before the community that required decision by a group of leaders—leaders that nearly everyone would accept—which ten on this list would you choose regardless of whether they are known to you personally? Add other names if you wish."

Personal interviews were held with a 50-percent-stratified random sample of 44 TI in Pacific City and 32 TI in English City. The sample had been stratified according to the nine institutional sectors enumerated above, and corresponding proportions of leaders from each sector were interviewed. Figure 16.1 is a sociogram showing the choices made by the KI in Pacific City who had been identified as the sociometric leaders of the TI.

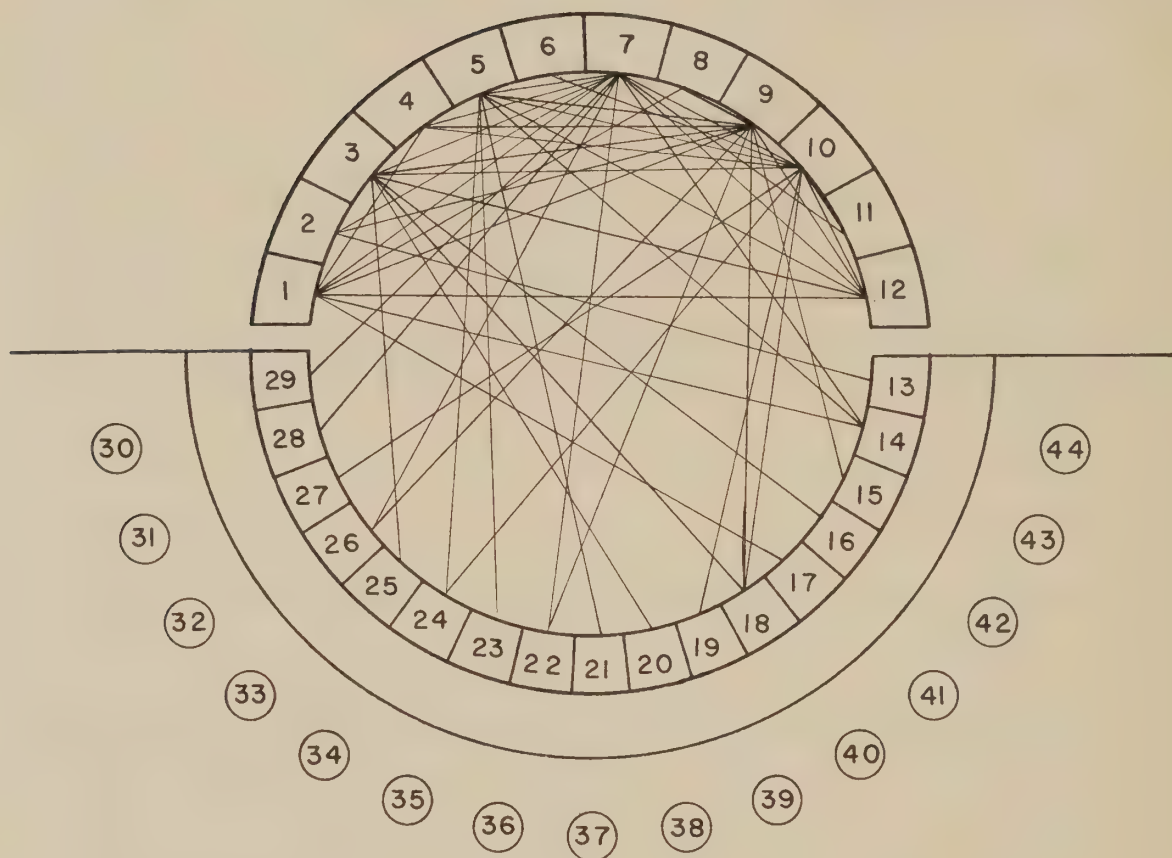
The Criswell Ingroup Preference Index was applied to all three test cities to ascertain the extent to which the key influentials chose within themselves in contrast to their outgroup choices to all remaining top influentials.¹⁴ In order of intensity of Ingroup Preference, the three cities exhibited the following index numbers:

Southern City	IP = 11.2
Pacific City	IP = 5.3
English City	IP = 3.0

When the Ingroup Preference is greater than 1.00, we know that the ratio of the KI Ingroup choices to their TI choices is greater than the ratio of KI membership to TI membership. The index scores shown indicate a high degree of KI Ingroup Preference in all cities, but Southern City leads with an extraordinarily high score. These cross-group comparisons suggest that these Ingroup KI preferences may reflect a solidarity of the KI in their civic behavior within the three cities. However, the index scores are based only on

¹⁴ J. H. Criswell, "Sociometric Methods of Measuring Group Preferences," *Sociometry*, November, 1943, pp. 398-408.

KEY INFLUENTIALS



TOP INFLUENTIALS

FIGURE 16.1. All Choices of Six Key Influentials in the Interview Sample of Pacific City of Other Key and Top Influentials. (Delbert C. Miller, "Decision-Making Cliques in Community Power Structures, a Comparative Study of an American City and an English City," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1958, p. 302.)

sociometric choices; the actual influence and working relationships are not demonstrated by such data. Acceptance of the hypothesis of clique behavior in community decision-making waits upon further evidence.

EVIDENCE BASED ON ACQUAINTANCESHIP PATTERN

The acquaintanceship scores for KI and TI were derived from the interview schedules which sought a response from each person as to his acquaintanceship with all other top influentials listed. This schedule asked each respondent to check one of five responses: "don't know," "heard of," "know slightly," "know well," "know socially" (exchange of home visits). Scores of 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 were allocated to each response category, and a total acquaintanceship score was derived from each interview respondent. Table 57 shows the Mean Acquaintanceship Scores for Pacific City and English City for the KI and the TI, and values of it for the differences between the means. These scores show that the KI are better acquainted among the

total population of influentials than are the TI in both Pacific City and English City. This evidence suggests an intensive pattern of social contact among the KI.

TABLE 57. Mean Acquaintanceship Scores for KI and TI in Pacific City and English City with t-Tests of Significance for Differences Between KI and TI Means

Test City	KI Mean Score	TI Mean Score	t-test	Degrees of Freedom	Proba- bility
Pacific City	129.7	106.8	2.10	20	<.05
English City	131.0	107.1	2.21	14	<.05

EVIDENCE BASED ON COMMITTEE PARTICIPATION

Each interview respondent indicated whether he had participated on committees with each of the top influentials during the past two years. One point was given each respondent for each committee contact he reported. The mean score for the KI in Pacific City was 18.8 and 11.6 for the TI. This difference was found statistically significant at the 5-percent level. Again, the evidence points to a high degree of contact and possible KI dominance of committees.

The questionnaire which each respondent answered and mailed to us asked for participation in other businesses as a director or owner and in social, civic, and professional organizations. Scores were derived from participation in each type of organization¹⁵ and also for total participation. The KI were consistently more active in both Pacific City and English City. In Pacific City, the mean total participation score for the KI was 69.9 and 46.4 for the TI. In English City, the mean total participation score for the KI was 65.3 and 48.3 for the TI. In both cities, the differences were statistically significant at the .01 level.

Community participation was further analyzed to seek evidence of overlapping memberships, on the assumption that persons participating together in community organizations may use these organizations as communication centers for community decision-making, or, at least, as places to reinforce friendships. We gathered ratings of social and civic organizations from all TI as to their influence in the community. Selecting the most important organizations, we analyzed the KI membership to see whether any pattern of

¹⁵ Scores were allocated as follows: business, 1 point for each directorship of business other than own with 2 points for each board chairmanship or ownership of other business; social, civic, and professional areas were each marked for every organization listed, according to the number of categories marked, from "attended regularly" (1 point), "committee member" (2 points), to "officer" (3 points).

TABLE 58. Matrix of Overlapping Memberships of the 12 Key Influentials in Pacific City for Business, Social, and Civic Organizations.

Key influentials of Pacific City	Total overlapping membership in business organizations = 21										Total overlapping memberships in social organizations = 37							Total overlapping member- ships in civic organiza- tions = 36					Grand total all overlapping member- ships = 94	
	Investment E	Investment U	Insurance W	Insurance P	Real Estate Y	Bank F	Bank P	Bank W	Social Club	Business Club	Golf Club	Masonic Lodge	University Club	College Club	Golf Club	Tennis Club	Chamber of Commerce	United Good Neighbors	Rotary	Municipal League	Community Chest	World Affairs Council		Orthopedic Hospital
D. D.	X	X							X	X		X			X		X	X	X			X		15
H. E.	X	X							X	X		X			X		X	X	X		X	X		12
O. R.	X	X		X					X	X		X			X		X	X	X		X	X		11
T. S.	X	X							X	X		X	X		X		X	X	X		X	X		10
L. A.	X	X						X	X	X		X	X		X		X	X	X		X	X		8
R. F.	X	X				X			X	X		X			X		X	X	X		X	X		8
B. B.	X	X							X	X		X		X			X	X	X		X	X		7
A. Y.	X	X			X			X	X	X		X		X		X	X	X	X		X	X		6
C. S.	X	X						X	X	X		X		X			X	X	X		X	X		6
E. L.	X	X							X	X		X		X			X	X	X		X	X		5
L. C.	X	X							X	X		X		X			X	X	X		X	X		3
W. O.	X	X							X	X		X		X			X	X	X		X	X		3

common participation could be discerned. Table 58 is a matrix pattern of the overlapping membership of the KI in the business, civic, and social organizations of Pacific City. Table 54 shows that mutual contacts are established between the KI in business, social, and civic organizations, but the common participation is established by the small group who interacts in the business sector may be the most significant. Three of the KI whom informants have designated as meeting together when there is a serious financial crisis or money-raising need are among those most active in the business sector.

There is a grand total of 94 overlapping business, social, and civic memberships among the 12 key influentials. The rank-order correlation between the policy committee choice rank and rank position based on the overlapping membership is .42. This indicates a moderate correlation exists and suggests that group interaction may build common ties and leadership reputations.

Focused interviews of approximately one hour were conducted with each TI and KI and some carefully selected informants to probe for the basis of their opinion. Two patterned groupings emerge as the principal referents: (1) a general pattern of fluid coalition among influentials is discerned about most issues, and (2) clique relations are observed around a set of specific situations. It is this second pattern which evokes the belief that crowds exist and make the big decisions in Pacific City. A few interview comments are quoted to show these two patterns.

INTERVIEW EVIDENCE FOR A GENERAL PATTERN OF FLUID COALITION

There are no crowds as such. There are perhaps ten main leaders and the majority of them must be behind any major controversial issue in Pacific City to make it successful. There are probably 30 more persons, less active and less influential, who contribute their time and energy. I am not aware of any subgroups within this group of 40 that cling together on issues generally.

—A college president (KI)

There are no crowds as such, just fluid coalitions. I want to judge a case on its merits, and I refuse to bind myself into any reciprocal *quid pro* agreements.

—Utility executive and former president of chamber of commerce (TI)

There are no "cliques" or "crowds." However, every group has their leaders; there are probably five from industry, five from labor, and five from lay groups who lead in their respective groups. If they can be "sold" the others will generally follow.

—A labor leader (TI)

There is a group of about 30 men who are primarily responsible for the major decisions in Pacific City. Quite frequently, they are the "second men" in important organizations who have both the approval of the top men and the youth

and time to spend a large amount of time and energy on civic work. Many of the decisions are formulated informally in groups of two or three at social functions.

—A doctor (TI)

Pacific City has no rigid structure of leadership. No one person or one group runs the city. As issues appear, various persons take sides and push for their view. Different coalitions appear on the issues. However, there is a small core of four leaders, all of whom are good fund-raisers, and people and groups turn to them.

—Veteran newspaper writer (informant)

INTERVIEW EVIDENCE FOR CLIQUE RELATIONS AROUND

A SET OF SPECIFIC SITUATIONS

There are probably four groups in Pacific City who are stable and act as a group. The most influential one is the businessmen's group who are largely Republicans, active both in city and state affairs, members of the chamber of commerce, municipal league, and active in school board elections. The second is the labor groups who act together on some issues. There is a third group which is composed mainly of Democrats. They have their own money. There is also a fourth group which unofficially stems from the council of churches, but influences mainly through individual Protestant ministers. They are interested in the character of various political candidates and boosted the last governor.

—A Republican party leader (TI)

There is no one crowd, but a key leader works through friends whom he respects and with whom he can get things done. Take yesterday afternoon. The president of the symphony board wanted help on the symphony drive. I met with E. B. and S. B. and L. B. [all KI] in L. B.'s office. We sat around and talked about who should head up the drive. B. G.'s name was suggested. I was tagged to go with E. B. and hang the job on him. That's the way things get done—informal meetings.

Now, in politics, there are ten of us who have gotten together and tried to see that a good man was selected for mayor. We picked T. N., and you could have gotten 100 to 1 that he would have been licked, but he won. Now, I haven't been in the mayor's office since. We don't dictate.

—A business leader (KI)

There are several recognizable blocs that usually present the same front. The chamber of commerce is probably the most important bloc, both in initiating and in influencing. Labor is generally well organized. Educational groups are usually united on issue such as passage of school bond levies, but are too divided to present any solid influential body. Welfare agencies shy away from expressions of opinion and are not opinion molders. Newspapers and radio are not influential in local issues.

—A religious leader (KI)

There are 10 or 12 in the elite that make the big decisions. They are primarily in the business field, and they work in cliques; the cliques being formed with a

member of this 10 or 12, and they delegate authority down to lesser influentials in their areas.

—A *social work leader* (TI)

There are five or six “big men” who make most of the decisions; they are important through private and corporate wealth and property. They are socially cohesive, stable, and mostly Republicans, but that is not an important factor. They vote consistently together on issues and are mainly interested in only the important decisions . . . “top level” operators. There is a second-level group of about 25 who are mainly from business. Both the small and the large groups are chamber of commerce members in part.

—*Lawyer and former mayor* (TI)

Interpretation of Results

EVIDENCE SUPPORTING REJECTION OF THE WORKING HYPOTHESIS

These opinions do not lend themselves to any simple consensus, but a scrutiny of all the behavior and attitudinal respects leads us to rejection of the working hypothesis in the following respects:

1. Key influentials do not repeatedly act in concert utilizing subordinate groups. There is no “crowd” pattern in Pacific City and English City such as Hunter reports for Southern City. Southern City represents a more structured organization of the top influentials with ties to subordinate groups.
2. There are key leaders who bring various other influentials around them when they are responsible for getting a civic project carried out. These groupings do have a pattern and tend to be repeated because key leaders find they can work best with certain leaders and can get the job done. However, there is a significant degree of fluidity. Various leaders may be called upon for the responsible direction of policy-making, and different key influentials and top influentials may be drawn in. Both Pacific City and English City show a fluid core of 12–15 key influentials with up to 150 top influentials. Different combinations appear with different issues. No one person or group dominates.

EVIDENCE SUPPORTING ACCEPTANCE OF THE WORKING HYPOTHESIS

However, an acceptance of the working hypothesis is accorded in the following respects:

1. Relatively stable groups of leaders are identified with certain institutional sectors of the community through which they express common interest, i.e., business, labor, political party, education, and religion.
2. Solidarity of the key influentials is revealed in the group of ten KI who in Pacific City came together when the selection of a (conservative) mayoralty candidate for the primary was a community issue.
3. Certain key influentials come together when a very important fund-

raising project is before the community or when a very serious financial or civic crisis arises. A similar pattern existed in English City.

4. Key influentials tend to restrict their activity to policy-making. Sometimes they are sought out as advisors, spokesmen, fund-raisers or givers, and as nominal administrative heads. In this connection, the city turns to a core group of 12-15 persons repeatedly. The activity in which they engage is pursued quietly and generally without publicity. In English City, it is definitely in bad taste for any key influential to seek newspaper mention. The importance and extent of their activity is disguised because both qualities loom larger than is in evidence within the newspaper.

SUMMARY

Similarities and Differences Exhibited by the Three Cities

The three cities that have been studied are alike in many ways. There is a vigorous business leadership to be found in all three. There is a hierarchy of civic leadership in which various key influentials and top influentials have a "place." There are friendship groupings and patterns of common social and civic participation which bring people together. There are a large number of top influentials in all three cities, up to 100-150, who have a standing in the eyes of the total community and may be called upon for leadership services when a project is before the entire community.

The three cities that have been studied are different in many ways. English City does not look to its business leaders so much for civic leadership as do the two American cities. The business representation among the KI in Pacific City is 67 percent; in Southern City, 75 percent; in English City, 25 percent. The solution of civic problems is carried on more directly by the city council in English City, while the voluntary organizations are more fluid, and the solidarity of the key influentials is less in both English City and Pacific City than in Southern City.¹⁶

Power Congruent with Stratified Pyramid Model

These phenomena of community power raise the question of what models might be appropriate to describe the various behaviors which can be observed as a community is faced with various issues. Hunter has described a stratified pyramid with a broad base of leadership centering in a top group of policy makers drawn largely from the business class. This was described as Model C in Chapter 14 (see page 540).

It has been pointed out that this model emerges sharply in Southern City because this city is an older, established community where the social system

¹⁶ Miller, *op. cit.*, "Industry and Community Power Structure," p. 14.

has been congenial to the growth of a social aristocracy and where business control has a history of hereditary growth. Indeed, Hunter points out that only 15 of the 40 top policy leaders gained a position of prominence on their own. All of the others inherited their father's business or were helped by the wealth and connections of their fathers. They have inherited the mantle of community leadership, and that leadership has never been seriously challenged. Pellegrin and Coates have reported a verification of the pyramidal model in "Big Town," but based on a different social structure. This Southern city of 200,000 has an economy which is built upon a number of absentee-owned corporations. The managers and absentee owners of these corporations constitute a new elite which dominates policy-making in civic affairs.¹⁷

This model is not appropriate for English City and only partially so for Pacific City. It applies to Pacific City for a wide range of issues and projects but it does not apply during many political campaigns, when coalitions form and often defeat the leaders who are ranked according to the stratified model. It did not explain the defeat of the right-to-work issue in Pacific City in 1956.¹⁸

Power Congruent with Institutional Ring or Cone Model

The institutional ring or cone model is a better fit for the patterns of community power observed in English City. This was described as Model D in Chapter 14. The model, it will be recalled, was considered a product of current social forces in large industrial cities, as shown by three major characteristics: (1) increasing heterogeneity of interests within the business sector; (2) the rise of new power structures, especially that of labor and government; and (3) a growing autonomy and heterogeneity of interests in all institutional sectors accompanied by specialization and professionalization.¹⁹

Figure 16.2 is a graphic illustration of those persons in English City who were ranked as having the highest personal influence over policy making affecting the community. The ring structure shows the range of institutional representatives. The area of each segment is an approximation of the relative power of each segment, as judged by the choice rank of the top influentials and by panel raters who were asked to review the strength of each institutional area in securing desired outcomes on a number of community issues.

¹⁷ R. J. Pellegrin and C. H. Coates, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

¹⁸ Delbert C. Miller, "The Prediction of Issue Outcome in Community Decision Making," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, June, 1957, pp. 137-147.

¹⁹ This is well documented in Robert O. Schulze, "Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1958, pp. 7-9; however, the withdrawal of "economic dominants" exhibited in Cibola was not demonstrated in Pacific City nor English City.

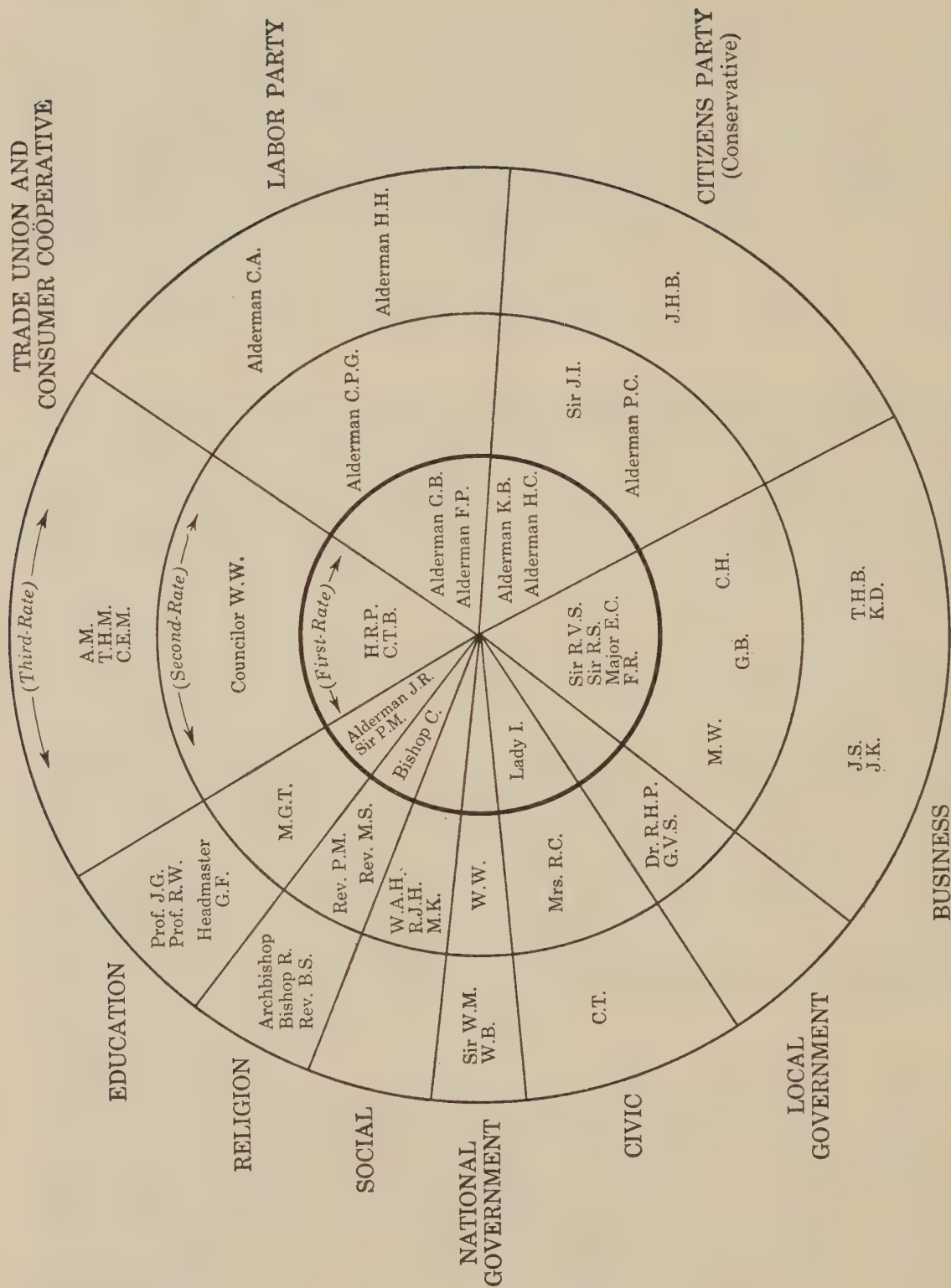


FIGURE 16.2. An Institutional Ring or Cone Structure of Influential Persons in English City. (Delbert C. Miller, "Decision-Making Cliques in Community Power Structures, a Comparative Study of an American City and an English City," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1958, p. 309.)

Those persons whose influence is greatest are shown toward the center of the circle. Note the representatives from the Labor party, trade union and consumer coöperatives, the Citizens' party, business, civic organizations, religion, education, and society. There is *no single solidary elite structure and no hierarchical dominance based on one institutional sector*. The pattern of personal influence is best described as a kaleidoscope of recognizable faces shifting in and out of fluid coalitions as issues change. Leaders play a number of different roles, sometimes taking positive action, sometimes negative, often remaining neutral, and even withdrawing completely from various issues.

While the cone or ring model is most appropriate for English City, the stratified pyramid with its solidary top business elite, such as Hunter describes for Southern Regional City, is also a useful guide to the power potential in Pacific City. However, Pacific City shows markedly more fluidity among both the key and top influentials as issues change. Religion and education there have a more influential role; the city numbers a college president and an Episcopalian bishop among its key influentials.

A continuum of community power structures is suggested for large cities, ranging from a highly stratified pyramid, dominated by a small but powerful business group functioning through cliques of high solidarity, to a ring of institutional representatives functioning in relatively independent roles. We have said that Southern City, Pacific City, and English City range in the order named along such a continuum. Other studies of community power illustrating variations in large cities are available. These studies are cited in the bibliography.

Further Validation of Working Hypothesis I

Recent findings from a large research project based on studies of community power structures in a group of Southwestern (U.S.) and Mexican cities have been reported by Charles P. Loomis and his associates.²⁰ These findings make a substantial confirmation of the domination of businessmen in community decision-making. In Table 59 the occupations of key influentials are shown for El Paso, Denver, Tucson, Las Cruces, San Diego, McAllen, C. Juarez, and Tijuana. Comparisons with Pacific City, English City, and Southern City show the following results:

Ten out of the eleven cities reported at least one financier among the KI with a total of 39 (almost a quarter) being named in all. Only English City and Las Cruces failed to produce a financier in the top group. Both of the relatively specialized categories of manufacturing and merchandising were

²⁰ William V. D'Antonio, Charles P. Loomis, William H. Form, and Eugene C. Erickson, "Institutional and Occupational Representations in Eleven Community Influence Systems," unpublished manuscript, 1960.

TABLE 59. Occupational-Industrial Identity of Key Influentials in Eleven Cities

Occupational Categories	Pacific City ^a	English City ^a	Southern City ^b	Denver ^c	San Diego ^d	El Paso ^e	Tucson ^f	McAllen ^g	Las Cruces ^h	C. Juarez ⁱ	Tijuana ^j	Total
Business:												
Finance	4	—	1	5	4	3	3	7	—	2	1	30
Merchant	3	—	3	2	3	—	5	4	3	1(1) ^k	5	29
Manufacture	1	3	2	1	2	2	—	1	1	2(3) ^k	4	19
Transportation and utilities	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	5
Government:												
Political	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	6
Mayor	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	5
Other government	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	3
Independent												
Professional												
Lawyer	1	1	2	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	8
Medical doctor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Education	1	2	—	1	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	7
Religion	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	4
Communications	—	—	—	1	2	3	2	—	1	—	—	9
Agriculture	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	3
Welfare and "culture"	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Labor	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Totals	12	12	12	11	12	11	12	13	13	12	12	132

^a Studied by D. C. Miller.

^b Studied by Floyd Hunter.

^c Studied by Robert C. Hanson.

^d Studied by Aubrey Wendling.

^e Studied by R. Clyde McCone and Eugene C. Erickson.

^f Studied by Edward Spicer and James Officer.

^g Studied by Frank and Elizabeth Nall.

^h Studied by Sigurd Johansen and Laiten L. Carnien.

ⁱ Studied by William V. D'Antonio.

^j Studied by L. Vincent Padgett and Orrin E. Klapp.

^k Alternate classification of politicians.

represented in at least eight cities. The merchants (including both wholesale and retail) produced slightly over one-fifth of the KI's, with English City and El Paso failing to contribute to this category. Among manufacturers who were almost one-sixth of all KI, only Tucson and Las Cruces were not represented. This may be explainable by the relative absence of manufacturing in the economies of these cities.

The most frequently chosen occupational category outside of business was that of the lawyer, represented eight times in seven cities. It may be that the lawyer is becoming an effective link between business and other sectors of the community.

Mayors were chosen as KI's in five of the ten cities, while other governmental officials and political leaders were chosen nine times in four cities. While it may be argued that the hierarchical structure of local government makes it likely that the mayor will be most often chosen from among governmental officials, the fact that mayors were not chosen as KI's in five of the cities suggests the need for further exploration of the place of government in the community power structure.

Labor is notably lacking representation in the influence structure in all communities except English City. In like manner, agriculture is represented only in Las Cruces by two of the thirteen persons listed; one of the two is at the very top of the list. Religion, education, society and wealth, welfare, and cultural leaders have only scattered representation.

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FIELD PROJECT

The professional researcher is directed to Appendices D, E, F, and H for guides to assist in research investigation of metropolitan power structures. The study of the community power structure of a large city should not normally be attempted by an undergraduate student.

PART IV

Applied Problems of Business and Labor Within the Community

The field of industry-community relations is both an area of study and an area of work. The community relations specialist is a new occupation that is growing in importance. Industry, labor, education, government, and military organizations seek persons who have the skill and knowledge to advise and guide decision-makers who wish to maintain or improve their community relations. The interdependence of modern life has made such a need an inescapable ingredient of successful administration.

The community specialist may function in various ways. He may be hired to serve primarily the immediate economic goals of the firm or organization. He may be asked to devote his major efforts to the improvement of the community as a social contribution of the organization. He may serve as an advisor who can assist his employer to become a person of importance and influence in the community. In any or all of these respects he becomes himself an organization man with a new array of cultivated skills and knowledge ready to serve the cosmopolitan society.

The final chapter on research problems in industry-community relations was written for the more advanced student who wishes to delve further into the research possibilities of this field.

Chapter 17

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SPECIALISTS: NEW CAREERS IN INDUSTRY-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

THE RISE OF SPECIALISTS IN COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The Enlarging Area of Planning

Problems of Business and Labor in the Community

Position of the Community Relations Specialist in Business or Labor

MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS SPECIALIST

Maintaining and Improving the Reputation of the Organization in the Community

Programming for Public Relations

Public Opinion Surveying

The plant as a place to work

Influence of the company upon the economic life of the community

The role of the plant in community life

The reputation of the plant's products

Customer relations of the plant

Public Opinion Analysis

Maintaining and Improving the Community by Securing the Support and Involvement of Business and Labor and Other Institutions

Diagnostic Services of the Community Relations Specialist in
Community Action When His Organization Wants to Secure Community Involvement

Recommending Appointments to Policy-Making Committees

TRAINING THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS SPECIALIST

Training Requirements and Opportunities

Undergraduate Training

Graduate Training

Laboratory Training for Research and Professional Service

Entry Jobs

Career Development

THE RISE OF SPECIALISTS IN COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The Enlarging Area of Planning

A need for specialists has risen to guide social planning in many areas of industrial and community life. These specialists bear many different titles, such as city planner, out-plant engineer, public relations specialist, community organization specialist, economic development specialist, and public administration specialist. These titles indicate that the need for specialists extends through industry, labor organization, and government. Let us look briefly at the responsibility of each specialist.

The *city planner* plans for ordered growth of city to establish proper relationship between the needs and facilities of industrial, commercial, and residential growth and renewal. This job requires ability to work intimately with public officials, influential community leaders, and other citizens to secure approval and execution of plans.

The *out-plant engineer* examines alternate plant location sites and advises upon final location of new plants or expansion of established plants. This job requires ability to diagnose community facilities for residential and community living, attitudes of social groups toward proposed plant, and the availability and attitudes of labor.

The *public relations specialist* communicates managerial actions and ideas to such publics as company employees, local residents, customers, stockholders, and mass audiences. This job requires ability to make contacts with influential persons and groups, collect information, and usually write or tell of company (or union) actions and plans to a public which the management believes to be related to its company (or union) goals. The best estimate of the number of men and women in the United States acting in "supervisory" public relations capacities in all fields is about 40,000. There are nearly 5,000 corporations which support public relations departments or engage public relations counsel on a continuing basis.¹

The *community organization specialist* diagnoses a local community and assists local leaders in the preparation of plans and actions promoting community development. This job requires ability to make contacts with influential persons and groups, guide the assessment of community needs and resources, and advise on plans of action to improve the community according to goals agreed upon by community leaders. Many universities today support community organization services, and the Department of Agricul-

¹ "Management's Self-Conscious Spokesman," *Fortune*, November, 1955, p. 109.

ture has hundreds of extension leaders capable of such work.² Many chambers of commerce are looking for community specialists as executive secretaries and staff specialists. The State of Pennsylvania supports a large staff of community relation specialists in its Industrial Development Program, which includes a Community Development Bureau.

The *economic development specialist* enters another country to advise on the improvement of technology, managerial technique, or fiscal operations so that production may be increased and the standard of living raised. The need for such specialists has risen sharply with the commitments of the United Nations and member countries to provide technical assistance to economically underdeveloped countries. Technical specialists find they must secure coöperation of local leaders in order to install new methods. This requires ability to diagnose the native culture pattern and to act within it.

The *public administration specialist* is a public relations officer in government who must make contacts with influential persons and groups within his agency and within the community served, collect information, and, by writing and speaking, interpret governmental actions or plans to the electorate. As an assistant to an administrator such a specialist may be assigned various tasks. These may include helping the administrator secure desired approval or action on a specific governmental program where such a program requires skillful contact with community or state and national leaders.

All of these specialist positions have two common skill requirements. They require persons who can use communication skills to interpret favorably the actions and plans of their agency. They require persons who can make contacts with influential persons and groups (or so advise) to the end that a program objective is realized. At the highest reaches of such skill a specialist must have the ability to diagnose the community power structure and guide a program through it with such knowledge and social skills as to assure a high level of acceptance. Administrators need these same skills, and the training in administration in our universities has placed increasing stress on the diagnosis of social factors. The administrator of a large organization is busy with many other functions and needs staff assistance. He needs specialists who have communication and contact skills and who can diagnose social situations for him. Such specialists give him added strength in dealing with many of his problems. Although they may have different job titles,

² Wayland Hayes, *The Small Community Looks Ahead*, Harcourt, Brace, 1947; Otto G. Hoiberg, "Problems of the Consultant in Small Communities," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December, 1955, pp. 164-172; Mark Mathews, *Guide to Community Action*, Harper, 1954; Richard Poston, *Small Town Renaissance, a Story of the Montana Experiment*, Harper, 1950; Richard Poston, *Democracy Is You, a Guide to Citizen Action*, Harper, 1953; Irwin T. Sanders, *Making Good Communities Better*, University of Kentucky Press, 1953; Irwin T. Sanders, "The Contribution of the Specialist to Community Development," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December, 1955, pp. 151-163.

they may be called community relations specialists. In the past, there was no training for such a position. The administrator played the role by ear and succeeded or failed according to the light of experience. The advent of large-scale bureaucracies in industry, labor, government, the university and public school system, and even in church organizations has brought new demand for the skills of the community relations specialist. Today he can be selected and trained for the requirements of his position.

This chapter is devoted to the application of social science to the problems of community power. It seeks to outline the training of the community relations specialist in terms of applied social science knowledge. It seeks to define the applied areas so that researchers may have a better understanding of the relation between basic and applied research in the field of industry and community relations.

Problems of Business and Labor in the Community

There are a great number of problems of business and labor that can challenge a community. These include:

1. Attracting new industry and diversifying the economic base.
2. Threat of withdrawal of a community industry.
3. Activating local agencies for community action, such as city planning or renewal.
4. Improving labor-management relations by community action.
5. Integrating new social and power groups in the community.
6. Reducing delinquency and crime in the community.
7. Conducting a successful welfare campaign or a school levy drive.
8. Improving community life by securing new cultural facilities.

Each of these problems, when fully investigated, reveals that industry is an integrated part of the community and that it cannot but be affected by any crisis in the community. This is well illustrated by a case presented by Max Wolff, a community consultant, who described a community in Pennsylvania which is an important industrial center:

The leading industry employs around 2800 workers. From time to time, the relationships between different racial groups are strained. Last year they deteriorated to the point that riots could be expected. A group of responsible citizens organized an Emergency Council; the general manager of the leading industry joined the council. As a man well-known for his community-mindedness and his willingness to participate actively in worthwhile causes of the community, he added prestige to the council. Because of previous experiences, his factory was organized in such a way that practically each racial and religious group had its segregated working facilities. Thereby, the causes for friction in the community did not exist in the factory. At the time of crisis, the general manager

was asked to permit certain measures and activities within the factory to counteract the dangerous situation in the community. While recognizing the value of the suggested activities, he reasoned his negative reply as follows: "I do not need to explain to you where I stand on this issue; my record speaks for itself! As a citizen, I feel an obligation to participate as much as possible in programs to make this community an even better place in which to live. However, the factory is an entity in itself and with its own purpose. We do not want to control the life of our officers and workers. We participate in community life, but while we try not to bother the community with our problems, we don't want to bring the community's problems into the factory, either."

The tension in the community grew. Actions of brutality became indicative of the mood of the city. But only after fist fights developed within the factory walls and a strike became imminent, did the general manager agree to sponsor the measures within the factory suggested earlier by the Emergency Council. Two more factories in the city, the schools, and most of the churches took active parts in actions and educational programs intended to change the dangerous situation.³

This case indicates the kind of challenge that community and industry face when differences of opinion arise. The community relations specialist has tools and training to help him diagnose such situations. The role of this specialist in industry or labor will be examined in the following sections.

POSITION OF THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS SPECIALIST IN BUSINESS OR LABOR

The community relations specialist is most likely to be found in a public relations department of a business or labor organization. However, there is a growing recognition within business organizations of the integral relationship between the personnel department, with its dominant interest in employee relations, and the public relations department, with its traditional interest in public relations. Effective employee relations and community relations are of one cloth, however the organization may elect to function. Community relations is a bridge linking the public relations information and communication services and the employee relations programs. In the Ford Motor Company there is a Community Relations Department. In 1950 it established a Community Relations Committee in 35 cities across the United States where the company operates. Figure 17.1 shows the distribution of these committees. They meet regularly to discuss community relations problems, projects, and requests for funds.

While the community relations specialist is most often found in a public relations department, in many organizations an assistant to the president may be expected to discharge the functions of a community relations specialist; in which case, his work will probably be divided between in-plant

³ Max Wolff, "Industry in Partnership," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December, 1953, pp. 167-168.



FIGURE 17.1. A Nation-Wide Pattern of Ford Motor Company Community Relations Committees, 1955. (*Community Relations Manual*, Ford Motor Company, 1955.)

problems and the plant-city level. Hodges has called public relations at the plant-city level “industrial community relations.”⁴

Wilensky has studied the role of staff specialists in labor organizations and finds that the community relations specialist, or “Contact Man,” is one of the most important staff experts. He defines his job as having two functions:

The Contact Man smooths the union leader’s contacts with the non-union world, helps him find his way around; this encourages a tendency to “political realism” already present in the leader’s mentality—it strengthens his conviction that wherever there is a clash of interests some way can be found to mediate them. . . .

He interprets officer and union to important publics (including judges, government officials, employers, the press, etc.) and he interprets these publics to the labor officer; this acts to build an image of officer and union as “respectable” and “responsible” both in the eyes of the officer and in the eyes of his publics; the officer’s new self image tends to make him “play it safe” in order to cultivate the good-will of these (real or imagined) publics.⁵

There are some important differences in the roles to be played by a community relations specialist within a business as compared to a labor organization, but two major functions may be indicated for both.⁶

⁴ Wayne Hodges, *Company and Community*, Harper, 1959, p. 1.

⁵ Harold L. Wilensky, *Intellectuals in Labor Unions*, Free Press, 1956, pp. 70–74.

⁶ Alice H. Cook, “Labor’s Search for Its Place in the Community: The Role of a Professional Community Consultant,” *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December, 1955, pp. 173–183.

MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS SPECIALIST

Maintaining and Improving the Reputation of the Organization in the Community

A basic responsibility of the community relations specialist is to establish and maintain friendly contacts with local leaders and groups. He knows that such contacts are important to his agency for a company's reputation affects its business. The Ford philosophy is that "product preference and company preference go hand in hand because people naturally associate a company with its products. They believe a good company makes products and conversely they find it hard to believe that a bad company can make a good product. . . . We must create a character of good citizenship as a whole. . . . A company's reputation in town also affects its success in recruiting good personnel, in securing reputable vendors, in maintaining the morale of its employees, and in countless other ways."⁷

Other companies list such returns as *equitable tax rates*, assessments, and other municipal actions; *public support* in case of trouble, such as labor difficulties, lay-offs, and plant disasters; and increased employee *productivity*, since employees tend to reflect favorable community attitudes.

PROGRAMMING FOR PUBLIC RELATIONS

The community relations specialist may have a number of job functions which have been assigned to him. He may be asked to identify the various local publics and to plan programs that will be effective in improving the reputation of his organization.⁸ Ansul Chemical Company in Marinette, Wisconsin, has done this and has the following program operating:

1. Community at large. Program includes an emergency rescue squad available 24 hours a day at no charge to anyone in the community; participation in activities of the Marinette Chamber of Commerce; a daily radio program, "Your Social Reporter," which carries free social and civic announcements for all local groups; large fire demonstration to highlight Fire Prevention Week each fall; plant tours and open houses; weekly advertising support of "Go to Church" campaigns; periodic community newspaper advertising.

2. Community thought leaders, opinion molders. Program includes regular mailing of company publication; special plant tours for specific influence

⁷ Policy statement of Community Relations Department, Ford Motor Company, 1956.

⁸ General Motors Department of Public Relations has prepared a kit of presentations for local adaptation to be used by General Motors divisional executives.

groups; i.e., local ministerial associations; special mailings, such as the company's annual report or an outstanding national publicity "break."

3. Local press (newspapers, radio, television). Program includes immediate dissemination of company news, both favorable and unfavorable; equitable, although modest, advertising support of all local communications media; impartial timing of news breaks, invitations to press to attend company functions; 24-hour-a-day availability to press; elimination of pressure to run company stories "as is."

4. Civic organizations. Program includes regular and proportionate donations to local charities; use of daily radio program; speaker's bureau, both for regular addresses and to fill emergency needs; free movies, projection equipment, and operator for use by nonprofit groups; plant tours and fire demonstration for civic clubs.

5. Students, faculty, and school officials. Program includes plant tours by business, chemistry, and other school classes; regular advertisements in school yearbooks and newspapers; use of daily radio program by faculty; coöperation and leadership on Business-Education Day.

6. Municipal employees, officials. Program includes free fire equipment and recharging supplies to fire and police departments; use of fire test field for training and demonstration; first-aid training of firemen and policemen by Ansul Rescue Squad; availability of standby Ansul fire equipment for emergency use; personal leadership in city council, police and fire commission, civil defense, other municipal agencies; absence of pressure on tax assessments, zoning, special ordinances, etc.

7. Local merchants, industrialists. Program includes mailing of Ansul Fuse Plug; avoidance of "pirating" employees from local business and industry; brief congratulatory letter when businessman is honored or promoted; welcoming visits to new merchants, industry officials; salutes to other industries in the company's employee publication.

8. Nonemployee local stockholders. Program includes mailing of Ansul Fuse Plug; special mailing of periodic information about the company's progress; invitations to visit plant.⁹

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYING

Another function may be to conduct a continuing poll of opinion about the company. It is on the community level that people draw their sharpest and clearest estimates of business. For when they speak of business in their own city or town, they usually have in mind either a company for which they

⁹ *Effective Employee and Community Relations: A Report on Ansul Chemical Company*, United States Chamber of Commerce, 1956. For a brief picture of some Syracuse, New York, companies and their community relations programs, see Hodges, *op. cit.*, 1959, pp. 305-316.

work or the companies where their friends work. Opinion-polling techniques coupled with modern sampling methods enable the researcher to get a good picture of the opinions of a community. Usually surveys seek to discover opinions about (1) the plant as a place to work, (2) the influence of the company upon the economic life of the community, (3) the role of the plant in community life, (4) the reputation of the plant's products, and (5) customer relations of the plant. The construction of polling instruments is beyond the scope of this book. These require specialized knowledge and training. However, a schedule of topics from which community surveys are commonly developed is shown:

The Plant as a Place in Which to Work

1. Wage level.
2. Hours of work.
3. Conditions of work.
4. Job security.
5. Seasonal and cyclical fluctuations in employment.
6. Opportunities for advancement.
7. Employee benefits, health and welfare, pensions.
8. Labor-management relations.
9. Should a young man, commencing upon a lifetime career, look for a job in this plant?

Influence of the Company upon the Economic Life of the Community

1. Does it contribute to or detract from the prosperity of the town? Is the general standard of living higher or lower because of it?
2. Is the pay roll a large factor in the operation of the plant?
3. What proportion is the pay roll of all personal income in the community?
4. The extent to which the plant purchases materials and supplies in the local market.
5. Does its presence stimulate or stifle other local business enterprises?
6. If the company is in an extractive industry, is its exploitation of natural resources prudent or reckless?
7. Does the company seem to be vigorous, progressive, alert, expanding; or complacent, static, lacking in initiative and imagination?

The Role of the Plant in Community Life

1. Does management assist in the promotion of public projects?
2. Do members of management participate personally in civic affairs?
3. Does the company contribute to welfare services and charity affairs?
4. Have local residents been hired to fill top executive jobs in the local plant?

5. Civic nuisances—does the plant cause smoke, fumes, dust, dirt, odors, noise, glaring lights, traffic congestion, pollution of rivers or lakes? Does management give consideration to complaints about such nuisances and attempt to reduce them?
6. Is the plant maintained in such a fashion as to present a neat and clean appearance or is it neglected and unsightly?

The Reputation of the Plant's Products

1. If consumers' goods, are the price, quality, design, dimensions and appearance satisfactory?
2. If capital goods, do they enjoy a good reputation?
3. Does the company strive to improve current models and develop new products?

Customer Relations of the Plant

1. If engaged in retail sales, does the concern solicit trade vigorously and compete for it aggressively, or does it play a passive role in this respect?
2. Are customers treated with courtesy?
3. Is service prompt and efficient or slow and indifferent?

A community opinion survey of the ten leading industrial companies in Terre Haute, Indiana (population, 63,000) was conducted by Elmo Roper.¹⁰ One of the questions asked of a Terre Haute citizen sample was, "What makes a company a good citizen? Which four of the things on this list would be the best things a company could do to make you feel good about its being in Terre Haute? The answers were:

1. Eliminate things like dust, smoke, noise, odors	60%
2. Hire local people for some top executive jobs	53
3. Provide playgrounds for children in the neighborhood	46
4. Pay above-average wages	46
5. Coöperative with the labor unions	42
6. Build homes for its employees	31
7. Contribute generously to community charities	29
8. Make its plant as attractive as possible	22
9. Sponsor athletic team for the town	16
10. Take an active part in city politics	11 ¹¹

Important as its community role may be, there is high consensus that the principal factor influencing community relations is employee relations. "The standing of a plant in a community is largely a reflection of what its own employees think about their employer. This generalization seems to apply equally well to large cities and to small towns."¹² In the Terre Haute Survey this question was asked: "What makes a good employer? Which two or

¹⁰ "The Fortune Survey," *Fortune*, March, 1950, pp. 37-43.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹² J. W. Welcker, "The Community Relations Problems of Industrial Companies," *Harvard Business Review*, November, 1949, p. 72.

three of these things would be most important to you if you were picking a company to work for?" The answers were:

1. The steadiness of employment it provides

2. The chance for advancement it provides

3. The level of wages it pays

4. The working conditions at the company

5. How well it takes care of employees who have been with it a long time

6. Its attitude toward labor unions

7. How well you would get along with your boss

8. Whether it has a nice group of people working for it
- 50%

48

37

33

32

23

9

9¹³

The survey revealed that the question about "which companies were the most interested in Terre Haute" and "which were the best employers" brought three companies into focus. Table 6o shows how these companies were rated as an employer and as a citizen.

TABLE 6o. Evaluations of Local Firms as Employers and Citizens

Feel Company Is Good for Terre Haute:	Commercial Solvents Corporation	Hulman and Company	Terre Haute Brewing Co.	Quaker Maid Co.
As an employer	65%	19%	76%	72%
As a "citizen"	11	66	18	7

SOURCE: "The Fortune Survey of Public Opinion, Terre Haute, Indiana," *Fortune*, March, 1950, p. 43.

Note the striking difference in Hulman and Co., where an excellent reputation as a community "citizen" is contrasted with a poor reputation as an employer. The record as an employer has damaged an excellent community record of Hulman and Co. The land for Terre Haute's airport was donated by Anton Hulman, Jr. His father and uncle donated the property for Rose Polytechnic Institute; \$50,000 of Hulman money went to the Cogle Mill development, which aids flood control. Forest Park, a 400-acre recreation area, normally reserved for Hulman employees, is another Hulman philanthropy. But when Terre Haute citizens were asked which two companies on the list of ten, considering everything, were the best companies in town, Hulman & Co. was placed in fourth position (Commercial Solvents Corporation, 41 percent; Terre Haute Brewing Co., 23 percent; Quaker Maid Co., 18 percent; Hulman and Co., 11 percent).¹⁴

This survey shows that a company must make its mark as a good employer if it is to enjoy good community relations. But it cannot shirk its community

¹³ "The Fortune Survey," *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

responsibilities. The Dayton, Ohio, community survey asked, "What is the most important thing an industrial plant should do for the Community?" Two-thirds of the people interviewed expressed the opinion that, above all, a company should "take an active part in civic affairs."¹⁵ But participation in civic affairs, interviewees said, goes beyond financial help. It means helping to provide the leadership and manpower to support all organizations that benefit the community.

PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

The community relations specialist conducts opinion research to find out how his organization stands in the community and interprets the facts he gathers.¹⁶ Each company's community relations standing must be appraised on an individual plant basis, for there are many factors which influence a plant's standing, such as size of the community, the size of the factory within the community as compared to other plants in the same locality, and the employee relations—merely to select those which stand out most clearly.¹⁷

Indeed, he may find that the company is enlarging its concept of community concern or should do so. The Ansul Chemical Company, which was previously cited, has concerned itself with responsibilities of industrial citizenship extending into other "communities" as well.

Ansul's greater family includes stockholders, customers, suppliers and interested friends throughout the world. A special magazine, the Ansul News Notes, is produced for these greater family members and 85,000 copies go out four times a year.

Another important Ansul neighbor is the national business community, which the company widely uses for trading and cross-fertilizing ideas. Ansul people, from the president on down through several strata of management, are active in such groups as the Young Presidents' Organization, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the American Management Association and a variety of professional and trade organizations.

Often little recognized by industry, yet considered a vital relationship by Ansul, is its association with the community of science and education. How Ansul has worked with universities has been mentioned previously, but the company also supports with its dollars a number of social science and research projects.

Ansul's president, an active board member of several educational bodies, has

¹⁵ Effective Employee and Community Relations, *A Report of the Standard Register Company, Dayton, Ohio*, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1956, p. 8.

¹⁶ An excellent discussion of attempts at evaluating community relations programs is to be found in Hodges, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-326.

¹⁷ Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 772. See also W. G. Barlow and S. L. Payne, "A Tool for Evaluating Company Community Relations," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Fall, 1949, pp. 405-414.

for years urged fellow industrialists to become acquainted with this important university community.

The international business community would, at first glance, seem far removed from a medium-sized company in the upper midwest. But surprisingly, management people in almost every nation in Europe know about Ansul Chemical Company. Many of them have visited in the plant in Marinette to see participative management in action. The company's president has twice represented the U.S. government in conducting management training programs in Europe.

Ansul sees no reason why democratic, participative management should be an exclusive American commodity. The company has extended itself to unusual lengths to share its ideas abroad and at home. Because the core of participative management is the development of people, it may become, Ansul believes, a powerful deterrent to any ideologies opposed to the American idea.¹⁸

Maintaining and Improving the Community by Securing the Support and Involvement of Business and Labor and Other Institutions

DIAGNOSTIC SERVICES OF THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS SPECIALIST IN COMMUNITY ACTION WHEN HIS ORGANIZATION WANTS TO SECURE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The community relations specialist must help maintain and improve the reputation of the organization in the community. But he is often called upon to do more than this. He may be asked to become a representative or an advisor when his organization wants to get something done within the community that will require wide community support. It will be up to him to ascertain community opinion, identify influential leaders and groups, and plan the strategy of the community involvement.

The case of plant expansion which follows illustrates this kind of problem.

The community is located in Northern Ohio and has a population of about 2500 people. The only industry in town was established in 1905. About 1100 people living in the village or near-by, work in the factory. In 1945, the owner and manager of the industry died. Business declined. The industry was near collapse. A national concern became interested in buying the industry with the intention of modernization and expansion. The plan would involve about 300 more workers, including 60 specialists who would have to move into the community.

Management consultants were asked to study the worth of the industry and to find out whether the production could be changed so as to satisfy the specific needs of the prospective buyer. On the basis of their findings, the corporation bought the industry and invested an additional one and a half million dollars for the purpose of modernization and community development. However, the industrial expert had forgotten the community as an important aspect of their study.

¹⁸ Report on Ansul Chemical Company, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

The expansion of the industry demanded expansion of the community. New people would have to come to the town, many of backgrounds fundamentally different from those of the people who had been living there. No housing was available for them; the community had practically no recreational facilities; the schools were crowded to capacity. People whom the corporation wanted to hire came to visit the town; they did not like it, they wanted schools and churches fitting their needs. The industry offered to do its share in building homes, enlarging the school, creating recreational facilities, helping the churches. The community resisted. The people who had lived there for years and years opposed change, they wanted the "absolute status quo." Whatever the industry suggested, the community did not want to accept. In disgust, the corporation decided to sell out. . . .

The concern which had bought the industry was disillusioned about the community's resistance against the plans for industrial expansion. Ownership changed again. The buyer was aware of the tension which existed between industry and community. The resigning manager had informed him about the situation. "If I only would have had more time, I would have been able to break the stubborn resistance of the village people. They would have recognized that growth of the industry would result in growth of the community." He then called a meeting of the local Improvement Association which he had initiated and directed since his arrival in town. The invitation which he extended to the members of the association sounded like an order; all but two of the invited members followed the invitation. The meeting became his meeting; it was never theirs. Practically no questions were asked, no opinions expressed. The change of ownership was announced, the owner and new manager introduced. The meeting took only 35 minutes.

The new manager, flabbergasted by what he had experienced, invited a study of the local industry-community relations. The study revealed these convictions of the local people:

- a. the community was taken over by the industry.
- b. the industry wanted and made changes disregarding the will of the citizenry, using the Improvement Association only as a sounding board.
- c. participation by citizens was not wanted and their opinion not even considered.

The director of the study was asked to advise management on how the community could be assured that the new order did not want to manage or manipulate the community, but instead hoped with the help of everyone in the village to find and play effectively a role compatible with the interests of industry and community alike.

The new manager needed two months to become acquainted with the acquired industry. While not being an active participant, he observed the community and its reaction toward him very carefully. He spoke to most of the members of the Improvement Association; to his astonishment he discovered that he was expected to step into the shoes of his predecessor. He was considered to be the ex-officio president. After he had corrected this conception, the vice-president called a meeting, but only five people came. The association had no standing in

the community, except if called to order by industrial leadership. The meeting still proved to be worthwhile; meaning and purpose of the association were discussed; the new manager did his share in this discussion, the first time that he showed active interest in the affairs of the community. It was decided to develop a program of education and action with the main purpose of changing the citizens' attitude toward their roles in the life of the community. A committee of three undertook to present the program to the heads of all local organizations and to prepare a report about their responses and suggestions for the next meeting of the association. The new manager was very explicit in his statement that industry wanted to take part in the development of the community, without any intention to take over.

The community is still in this process of orientation, moving in the direction of becoming an integrated unit with right and obligations for all, industry included, not necessarily directed by it.¹⁹

This case shows the importance of role analysis and community involvement for a company official. The community relations specialist should be able to diagnose such social situations *in advance* and program the action procedures. Sometimes he may need to train leaders for community action. He should be able to make reports to committee groups and agencies upon request and to measure achievement toward desired community goals. The questions coming to him will be diverse. Who should be brought in from the community on a particular project? To whom should the public relations department mail a brochure which it wishes to place in the hands of influential leaders? Who are the society leaders who should be invited to a coming reception?

RECOMMENDING APPOINTMENTS TO POLICY-MAKING COMMITTEES

Recently, one of the authors was asked to recommend a committee of influential leaders as a state governor's advisory group on reform of the state's institutional program. These were to be persons who could receive training and be of such influence that they could rally support behind the governor when reform proposals were submitted.

Another request involved the naming of a policy committee that would assure support of an organization that wished to present a TV forum dealing with controversial public questions. The policy committee was to be named so that its separate members could legitimize and interpret the forum to each of the important organizations in the city, especially ones likely to cause trouble. In this instance, the American Legion, the Chamber of Commerce, the Urban League, American Medical Society, and the Teamsters' Union were considered particularly sensitive. It was thought important to have the newspapers represented so a sympathetic press could be assured. Other important organizations were known to be the Municipal League, PTA, American Bar Association, Republican party, Democratic party, and

¹⁹ Wolff, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165, 168-169.

TABLE 61. Matrix of 30 Interlocking Memberships in Significant Community Organizations Produced by Eight Influential Persons

	Sensitive					Impor- tant	Influential						
	American Legion	Chamber of Commerce	Urban League	Medical Society	Teamsters Union	Newspaper Connection	Municipal League	Labor Council	Parent-Teachers Association	American Bar Association	Republican Party	Democratic Party	97 Club
N. R.													
A. L.	X	X		X			X			X			X
S. P.					X			X				X	X
B. H.	X	X					X						
P. C.		X	X							X	X		
B. E.	X				X			X					X
Dr. P. K.				X					X				X
L. C.		X				X	X						
Total Member- ships	3	5	1	2	2	1	3	2	1	2	2	1	5

the 97 Social Club. To meet this request, the matrix of social participation among top influentials was examined and nominees were presented so that each represented one sensitive organization, yet interlocked with other important organizations. Table 61 shows this matrix of 30 interlocking memberships produced by the active participation of 8 influential persons.

This social participation matrix is constructed upon accurate knowledge of the current membership and role of each member. Table 62 is an example of the individual participation data from which such a matrix is developed. It is the total personal record of the civic, social, and profes-

TABLE 62. The Participation of L.C. in Civic, Social, and Professional Organizations

Name of Organization	Attend Regularly	Committee Member	Officer
Civic Organization Participation			
Chamber of Commerce	Yes	Yes	Trustee
Pacific Trade Association	Yes	Yes	Past president
Municipal League	No	No	No
Memorial Hospital	Yes	Yes	Trustee
Greater City Inc.	Yes	Yes	Trustee
Community Development League	Yes	Yes	Past president
War Savings Bond League	Yes	Yes	Chairman, publicity
Safety Council	Yes	Yes	No
Social Organization Participation			
Social Club A	Yes	Yes	No
Social Club B	Yes	Yes	Past president
Golf Club	Yes	Yes	Past president
97 Club	Yes	Yes	Past president
Thunder Country Club	Winter	No	No
790 Club-650 Club	Yes	Yes	No
Quarterbacks	Yes	No	No
Varsity Club	Yes	No	No
Professional and Employee Organizations			
Allied Dailies Association	Yes	Yes	No
Newspaper Association	Yes	Yes	No
National Association of Manufacturers	No	No	No
Better Business Bureau	Yes	No	No

sional memberships of L.C., who has an important newspaper post in a Pacific Coast city and was placed among the nominees for the policy-making group. His multiple memberships provide a wide scope of personal contact and communication in addition to the range of readers he may influence through the columns of his paper.

TRAINING THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS SPECIALIST

Training Requirements and Opportunities

The major job functions of the community relations specialist have been shown to be (1) maintaining and improving the reputation of his organization in the community, and (2) maintaining and improving the community by securing the support and involvement of industry and labor and other parts of the community power structure. What kind of training should such a specialist have?

UNDERGRADUATE TRAINING

This specialist draws upon a wide range of social science knowledge, especially sociology, political science, and economics. A broad training in these fields of study is recommended. His major field of study should be community organization, and courses should be taken to get such knowledge. Specialized courses may be found in sociology, political science, and social work. Courses in public relations should be helpful. Perhaps specialized programs may be worked out, as the following report indicates:

BACHELOR OF CHAMBER WORK

The day seems to be approaching when a young man applying for chamber of commerce work may bring with him a diploma stating that he holds the degree, B.C.C.—Bachelor of Chamber of Commerce Work.

Educators, at any rate, are becoming increasingly aware of the need for special training in organization work.

Representatives of 17 Virginia colleges recently discussed this need at a conference conducted by the Virginia State Chamber in Richmond. Presidents of six Virginia colleges and representatives of 11 others attended.

They agreed upon positive steps to establish chamber of commerce courses at one school and to afford lecture opportunities on chamber work and activities at several others.

Additional discussion centered around ways of developing a greater spirit of civic responsibility among future business and professional people coming out of Virginia colleges. This interest is pertinent because more than 4000 Chambers now exist in the United States, many with large staffs of trained specialists.²⁰

Currently the Chamber of Commerce of the United States sponsors summer institutes at six major universities in the United States for its

²⁰ News note, *Nation's Business*, 1957, p. 4.

chamber of commerce and trade association managers. The curriculum is built around employee and community relations. Similarly, the large unions like the Steelworkers and United Auto Workers sponsor such programs for their officers and members.

GRADUATE TRAINING

At the graduate level, the student should seek research training in community power structure and community organization. He will find many courses available in a qualified graduate school that can increase his research skills in method and design. He should give especial attention to courses which help him to analyze social data and measure social factors.

LABORATORY TRAINING FOR RESEARCH AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

In some universities, community development departments have been established. These departments have community relation specialists on their staff who assist local communities seeking to undertake community development programs. The local communities become field laboratories for the student where he may get training by observation, research, or active leadership.²¹

Opportunities for internships or apprenticeships may be arranged in local chambers of commerce, councils of social agencies, central labor councils, planning commissions, or public relations offices of companies or unions. The student who could arrange summer employment in such organizations would be securing valuable career training. Other areas of work might be valuable, too. The Philadelphia Police Department has established positions called Community Relations Officer and have a staff of 21, an officer being assigned in each of 21 police districts.²² Many universities have established community relations offices. All of these places may hold fine opportunities for part-time work or opportunities for observation and participation.

ENTRY JOBS

Entry jobs may be found in any of the above organizations which were listed for internships. Other possibilities include work in community or agency fund-raising. Consumer marketing research is another area in which field experience might be gained, since marketing research agencies commonly seek trained interviewers.

CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Since the community relations specialist is a relatively new position, the career pattern of this occupation has not been well charted. In one sense,

²¹ Among the most active programs are those of the University of Washington, University of Kentucky, Southern Illinois University, Michigan State University, and New York University.

²² *Civil Liberties Record*, July, 1958, p. 1.

the career pattern is being completed within the generation which has grown up since 1940 or thereabouts. For the importance of community relations was established with the enlarged increase of power in government and labor. As these came into power, public opinion became more significant as it focused on the image and operation of large-scale enterprise in industry, labor, and government. Meanwhile, the forces of an expanding population, with ever increasing urbanization, brought the need for persons who could provide primary contacts (or substitutes for them) to the secondary society. This is a time when a sense of community is weakened by the demands of large cities and large-scale bureaucracies. "Public relations" has grown as a response to runs of attention around ideas like plant-community, company reputation, community development, stockholder and consumer relations, supremacy of free enterprise, economic education, and international trade.²³

A poll of 92 public relations departments in companies with assets ranging from \$3 million to over \$1 billion showed that 24 of the public relations departments in these 92 companies were established between 1940 and 1945, and 39, or over 42 percent of the total, have come into being since 1945. Sixteen of the public relations directors now have the title of vice-president, compared with five so designated in 1946. The aggregate increase in public relations personnel in these large companies since 1946 was 140 percent; the aggregate increase in their budgets, 200 percent. Some of the public relations directors reported that their budgets in 1955 were 20 times bigger than in 1946.²⁴

This record of growth may be surpassed in the next quarter of a century. What is of major interest is the type of approach and programs that will evolve in the field of public relations. There is growing evidence that good press relations will not be enough. Today, journalists dominate the field of public relations because many organizations believe that the public needs only to know the facts about them and that good press relations will produce good public opinion. But wherever the organization has identified the local community as integral with its life and development, the participation of the organization and its personnel becomes of prime importance in building good public opinion. Here the community relations program is the key to good public relations. The community relations specialist must know more than the boys at the city desk—he must know his organization and all the publics which bear upon it. He must understand the social ties which link his organization to the men and women who make a difference to the long-run aims of the organization. He should know the community power structure as intimately as a mariner knows the sea. He must, in short, be an

²³ Leila A. Sussman, "The Personnel and Ideology of Public Relations," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Winter, 1948-1949, pp. 697-708.

²⁴ "Management's Self-Conscious Spokesman," *Fortune*, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

applied sociologist.²⁵ In the next chapter, the research development of applied problems will be discussed.

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²⁵ Max Wolff, "The Role of the Sociologist as a Community Consultant," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December, 1955, pp. 146-150.

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Chapter 18

RESEARCH PROBLEMS IN INDUSTRY- COMMUNITY RELATIONS

DEFINING THE FIELD OF INDUSTRY-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Definition of Industry

Individual Firms Constituting the Economic Organization of the Community

Specialized Personnel Constituting the Labor Force of the Community

Representative Persons and Associations as Constituent Parts of the

Power Structure of the Community

Analysis of Industry-Community Relations

The Identification of Community Variables

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INDUSTRY-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Four Major Approaches

The Structural-Functional Approach

The Compensation Approach

The Welfare Approach

The Power Approach

HYPOTHESES AND METHODS OF INVESTIGATING COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

Axioms, Hypotheses, and Tests

Institutionalized Power Structure of the Community

Community Power Complex

Top Influentials

Key Influentials

THE MEASUREMENT OF COMMUNITY VARIABLES

Problems of Large Social Systems

Measuring Instruments

THE PREDICTION OF ISSUES IN COMMUNITY DECISION-MAKING

*The Theory of Issue Outcome**The Application of the Theory to Prediction**A Brief History of the Right-to-Work Issue*

Designation of the Factors in Issue in Pacific City Before the Election

Factor 1. Critically activated parts of the institutional power structure; substance of issue by values involved; level of issue by values involved.

Factor 2. Power arrangement of community power complex.

Factor 3. Solidarity of the top influentials.

*Conclusion**Further Validation of the Prediction Theory*

THE PLACE OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

Power of Organized Labor and Business in the Institutional Structure

Economic Bargaining Power

Government

Municipal Boards

Political Parties

Education

Welfare

Mass Communication

Religion

*Influence of Labor and Business Among Community and Key Influentials**Conclusions*

This chapter seeks to specify the base from which research in industry-community relations may proceed. Such research may be expected to increase in both university and industry as each seeks basic and applied knowledge. The future trend of such research will be marked by attempts to get greater precision in the measurement of social factors and greater predictive efficiency in specifying outcomes of community processes. This discussion is directed toward some guidelines to research development. There are six sections: (1) Defining the Field of Industry-Community Relations, (2) Approaches to the Study of Industry-Community Relations, (3) Hypotheses and Methods of Investigating Community Power Structure, (4) The Measurement of Community Variables, (5) The Prediction of Issue Outcome in Community Decision-Making, and (6) The Place of Organized Labor in Community Power Structure.

DEFINING THE FIELD OF INDUSTRY-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Definition of Industry

Industry and the local community may be considered as two variables operating in an interdependent relationship. Industry may exhibit itself as a factor in at least three different forms. These are as (1) individual firms constituting the economic organization of the community, (2) specialized personnel constituting the labor force, and (3) representative persons and associations as constituent parts of the power structure of the community.

INDIVIDUAL FIRMS CONSTITUTING THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY

This view is an important one since the firm is an organized body, often corporate in form, and is the source of decisions and actions having wide-reaching consequences for the community. The expansion of a major manufacturing firm has immediate and delayed impacts on the local labor market, retail sales, personal incomes, schools, churches, housing, medical facilities, smog, and laundry service. Contraction of a major firm can produce an equal number of effects, usually in a reverse direction. From the community standpoint, other significant variables in the functioning of industry include technological changes in the firms, level of economic activity maintained by the firms, productivity or efficiency of the firms, physical requirements for land and resources, physical consequences of plant operations, business objectives (short-run, long-run), and financial ownership and control of enterprises.

SPECIALIZED PERSONNEL CONSTITUTING THE LABOR FORCE OF THE COMMUNITY

Persons composing the labor force have various socioeconomic positions defined by their skills, education, income, status, and economic interest. Three groups occupy strategic positions in effecting changes within either the economic organization of the community or any of its other social institutions. These are the management personnel, labor leaders, and professional personnel. These groups, constituting perhaps less than 15 percent of any community, contain the largest proportion of the top community leaders. From a community standpoint, significant variables in these specialized personnel classifications include social background and career patterns; interaction and social participation patterns within work activity; objectives and values of managerial, labor, and professional groups.

The other segments of the labor force cannot be neglected. Gillen has shown that the social qualities of cities vary according to the proportions of workers in various socioeconomic classifications.¹ The labor force profile for a city is an important variable. It may be examined for its age, sex, income, educational, occupational, racial, and ethnic composition.

REPRESENTATIVE PERSONS AND ASSOCIATIONS AS CONSTITUENT PARTS OF POWER STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

In every community leaders appear who are able to achieve influence outside of their own work organization. The president of the largest employing firm can hardly escape from having such influence in his community even if he seeks to avoid it. His role as responsible leader of such an enterprise means that his advice, his money, and his influence will be sought for many community activities. The community chest, the blood bank, and the March of Dimes will want his coöperation. He can, perhaps, make or break the success of their campaigns. Every man with a gadget or an idea to sell will be trying to reach his office. The chamber of commerce will not make an important move until it has his advice and perhaps his favor.

Community power may be defined as the network of influences among persons and organizations involved in community issues or projects.² A community power structure refers to the power positions that persons, groups, and associations have in determining actions that influence the social institutions of the community. That influence functions largely as persons interact with friends, within groups, and within associations. Influence is exerted within the firm, within work associations, and across the other institutions of the community. Those persons representing business, labor, and professional interests appear within homogeneous and also within mixed groups. Thus a businessman may appear at a meeting of his local American Management Association composed only of managers, while later he may sit next to the leading labor leader on the board of the community chest. Significant variables influencing the behavior of such persons and groups within industry include interaction of influential leaders within their own managerial, labor, or professional organizations and within groups with mixed ideologies and objectives.

Analysis of Industry-Community Relations

Gordon Blackwell has stated that if we are to wed theory and empirical community research we must consider the community a set of dynamic

¹ Paul B. Gillen, *The Distribution of Occupations as a City Yardstick*, Columbia University Press, 1951.

² Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1954, pp. 2-3.

interacting social systems.³ He has said we must analyze (1) institutionalized patterns of behavior and social relationships characteristic of a given community, (2) social differentiation and stratification, (3) patterns of interpersonal relationships, and (4) power structure.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF COMMUNITY VARIABLES

The specifications for community as a set of dynamic social systems is of major consideration in research planning.⁴ The identification of community variables is another.⁵ These variables must be selected in relation to the industry variables which are involved. When industry is viewed as individual firms or local unions, then such relationships as the following may be described:

Financial policy of firms (or unions) in relation to quantity and quality of such community institutions as schools, churches, government, press, radio, recreation, and social welfare.

Social policy of firms (or unions) in relation to participation of firms in community organization as in educational contacts, church contacts, and welfare contacts.

When industry is viewed as specialized personnel, such relationships as the following may be described:

Social background and career patterns in business, labor, and professions in relation to the appearance and development of community leaders.

Interaction patterns of business, labor, and professions within and between themselves in community organizations and community life generally.

When industry is viewed as representative persons, and organizations as constituent parts of a power structure, such relationships as the following may be described:

Interaction patterns of power leaders and groups within work organizations in relation to interaction patterns of power leaders and groups within community organizations and national organizations.

Power leaders identified in relation to power profile of institutions in the community.

Changes of power leaders in relation to social forces causing changes of power relation in the community and in the nation.

³ Gordon Blackwell, "A Theoretical Framework for Sociological Research in Community Organization," *Social Forces*, October, 1954, pp. 57-64.

⁴ Cf. Lowell J. Carr, *Analytical Sociology*, Harper, 1955, p. 171.

⁵ Conrad M. Arensberg, "The Community Study Method," *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1954, pp. 109-124.

VIEW OF INDUSTRY		STRUCTURAL COMPONENT OF INDUSTRY	SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES OF INDUSTRIAL FUNCTIONS	SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES OF COMMUNITY FUNCTIONS
I. Individual Firms constituting the economic organization of the community	A. Level of individual firms (usually of major manufacturing enterprise) B. Level of major firms in the community (three four or five in manufacturing, finance, and commerce) C. Economic base (including all enterprise		Expansion and contraction of businesses Level of economic activity Physical requirements for land and resources Physical consequences of plant operation Technological change Business values and objectives Financial control and ownership of enterprises	Quantity and quality of schools, churches, government, press, radio, recreation, and social welfare Participation of firms as firms in community organizations in education, church, welfare, etc. Community values and objectives Coöperatives and conflict patterns between the community institutions and industry
II. Specialized personnel constituting the labor force of the community	A. Important classifications Management personnel Labor leader personnel Professional and technical personnel B. Labor force Age, sex, occupation, education, racial, and ethnic composition		Social background and career patterns of each classification Interaction patterns of business, labor, and professions within and between themselves in work organizations Objectives and ideologies of business labor and professional classifications Labor force profiles for different communities	Appearance and development of community leaders Interaction patterns of business, labor, and professional persons within and between themselves in community organizations and in community life generally Prestige structure of occupations in community Social differentiation and stratification in the community
III. Representative persons and associations constituting the power of structure of the community	Power leaders and organizations for business, labor, and professional persons Power leaders and organizations providing for mixed participation		Intra- and interclass leadership interaction in work organizations Ideology and objectives of power leaders and groups	Interaction patterns of power leaders and groups within community organizations and institutions and in state and national organizations Power profile of institutions in the community Social forces causing changes in power relations in the community and in the nation

FIGURE 18.1. An Outline of Industry-Community Relations.

These and many other relationships are at the center of many industry-community problems of sociological significance. Figure 18.1 summarizes the industry-community variables which have been described. It is often useful to think of industry as an independent factor which has molded community structure and continues to initiate major changes in the form and function of the local institutions. Sometimes it is useful to examine community as an independent factor affecting the growth of industry. However, the concept of functional interdependence is often more appropriate. Any approach depends upon some theory about the nature of industry-community relations. A number of explicit theories have been formulated and will be described.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INDUSTRY-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Four Major Approaches

Four major approaches to the study of industry-community relations can be identified. These are:

The *structural-functional approach*, which focuses on industry and its social ramifications within interdependent social systems.

The *compensation approach*, which focuses on industry as a source of community satisfaction denied in the local community.

The *welfare approach to community structure*, which focuses on industry as a responsible partner in shaping the direction of the local community.

The *power approach*, which focuses on industry as a major source of power or influence affecting the values of other social institutions in the community.

THE STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

The structure-function framework advanced by Parsons and others defines community as a set of dynamic interacting social systems. Social structure, the patterned relationships between individuals and groups, is a determinant of social action. The dynamics of structure are found in the functions which structure serves in the maintenance of the social system.⁶

The background of this theory derives in great part from anthropological attempts to study whole cultures. Emphasis is placed on all of the inter-functioning of local institutions, and the researcher is directed "to record the recurrent life-situations and the purposes, values, satisfactions, in everything from food and sex to religion and art, of the interlocked people of all ages, sexes, and conditions making up the community."⁷

⁶ Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Free Press, 1951.

⁷ Arensberg, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

The steps required to understand industry-community relations within the structure-function framework are as follows: first, the construction of a model of the whole community from data gathered in the widest possible net; second, a comparison with other similar wholes; third, the fitting of any particular problem, such as technological change, into its proper niche within the model.⁸

The Lynds' *Middletown* offers a research product of this approach. The aim was to present a "dynamic, functional study of the contemporary life of a specific American community in the light of the trends of changing behavior observable in it during the last thirty-five years."⁹ The model grew out of an anthropological conception of people engaged everywhere in a few major lines of activity. In *Middletown*, the Lynds made the assumption that all the things the people do in that American city might be viewed as falling under one or another of the following six main trunk activities: (1) getting a living; (2) making a home; (3) training the young; (4) using leisure in various forms of play, art, and so on; (5) engaging in religious practices; and (6) engaging in community activities. The city selected for study was judged to have many features common to a wide group of communities. The selection and fitting of the economic problems of the community into their proper niche is a matter of researcher judgment as to relevance. The Lynds selected two major problems of industry-community relations and described them under two discussions entitled "The Long Arm of the Job," and "Why Do They Work So Hard?"

This structure-function approach puts the economic sector of the community within the total context of community life. The researcher comes to focus upon immediate factors relating to his problem only after he has discovered orders of immediacy among all the factors. It was in this context that Arensberg as far back as 1942 called for a study of industry-community relations as a continuum of relationships running from the production line to family and community adjustment. He pointed out the importance of creating methods of dealing with the community so that temporal and sequential connections could be established to clarify the continuum between community and industry.¹⁰ Examples of progress in this direction are to be found in W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory* (1947), Charles R. Walker, *Steeltown* (1950), Robert J. Havighurst and H. Gerth Morgan, *The Social History of a War Boom Community* (1951), and Lowell J. Carr, *Willow Run* (1952).

Julian Steward believes that when the ethnographic method has been put to work on modern communities the method has proved too onerous and

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁹ Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, Harcourt, Brace, 1929, p. 6.

¹⁰ Conrad M. Arensberg, "Industry and Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1942, p. 8.

few studies have really developed a cultural whole for a large community.¹¹ Arensberg has replied to this criticism by asserting that community study is not the study of whole cultures or of communities. It is the study of human behavior *in* communities, and it is proper that it focus on special problems as long as they are viewed as forms of behavior in a functionally interdependent context within a whole culture.¹²

THE COMPENSATION APPROACH

Elton Mayo has emphasized a major transition in society which he calls the shift from an established to an adaptive society. The adaptive society is characterized by rapid change, high labor mobility, and by symptoms of social disruption. He points out the following symptoms. First, the number of unhappy individuals increases; second, various groups when formed are not eager to coöperate wholeheartedly with other groups. The trend is toward a confused struggle of pressure groups and power blocs. The established community as a group of people sharing common values and a feeling that they belong together is now in decline. Many people no longer have an inner sense of belonging anywhere.¹³ Thus, the history of industrialization is viewed as a history of increasing wealth, but also a history of a loss in the sense and value of community. The desire for community satisfactions is seen to be continuously frustrated in modern society.

Three propositions follow. First, industry cannot ignore the need for community satisfactions or expect them to be wholly supplied elsewhere; industry is either part of a community or it disrupts it. Second, industry cannot solve the problem by dominating the control and direction of the community. Its contribution must be balanced by contributions from the other aspects of life. Third, industry is the most common meeting place of people, and therefore it must assume a large share of the task of building a sense of community within work plants and in integrating itself as a firm within the local community to form a more balanced, cohesive society.¹⁴

The compensation theory is based on the concept of deprivation. It is asserted that every man needs the mental and emotional life which only membership of a community can give. If he finds that family, neighborhood, and local community are unable to give him these satisfactions, he then turns toward the work plant or labor union. Work plants which give adequate routine opportunities for meaningful, spontaneous, intimate human association at work are able to create a sense of community. Ordinarily, this

¹¹ Julian H. Steward, *Area Research Theory and Practice*, Social Science Research Bulletin 63, 1950.

¹² Arensberg, "The Community Study Method," *op. cit.*, p. 120.

¹³ Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, Harvard University Press, 1945, pp. 7-9.

¹⁴ Jerome F. Scott and R. P. Lynton, *The Community Factor in Modern Technology*, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 1952, pp. 9-35.

does not occur by chance. Plants have created opportunities for the growth of community through craft hierarchies or status structure based on merit and seniority; through worker participation in plant councils; in social activities such as parties, dances, and sports; in social rituals recognizing service; and in social security and welfare measures. The employees in such plants find within the company itself not only a source of livelihood but also a source of friendship, advice and aid, amusement, and recreation.¹⁵

If the work plant fails to provide a sense of community, it is asserted that workers seek to find it outside of their work. The trade union is one possible outlet. The local community including family and neighborhood is another. Industry can strengthen local communities in many ways. It can offer leadership, money, advice, and many contact opportunities for families, teachers, and students. It has the power to bolster every one of the constituent institutions in the local community.

W. L. Warner and J. O. Low in their analysis of *The Social System of a Modern Factory* have described the parallel breakdown of social structure with a shoe factory and within the local community. Likewise, Elton Mayo and George Lombard have shown in their study of *Teamwork and Labor Turnover in the Aircraft Industry of Southern California* how social disruption within and outside of industry exhibits the interdependence of industry and its social environment. Both cases are characterized by the absence of a craft hierarchy and of a continuous process by which attitudes, customs, and social skills are passed from generation to generation, and by increasingly tenuous contact between workers and employers. None of these failures is compensated for in the communities outside. The worker, frustrated and denied a feeling of belonging, becomes isolated from any community. In those islands of the huge aircraft plant where a first-line supervisor could weld a small group into a cohesive unit, the response to sustained attendance, to lowered turnover, and to high output were testimony of the workers need for community.

THE WELFARE APPROACH

The welfare approach is usually formulated by those who are interested either in improving the community or in improving conditions for more effective operation of industry within the community. Lemuel R. Boulware, Vice-President of the General Electric Company, has defined a business philosophy to express a modern outlook. He says:

We look upon plant community relations as a two-way street. We feel keenly the *inter-dependence* of the community and the company. Each seeks proper opportunities and commensurate rewards. Each must give as well as take. . . . We believe each of the over 100 communities where we operate plants has a right to know who we are and what we are trying to do there. We furthermore

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. pp. 107-124.

believe that we cannot attract and hold the best employees, have mutually rewarding relations with them, and otherwise achieve good over all operations there unless we *deserve, seek, and get* good community-wide understanding and approval of us and our activities. Accordingly, at each location, our fully responsible local management there tries its best to provide the following:

1. Good jobs with proper compensation and welfare standards.
2. Good local purchases of goods and supplies.
3. Good local tax payments.
4. Good contributions to local charities and other worthwhile projects.
5. Good corporate neighbors as defined by the conduct standards of the community.
6. Understanding of our enterprise and business in general.

General Electric seeks the following requirements in the community:

1. Proper size and related facilities in the community to fit comfortably the size of plant operations.
2. Good employees in attitude, skill, and work habits.
3. Fair weather politically in such areas as the courts, taxes, and law enforcement.
4. Transportation facilities.
5. Power, fuel, and water.
6. Housing.
7. Educational facilities.
8. Religious institutions.
9. Recreational and cultural facilities.
10. Civic facilities.
11. Health, hospital, and medical facilities.
12. Adequacy of shopping and parking facilities, fire protection, city lighting, and public safety facilities.¹⁶

Industry has been modifying its approach to participation in community activities during the last century. The general shift has been from a position that the community was obligated to industry to a position that industry has major responsibilities to the community. A four-step research framework of questions is proposed for examination of coöperative endeavors.

1. What kind of community do we want?
2. What kind of community do we have now?
3. What resources are available?
4. How do we utilize these resources for achieving desired ends?¹⁷

¹⁶ Lemuel R. Boulware, "Big Industry in the Community," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December, 1953, pp. 152-159. For a labor leader's evaluation of GE and "Boulwarism" see Ben Segal, "An Inside Look at Labor Unions," *Progressive*, September, 1959, pp. 38-39.

¹⁷ Ralph B. Spence, "Some Needed Research on Industry Within the Community," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December, 1953, p. 147.

To the answer of such questions the welfare theory holds that industry is an integral part of the community and must assume its full share of responsibility for what happens in the community by being an active partner in all movements to help solve or prevent community problems. Such a theory must involve the determination of values and the task of appraising varying values. The achievement of desired ends by acceptable means is obviously the heart of the problem.¹⁸

The problem is complicated by varying consequences from the impact of industry. For example, industry may quote its impact on the economy of a town to justify the obligation of the community. The *Manufacturers' Record* has recently released figures based on the estimate that money paid directly by wages and indirectly by purchases of goods and services circulates through more than five steps of hands locally before going on for new purchases to come in from the outside. On this estimate numerous economic relations issue from a small plant. "A new industry coming into a community and employing 150 men would mean an average plant investment of \$200,000 and provide an annual payroll of \$500,000. It would also serve as the major support for 33 retail establishments, maintain a 33 room schoolhouse with 18 teachers, and be the means of support for approximately 1000 people. It would also mean sales and services for 400 automobiles, \$199,999 annually for railroads, opportunities for 24 professional men, a taxable valuation of \$2,500,000, yearly markets for \$350,000 in agricultural products, and annual expenditures in trade of \$1,500,000."¹⁹

This economic picture augurs ready acceptance of new industry as a patent asset to any community seeking to grow. Yet Richardson Wood says:

In almost every city we have visited in the United States in the last nine years, in the course of advisory work in the securing of new industry, we have in the first hour or two heard a remark to the following effect: "You know there are some people in this town who don't really want any new industry. They're afraid it will put up the price of labor and make competition for them." . . . The people who do not want new industry in any community are nearly always well-to-do or at least well established. They see nothing much to gain from a change and they might have something to lose. Such people can be divided into two groups; 1) those to whom the city is primarily a labor market, and 2) those to whom the city is itself their principal market—i.e. merchants and professionals. The latter group, if they oppose plans to attract new industry, do so usually out of fear that an increase in activity will also attract newcomers in the merchandising and professional fields and that they will therefore be hustled into positions of less relative importance.²⁰

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1448. Cf. Daniel L. Diehl, Harold C. Millman, and C. S. Wyand, *Local Action for Community Development*, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, 1955.

¹⁹ Quoted by Boulware, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-154.

²⁰ Richardson Wood, "Should an Old Industry Help Bring in New Industry?" *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December 27, 1953, p. 187.

Here is an example of segmentation within the economic sector of the community. Numerous conflicts of interest also appear between institutional sectors. It is the description of such a kaleidoscopic range of wants which a community produces that constitutes the major problem facing a researcher who would work with theories of community welfare.

THE POWER APPROACH

In modern times, perhaps, the most widely discussed theory relating to the role of the economy in the society has been formulated by Karl Marx. His concept of the economic factor as a primary force initiating changes in other social institutions is well known. His own statement put it like this: "The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life." Marx coupled this economic interpretation of society with the doctrine of class conflict. The conflict between a ruling class and an oppressed class is seen as a continuous struggle throughout history. This struggle between the classes determines the social relations between men. In particular, the ruling class is now defined as an "enemy," a champion of reaction opposing progress because of fear of losing its dominant position.²¹

Many theorists have criticized and rejected various tenets of Marx and have reformulated theories to describe power relations in the community. Thorstein Veblen, who rejected the Marxian formulas of class conflict, stressed the prime role of the economic factor in shaping human behavior.²²

Robert S. Lynd stresses the primary influence of economic institutions. He has said that American culture has developed "disproportionate structuring around the institutions supporting property. The family, the political state, education, religion, and recreation lean unevenly and insecurely against its base."²³ Robert S. Brady and C. Wright Mills have underlined the central role of business as a system of power.²⁴

These theories of institutional structure point clearly toward a power profile in which economic interests dominate. The crucial questions to be answered are: At what points does economic power influence the community? And with what consequences? What roles do other institutions play? What is the nature of personal and group interaction in the contest of community issues? Valid answers to these questions can only be given through careful research. Some suggested research procedures are presented in the following sections of this chapter.

²¹ Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, *Karl Marx Theory of Social Classes*, University of California Institute of Industrial Relations, Reprint No. 52, 1954.

²² Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Modern Library, 1934, p. 193.

²³ Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* Princeton University Press, 1939, pp. 68-69.

²⁴ Robert S. Brady, *Business as a System of Power*, Columbia University Press, 1943; C. W. Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, 1956.

HYPOTHESES AND METHODS OF INVESTIGATING COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

Axioms, Hypotheses, and Tests

The following statements are suggested explanatory research investigations of community power structure. They range through four components of the community power structure; namely, the *institutionalized power structure of the community*, *community power complex*, *top influentials*, and *key influentials*.

INSTITUTIONALIZED POWER STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

Theoretical Axiom I. The community power structures of American communities contain different institutional power profiles. These profiles of institutional power appear in five major types:

1. Pyramidical structure centering in one person.
2. Pyramidical structure centering in an oligarchy.
3. A pyramidical structure with a broad base of leadership centering in a top group of policy-makers who are drawn largely from the business class.
4. A ring or cone structure heavily authorized toward the business class but composed of many institutional segments, with power centered in business firms and unions, institutional sectors, and across sectors.
5. A segmented structure characterized by two or more pyramids of power which are cohesive and act independently.

Hypothesis I. The community power structure of Metropolis will approximate a ring structure.²⁵

Tests of Hypothesis I.

1. Identification of institutional association of key influentials as nominated by top influentials on interview schedule. (Interview—See Appendix E, page 701, for schedule)
2. Analysis of range of acquaintanceship pattern as shown by interview schedule. Rank of influentials by acquaintanceship score. (Interview)
3. Rank of influentials by committee participation score. (Interview)
4. Analysis of the institutional association of committees appointed over last two years. (Newspaper)
5. Interview and informant identification of community power model. (Interview)
6. Study of occupational identity of various policy-making boards, associated with different institutional organizations. (Records)
7. Analysis of top influentials associated with issues. (Newspaper)
8. Analysis of top influentials mentioned in clippings. (Newspaper)

²⁵ See Chapter 16 (pages 606–609) for one test of this hypothesis.

Theoretical Axiom II. Institutions interact as various values come into operation.

Hypothesis II. There is a pattern of institutional interaction based on interacting values.

Test of Hypothesis II.

- 1. Matrix analysis of interaction based on newspaper records.

	<i>Business</i>	<i>Labor</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Religion</i>
Business	×	Type value	Type value	Type value
Labor	Type value	×	Type value	Type value
Education	Type value	Type value	×	Type value
Religion	Type value	Type value	Type value	×

COMMUNITY POWER COMPLEX

Theoretical Axiom III. The community power complex of Metropolis is composed of certain influential organizations who maintain definite positions on every issue because of a vested interest which remains relatively stable.

Hypothesis III. A certain stability of interest is continuously supported by such organizations as the PTA, taxpayer’s association, chamber of commerce, labor councils, etc. . . .

Tests of Hypothesis III.

- 1. Study of newspaper for positions taken by each association on various issues. (Newspaper records for past two years)
- 2. Study of TI interviews to find their identification with associations which have taken similar positions on successive issues. (Interview schedule of top influentials)
- 3. Formal printed announcements of purpose and policies. (Study of literature distributed by associations)

Theoretical Axiom IV. National and state organizations have grown in importance and make general policy for local affiliates.

Hypothesis IV. Many local activities are initiated by the encouragement of state and national organizations. Local policy and activity often reflects the importance of state and national policy and activity of the headquarters organizations.

Test of Hypothesis IV.

- 1. Trace relationships from local to state and national organizations by comparing local with headquarters policy.

Theoretical Axiom V. Issues are resolved by the influence of certain top influentials functioning in relationship to a power arrangement of the community power complex.

Hypothesis V. The outcome of any community issue is a resultant of three independent factors:

X_1 = Critically activated parts of institutional power structure

X_2 = Power arrangement of community power complex

X_3 = Solidarity of top influentials

Test of Hypothesis V.

1. Prediction of outcome of a community issue. In the latter part of this chapter the prediction of the outcome of a right-to-work initiative is described (see pages 657-666).

TOP INFLUENTIALS

Theoretical Axiom VI. In a ring structure model of community power with a core of fluid influentials, the power processes are marked by moving configurations of top influentials and power arrangements of the community power complex.

Hypothesis VI. The power structure of Metropolis functions around community issues as a fluid coalition of interests which forms when a decision is imminent and then disbands or lapses when action has been taken.

Tests of Hypothesis VI.

1. Interview records secured from top influentials on the participation of persons, associations, and organizations in issues. (Interview schedule)
2. Informants interviews as checks on validity of above. (Informants interviews)

Theoretical Axiom VII. The community power structures of American communities contain configurations of influential persons. These configurations of influential persons vary in solidarity according to the types described in Chapter 11 as pure democratic, fluid influentials, core type, and exclusive elite type.

Hypothesis VII. The community power structure of Metropolis will approximate Type B, fluid influentials.

Tests of Hypothesis VII.

1. Examination of panel judgments or ratings used in establishing list of influentials for degree consensus. (Rating lists of panel judges)
2. Examination of top influential nominations for degree of consensus for key influentials, and for agreement with list of top 40. (Interview schedule with TI)
3. Listing of most chosen. Determination of choice status of top influentials. Determination of group cohesion either by index, matrix, or sociogram. (Interview schedule with TI)
4. Examination of committee appointments made by civic organizations for last two years. (Newspaper records)
5. Interview and informant identification of community power model. (Interview and informant informational interview of TI)

Theoretical Axiom VIII. The important formal positions within a community (recognized as the most responsible policy-making positions at the organizational apex of large institutional sectors or subsectors) contain a large potential influence in community matters for the holder.

Hypothesis VIII. The leaders of policy-making influence occupy the major formal positions of the city.²⁶

Test of Hypothesis VIII.

Listing of nominated leaders and examination of congruence of formal leaders with nominated leaders. A full list of formal leaders for Seattle, Washington, is shown in Chapter 14 (see pages 524-525). The type of analysis may be illustrated as follows:

	Expected	Nominated
	Leader	Leader
1. Major Formal Positions of Metropolis		
Sector: Business and Finance		
Example: President of Largest Industry		
Sector: Education		
Example: President of the University		
Sector: Religion		
Example: Bishop, Episcopal Church		
Sector: Society or Wealth		
Example: President of Leading Social Club		
Sector: Political and Government Organization		
Example: Mayor		
Sector: Labor		
Example: President of Central Labor Council		
Sector: Independent Professions		
Example: President of City Medical Association		
Sector: Cultural Leaders		
Example: President of Symphony Association		

Theoretical Axiom IX. Businessmen exert the largest influence upon community decision-making because of their investment and identification with property, their freedom of movement, and their relatively high standard of living permitted by their incomes.

Hypothesis IX. Businessmen (manufacturers, bankers, merchants, real estate men, and corporation lawyers) exert a major influence in community decision-making as demonstrated by their recognition among the top influentials, in winning places among the key influentials, and in positions of policy-making on boards of community organizations.²⁷

Tests of Hypothesis IX.

- 1. Percentage of business representation among top influentials.
- 2. Percentage of business representation among key influentials.

²⁶ See Chapter 14 (pages 522-525) for test of hypothesis.

²⁷ See Chapter 16 (pages 588-597) for test.

3. Index of importance for various central leaders in policy-making boards of each institutional sector.²⁸
4. Analysis of social background and career patterns to determine significant differences between business and other influentials.

Theoretical Axiom X. Leadership is the influence of a person within a group.

Hypothesis X. Key influential leaders in a community influence policy-making by acting in concert through cliques.²⁹

Tests of Hypothesis X.

1. Index of acquaintance secured from acquaintance schedule. (Interview schedule)
2. Social participation in business, civic, social, and professional organization. (Questionnaire data)
3. Informant designation of friendship patterns. (Informant data and interview results on question regarding operation of "crowds")
4. Relation of most important meeting places to top influentials. (Role of social club, golf club, and service club)
5. Special analysis of key influentials on statements made about "crowds."

KEY INFLUENTIALS

Theoretical Axiom XI. Leadership within the top influentials may be gained through certain recognizable qualities (initiative, social acceptance by TI, ability to get support from other persons or groups.)

Hypothesis XI. Leaders of top influence in community decision-making are distinguished by certain recognizable qualities of leadership.

Test of Hypothesis XI.

1. Study of leaders identified who are not in major formal positions. (Interview schedule)
2. Analysis of committee activity in community affairs. (Study newspaper record, community committee and issue chart)
3. Analysis of social participation in top influential groups. (Study acceptance pattern among TI as shown on interview schedule)
4. Examination of demonstrated ability to get others to follow. (History of individual in issues before the community. How many chairmanship or other leadership positions has he had?)
(See list of behavior patterns for top influentials listed by Floyd Hunter in Chapter 14.)

The remainder of this chapter contains a discussion of the measurement problems facing the community researcher. Then two studies are reproduced.

²⁸ See index of importance in Elihu Katz and Paul Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence*, Free Press, 1955, p. 372.

²⁹ See Chapter 16 (pages 597-606) for a test of this hypothesis.

The first study is a test of Hypothesis V which seeks to identify factors that will predict the outcome of community decision-making. The second study is a pioneer attempt to determine operationally the place of organized labor in community power structure.

THE MEASUREMENT OF COMMUNITY VARIABLES

Problems of Large Social Systems

The major research problem facing the researcher in the area of industry-community relations arises from the macroscopic character of a large community. Even a small community is a large social system with a myriad of interacting variables and with extralocal factors constantly intruding. It is within such a social system that the researcher must test his hypotheses. He has no choice. Amos Hawley has described this demand.

Ever since sociologists turned from a preoccupation with concepts to seek an empirical basis for their theories, the community has come increasingly into the focus of their attention. . . . This concentration of interest is in accord with some very methodological considerations. Perhaps, the most important of these is that for a great number of social phenomena, the community is the least reducible universe of cause and effect relations. Any smaller social unit would fail to contain a sufficient number of relevant variables; any larger unit would prove unmanageable. A second advantage attached to the community as an object of study is that it is the most nearly comparable unit part of different societies. Hence the community provides a valuable basis for many types of comparative studies.³⁰

Measuring Instruments

Community researchers have been especially lax in defining their variables in standard terms.³¹ Few standard instruments for measuring community variables exist. Those that do exist have not been used in many studies. However, the existence of these community scales is a valuable resource. Thorndike³² and Gillen³³ have measures of the quality of living in American cities. The Thorndike Ten-Item City Yardstick appears as Appendix F (see pages 708-710).

Robert Angell has developed and tested a measure of moral integration of

³⁰ Amos H. Hawley, "Discussion," *American Sociological Review*, April, 1948, p. 153.

³¹ Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Some Logical and Methodological Problems in Community Research," *Social Forces*, October, 1954, pp. 55-56.

³² E. L. Thorndike, *Your City*, Harcourt, Brace, 1939.

³³ Gillen, *op. cit.*

cities.³⁴ Jessie Bernard, Paul Wallin, and others have instruments for measuring neighborliness.³⁵ Scales for rating communities have been developed by Diehl, Millman, and Wyand,³⁶ by the New York State Citizens Council,³⁷ A. H. Rapking,³⁸ and others. These scales provide many advantages. In the first place, they can be used in setting up a research design by comparing communities. They can be used to measure quality of a city and thus provide tests of relationships with independent variables like business leadership in community affairs. They can also be used to measure changes in the community over a period of years. The researcher who is seeking to state his findings so that other researchers may check them will utilize scales whenever possible.

Schedules are useful yardsticks for the examination of community facilities and resources. Appendix B includes a recommended schedule for use in student training (see pages 688–694).

The University of Kentucky sponsors a Bureau of Community Service which has offered its assistance to many communities seeking help in assessing its own community life. The information sheet in Appendix G (see pages 711–713) is a survey of community facilities and resources. This may be sent to some responsible group in the community with the request that it be filled out. It may be filled out in the community by the city clerk, the chamber of commerce executive, or someone else with the information available. Other resource data may include maps, file materials, and newspaper analysis. The community leadership schedule, also shown (see page 714) is used as an interview guide with prominent community leaders. The information sheet and community leadership schedule are instruments designed to provide a social profile of the chief features of the community. The purpose of such reconnaissance research is to learn to know the community not as a statistical aggregate, but as a living, moving social system.³⁹

³⁴ Robert Cooley Angell, "The Moral Integration of Cities," *The American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1951.

³⁵ Jessie Bernard, "An Instrument for the Measurement of Neighborhood with Experimental Applications," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, September, 1937; Paul Wallin, "Guttman Scale for Measuring Women's Neighborliness," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1953, pp. 243–246. Cf. Joel Smith, William H. Form, and Gregory P. Stone, "Local Intimacy in a Middle-sized City," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1954, pp. 276–284.

³⁶ Daniel L. Diehl, Harold C. Millman, and C. S. Wyand, *Local Action For Community Development*, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, 1955.

³⁷ New York State Citizens Council, "Scoreboard for Your Town," *Adult Leadership*, October, 1952, p. 19. This scale is given in Appendix B (see pages 688–694). It has proved quite satisfactory, especially in comparing communities of widely varying size.

³⁸ A. H. Rapking, *Education Through Organized Community Activities* (2nd ed.), College of Agriculture, West Virginia University, 1935. Cf. Donald S. Stroetzel, "Do you Dare to Rate Your Town?" *Town Journal*, February, 1954, pp. 26 ff.

³⁹ Irwin T. Sanders, *Preparing a Community Profile*, University of Kentucky, Kentucky Community Series, No. 7, May, 1952, pp. 1–10.

THE PREDICTION OF ISSUE OUTCOME IN
COMMUNITY DECISION-MAKING⁴⁰

The appearance of an issue which concerns the total community may be assumed to indicate a state of conflict and tension between competing groups. These groups may be located anywhere in the institutional or associational structure of the community. An issue comes to be one of central concern as it affects certain vital interests or values. When these are identified, leaders appear and groups organize to seek out a final decision favorable to themselves.

The prediction of issue outcome is an excellent test of a researcher's knowledge of the community power structure and the decision-making processes within a community. An issue of great concern arouses the community and offers a singular opportunity for determining the network of influences at a time when they are presented in a highly activated state. Such an issue developed in a large Pacific Coast city when a right-to-work initiative was placed on the state ballot for the November election of 1956. This section sets forth a theory of issue outcome and, utilizing the data drawn from the right-to-work issue, describes an initial test of the theory.

The Theory of Issue Outcome

Three factors determine the outcome of a community issue. These are:

X₁: The critically activated parts of the institutional power structure

X₂: Power arrangement of the community power complex

X₃: Solidarity of the top influentials

These three factors are defined as follows:

X₁. The critically activated parts of the institutional power structure refer to the institutional sectors whose interests are affected and become alerted in whole or in part. Such sectors may include business, labor, education, religion, political parties, government, society, independent professionals, mass communication, recreational, welfare, and cultural institutions. Critical activation occurs in those parts of the institutional power structure which respond with high intensity to an organizational value affected by the issue. Critical activation is identified by analyzing the *substance of the issue* and the *level of the issue*. The substance of the issue refers to the content of the issue and the implications for the various institutional sectors. The level of the community issue refers to the "value intensity" exhibited by

⁴⁰ Published in part by Delbert C. Miller, "The Prediction of Issue Outcome in Community Decision-Making," *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society, Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, June, 1957, pp. 137-147. See the replication of this study in Denver by Robert C. Hanson, "Predicting a Community Decision, a Test of the Miller-Form Theory," *American Sociological Review*, October, 1959, pp. 662-671.

the affected parties as they appraise the possible impact of the issue outcomes upon their interests.

X_2 . The power arrangement of the community power complex refers to the structure of various individuals, groups, and organizations which mobilize and exert influence either for or against the issue. The arrangements of these influential forces on either side of the issue may be unstructured, semi-structured, or in a unified coalition. See Chapter 11 (page 444) for power arrangement models of the community power complex. These were described as:

Model A. *Unstructured arrangement* refers to situation in which important associations take a "go it alone" action, avoiding obligations and alliances with other associations.

Model B. *Semistructured arrangement* refers to situation in which some important associations combine in partially coöperative patterns of mobilization, while others play independent roles.

Model C. *Unified coalition* refers to an arrangement in which the important associations on either side of an issue form coöperative alliances, pooling resources and leadership.

X_3 . Solidarity of the top influentials refers to the degree of coöperative activity which is evident among the leaders who have major influence in initiating or sanctioning policy-making activities in matters affecting the general community. The top influentials may range from a large group of independent persons to a small autonomous group which is well organized and is actively organizing support of top influential groupings, as follows:

The top influential model sets the bounds to the freedom of action which may be exhibited among the top influentials and the significance of the community power complex. If the top influentials are lacking in solidarity, the community power complex and its leaders become more significant. If the top influentials are inactive on either side of the issue, then the forces are weakened on that side of the issue.

The combined force of these three factors brings about a community decision on a general issue. Issue outcome refers to a final vote by a sovereign body which provides a decision either for or against the issue. Let this issue outcome = y .

$\therefore y = f(X_1, X_2, X_3)$ where the function of issue outcome is recognized as a complex behavioral and algebraic product (with exponents as weightings) since the factors are interactive.

The Application of the Theory to Prediction

The following steps are required to apply the theory to a specific issue:

1. Determine the critically activated parts of the institutional power struc-

ture by analyzing substance of issue as seen by affected parties and ascertaining level of issue for each party. If high-level, assume relative potential strength of each sector will become manifest. Assign pro and con values of 1 point for each of the critically activated sectors. These values represent the independent influence of each sector represented.⁴¹

2. Determine power arrangement of the community power complex. Locate most influential organizations and arrange them according to the mobilized relations.

- a. To locate most influential organizations, examine resources, leadership, voting strength, and rank of institutional sector in community power profile.
- b. Determine power arrangement type of the community power complex and use the appropriate weight as a multiplier of the total pro and con values, respectively. Assign weights as follows to community power complex multiplier:

$$\text{Model A} = 1 \qquad \text{Model B} = 2 \qquad \text{Model C} = 3$$

These values represent the interactive, reinforcing influence of organizations in extending the range of attitude formation and increasing intensity of opinion brought to bear upon the issue.

3. Ascertain the roles of the top influentials. If top influentials act as representative spokesman or as community power complex leaders, add a weight of 2; if supportive with funds or privately sanction the issue, but do not take an active part, add a weight of 1; if inactive in the campaign, add nothing to total. These values represent the influence of persons in their ability to project forces of personal suggestion or personal wealth for or against the issue.

4. Determine final total by adding the values for steps 1, 2, 3. This final total represents the summation of influential forces actively engaged in initiating and ultimately bringing about an outcome of the issue, predict outcome as passage or defeat of issue, depending upon ratio of the contending forces.

⁴¹ Professor Read Bain has made a number of critical observations which would strengthen the method if applied to future research. He suggests that the institutional factors could be made systematic and inclusive by enumerating the ten major institutions with subheads to denote the formally organized elements in each. This would give the researcher a comprehensive scheme by which he could designate the factors that would operate in any conceivable decision a community would ever be called upon to make. For example:

Economic: Chamber of Commerce; National Association of Manufacturers; industry trades associations; realtors, bankers, investment brokers, railway executives, utilities. Labor: AFL-CIO Council, Central Labor Council, local unions.

Similarly analyze political parties, government, education, religion, society, independent professions, mass communication, welfare, recreation, and cultural institutions.

A Brief History of the Right-to-Work Issue

Data about the influential forces operating in the community were secured by interviewing the leaders of the major organizations campaigning on both sides of the issue.⁴² Certain informants were also interviewed. Newspapers were carefully followed over a six-month period. The following background is based on these various sources:

Three and one-half years before the initiative was placed on the ballot a number of employers found themselves in the midst of a strike. They called an advertising executive by telephone, asking him to come down and talk with them. When he arrived they asked for cost estimates to launch an "educational" campaign against the dangers of the strike and organized labor in the community. The executive told them that the kind of campaign they had in mind required an issue—one that would direct the attention of the press so that publicity would be focused upon it. They told him to get to work on it.

The advertising executive began by studying the closed-shop and right-to-work laws aimed at preventing compulsory unionism. He decided that the placing of an initiative on the ballot would put the issue before the public and give it a great deal of publicity. A professional poll was taken of a sample of citizens in the state which showed that a majority were for voluntary unionism. The executive went to a number of employers and asked for support. Many gave contributions, but none would support it with their names. Using his collected funds, he sent out cards to a mailing list and got some 600 names of people who said they would give their support. But when asked later for use of their names in publicity, all backed down, except about 25 persons. It is not fully known why so many refused the use of their names. It is known the unions went to the signers and talked to them about the issue and many asked that their names be removed. Fear of injury to self or property motivated others to withdraw from active support. There were stories alleging injury to automobiles, especially those carrying stickers for the initiative. One man was hit in the nose for distributing literature at a booth on the main street of an inland city. Many threatening "crank calls" were received by the office of the advertising executive.

The executive wrote to trade associations and chambers of commerce seeking support. They often promised financial support but refused to give their organization backing. Eventually, 1200 contributions were received to campaign for the issue. Of these 1200, only 11 permitted the use of their names. An organization called Job Research, Inc. was set up to prepare literature for distribution.

The advertising executive proceeded to seek names for a petition. Lacking

⁴² We are indebted to Stuart D. Johnson of the University of Washington for assistance in conducting some of the major interviews.

workers to carry petitions, he resorted to a direct mailing of 800,000 petitions, hoping for a 10 percent return. Sixty-four thousand names were actually secured (an 8 percent return), a sufficient number for placing the initiative on the ballot. With the initiative assigned to the ballot, the unions organized to fight its passage. They believed it would take their fullest effort to defeat the measure. Twenty years earlier such a measure had almost passed; they were aware that the Job Research survey had shown majority sentiment for the measure; and they knew that many farmers and business groups would offer strong support for its passage. Pacific City's central labor council set up a special committee and assigned one of its leading officers to direct a campaign against it. Funds were solicited from individual unions and from internationals. It is alleged each side had a minimum of \$175,000 to spend. The union released its officers to give full or part time to the political fight against the initiative. State laws prevent the use of funds from outside the state in campaigns for state legislation. Each side, however, claimed the other was drawing funds from outside sources. Whatever the facts, both the unions and the Job Research organization spent large sums on television and newspaper publicity. Informants believe that at least a half million dollars went into the campaign.

Meanwhile, the various political candidates were urged to express their views. All major candidates said they opposed the initiative. The unions rented the armory in the largest city of the state and asked all of the leading candidates to speak out on a radio-television broadcast against the initiative. A professor at a Catholic college was given a prominent place on the speaking panel. The Catholic church put itself on public record through its archbishop as being soundly opposed to the initiative, and one local priest, with the approval of the Catholic church, wrote a very scholarly pamphlet with the title: *Right-to-Work Laws: Public Federal Frauds*. This was widely circulated by a union committee. Job Research, Inc. retaliated with a book written by a Notre Dame professor condemning the closed shop. It was believed that the Catholic church support would be nullified as it commonly was by the immediate opposition of the Masonic organization.

As the day of election approached, Job Research, Inc. had a very active publicity campaign in operation, but had not one influential spokesman. A Right-to-Work Committee was the only group to present some spokesmen who publicly argued for the initiative. There was evidence that the farmers were going to give strong support to its passage, but labor was going to give even stronger support to its defeat. Influential labor leaders, political leaders, and a few religious leaders had spoken publicly and solidly against the initiative.

The initiative was to be voted on by the eligible voters of the state. However, the test of the theory of issue outcome was restricted in this research study to the vote cast in the largest city of the state.

The designation of factors is for the vote in Pacific City only.

DESIGNATION OF THE FACTORS IN ISSUE IN PACIFIC CITY BEFORE THE
ELECTION

Factor 1. Critically activated parts of the institutional power structure

Parts of power structure involved:

Political organizations

Business and professional persons

Labor

Religion

Substance of issue by values involved:

For union leaders and members—power of unions.

To employers—greater employer freedom in employment and collective bargaining.

To professional white-collar groups—threat of higher prices and growth of union power.

Level of issue by values involved:

Exceedingly important to labor unions, which believe that their present bargaining power may be placed in jeopardy.

Many business people would like to reduce the power of unions as it resides in control of the available work supply and in the bargaining strength inherent in the union or closed shop. Many employers are satisfied with present conditions and believe that labor trouble would result from the passage of the initiative.

A professional white-collar segment believes that unions are now too powerful and that they threaten to hike wage rates out of proportion to their own real earnings.

The Catholic church is responding to the needs and wishes of many who belong to its faith—a large group of workers are Catholic. The church has defined the issue as a moral one.

The Democratic party gains large support from workers and takes a strong negative stand. Democratic candidates are solidly in opposition and look upon the presence of the initiative on the ballot as helping to bring out a large labor vote.

The Republican party equivocates. It expresses the division of business and conservative interests. Leading political candidates needing labor votes are in opposition and are vocal.

Factor 2. Power Arrangement of Community Power Complex

Labor: All labor groups are solidly against the initiative. It is agreed that labor is spending a minimum of \$175,000 to fight the initiative. Internationals have helped in making contributions. Pacific City's central labor council committee is the center of funds and leadership. The Democratic

party is working in close relationship with the labor unions in a mutual desire to get out the largest possible labor vote. The Catholic church is offering direct public support by providing moral support, speakers, and literature.

Business and professional: Job Research, Inc., a corporation, was organized in September, 1954, to assemble information on the actual experience of labor and industry under right-to-work legislation. This organization has received over 1200 individual contributions. Some large firms are known to be among the contributors, but none have officially endorsed the initiative. This corporation is the major source of funds for the passage of the initiative.

The Right-to-Work Committee is made up of small-businessmen, managers, professional-clerical workers, and some dissident labor members. It has about 1400 members in the state. However, the members willing to lend their names in Pacific City include only three small business employers and four managers of small firms. Only one of them has spoken to a public meeting.

Management and employers are in no sense agreed that right-to-work legislation is desirable. Many employers reported they were satisfied with the status quo and were not supporting any attempt to change it, and many failed to support the initiative with direct action because they feared reprisals from organized labor. Major groups, such as the employer organizations, refused to take a stand in support of the initiative because their membership was divided regarding the issue.

The failure of top influentials to commit themselves has forced the advertising executive, against his own wishes, to assume active leadership of the right-to-work advocates. He regards himself as a professional man providing an advertising service to a client and wishes to play no other role.

The power arrangement of the community power complex on the pro side of the issue is shown to be of an unstructured type; on the opposing side the arrangement is shown to be of a semistructured type in which organized labor, the Democratic party, and the Catholic church are working in close coöperation; other groups are acting against the measure independently. Some Protestant church groups are giving private support.

Factor 3. Solidarity of the Top Influentials

The overall model which fits the community top influentials is that of a fluid group of influentials who are widely split over their support and their roles in reference to the issue.

The top influentials who are supporting the initiative are not taking an active part in promoting the issue. There are many who are contributing very quietly; some are making contributions under the names of other people; a few have released the time of their middle management to work for the issue. No top influentials are actively working or speaking for the measure.

As one political writer told us, the attitude of the top influentials is expressed in the phrase, "We will hold the coat of the advertising executive, but it's his fight."

The top influentials of the opposition are active and vocal. They represent but a small part of the fluid corps of top influentials in Pacific City, but they come from labor unions, the political candidates, lawyers, and the Catholic church.

APPLYING WEIGHTS TO PREDICTION FACTORS

- 1. Apply weights for the critically activated parts of the institutional power structure.

<i>For the Initiative</i>	<i>Points</i>	<i>Against the Initiative</i>	<i>Points</i>
Business owners and managers (as represented by Job Research, Inc.)	1	Organized labor (as represented by the Central Labor Council)	1
Professional, white-collar, dissident labor, large and small business (as represented by Right-to-Work Committee)	1	Democratic party (as represented by the party organization and candidates)	1
		Catholic church (as represented by the archbishop, priests, and members)	1
Total points for institutional power structure	<u>=2</u>		<u>= 3</u>

- 2. Type of community power arrangement

<i>Type A. Unstructured</i>	<i>Type B. Semistructured</i>
Organizations × weight for type	Organizations × weight for type
2×1	3×2
Total community power complex	Total community power complex = 6
<u>=2</u>	

- 3. Solidarity of top influentials

Supportive by funds but inactive in campaign: add 1 point	Active as spokesmen and leaders in campaign: add 2 points
Final total of prediction points	Final total of prediction points
<u>=5</u>	<u>=11</u>

Ratio of support 5:11 (in percentage terms, 31 percent for; 69 percent against)
Prediction: Defeat for the initiative.

We did make a voting prediction the day before election. Taking into account the voting electorate represented by the institutional power structure, the type of community power arrangement, and the role of the top influentials, we predicted a heavy vote against the initiative with 60-65 percent against; 35-40 percent for.

The actual vote in Pacific City was 67 percent against and 33 percent for the initiative. The issue outcome was correctly predicted as a defeat of the initiative. A favorable test of the theory has been demonstrated.

Conclusion

The theory stated here attempts to account for the major influences which bring about an outcome of issues which call for a community decision. The prediction test made in this initial study is probatory evidence that the theory is sound.⁴³

It must not be assumed that the theory and the prediction test can supplant public opinion polling. Public opinion polling can more accurately make estimates of the voting percentage. All that the theory of issue outcome attempts is a prediction of passage or defeat of an issue. The weights used in the prediction index are arbitrary and have validity to the extent that they reflect the accumulated influences which bring about a decision. The importance of the theory rests upon its ability to provide an understanding of the community power structure and the decision-making processes within a community. The theory is based on the assumption that the central community power structure is an accurate indicator of the influential forces which are operating to produce a particular decision and that these forces will be reflected in the decision which a community makes on any issue of central concern. It is further assumed that this decision will be accurately reflected whether the decision is made by the voters, the city council, or any public body representative of the community.

Further Validation of the Prediction Theory

Independent prediction tests of the theory of issue outcome have been made by Robert C. Hanson.⁴⁴ Two proposed constitutional amendments appearing on the November 4, 1958, ballot became issues of general community concern in Denver, Colorado. One was a right-to-work amendment proposal and the other, a civil service amendment proposal. Applying the theory, Hanson made predictions of outcome which proved to be accurate. In addition, he sharpened and refined the methodology, which now provides a much more standardized (and reliable) treatment. He believes that for

⁴³ Read Bain insists that the researchers must have further information: (1) a complete list of the relevant structures and some systematic way of choosing the ones that are actual power structures on a given issue, and (2) a systematic, objective, logically coherent way of weighing the factors (structures) thus chosen—including above all the “unstructured” public, whose votes are probably the balance of power factor in close decisions.

⁴⁴ Robert C. Hanson, “Predicting a Community Decision: A Test of the Miller-Form Theory,” *American Sociological Review*, October, 1959, pp. 662-671.

certain purposes and under certain conditions, the Miller-Form model may yield sufficiently accurate quantitative as well as qualitative predictions to justify its use rather than the far more expensive and time consuming public opinion polling procedures. It may be useful for predicting outcome when settlements of the issue involves no public vote, when very accurate percentage figures are not the most important goal of the study, or when the researcher cannot conduct a public opinion poll because of lack of resources.

THE PLACE OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE⁴⁵

It has been demonstrated throughout this volume that organized labor has been a minor power in American city life. Prior to the New Deal, important community decisions were made almost solely by business and professional groups. Since 1932, when organized labor obtained legal support for collective bargaining, labor has gradually but surely challenged management domination of city-wide organizations. Although labor's political activities in the local community, state, and nation have received widest publicity, labor has also sought to challenge business domination of other local institutions. To this the CIO, soon after World War II, instituted its Community Services Organization as a co-arm of the Political Action Committee.⁴⁶ Although lagging somewhat, the AFL also expanded its political and other activities in the community.⁴⁷ The full circle of community challenge now appears completed: economic challenge, political challenge, and finally a challenge on all institutional fronts. In cities where labor is highly organized, unions are demanding representation in all important institutional agencies.⁴⁸ If labor is even partially successful in this drive, American cities may well undergo a revolution in power stratification. Such changes cannot but stimulate other changes in the stratification systems of communities and society.

The structure of social power in western Europe differs from that of the United States in that organized labor is more widely represented in more areas of social life in Europe.⁴⁹ Will the pattern in the United States ap-

⁴⁵ Published in part by William H. Form, "Organized Labor's Place in Community Power Structure," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, July, 1959, pp. 526-539.

⁴⁶ Leo Perlis, "Unions and Community Services, The CIO Community Services Program," in J. B. S. Hardman and Maurice Neufeld (eds.), *The House of Labor*, Prentice Hall, 1951, pp. 333-340.

⁴⁷ Matthew Woll, "The AFL Program, Unions and Community Service," in Hardman and Neufeld, *ibid.*, pp. 340-344.

⁴⁸ Community participation may be stimulated by the need for locals to have functions since international unions have been assuming more and more of the traditional bargaining functions.

⁴⁹ See the situation in English City described by Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure," *op. cit.*, pp. 9-15.

proach that of western Europe if organized labor is successful in its broad goals?

Most of the studies of labor's place in community power structure were reviewed in Chapter 14. In general they did not examine the full range of labor participation in the community. Neither did they provide a systematic method for comparing the position of labor in any community. The city of Lansing, Michigan, was selected to make a study of labor's power. Chapter 14 described the characteristics of the city in detail, and the reader should turn back to it. It will be recalled that Lansing contains a conservative native working class, a large proportion of which belongs to an ideologically oriented union (UAW) which is dedicated to contest management power in local, state, and national affairs. The research task was to determine the degree of labor's penetration in some aspects of the community power structure. The bulk of the following analysis is concerned with union representation in the institutionalized power structure of the community, the top influentials, and the key influentials.

Power of Organized Labor and Business in the Institutional Structure

First an attempt will be made to assess the relative representation and power of organized labor and management in the following areas: economic bargaining, local government, political parties, social welfare, education, mass communication, and religion.

ECONOMIC BARGAINING POWER

Relative economic position of management and labor in Lansing is actually determined in Detroit. The pattern worked out between General Motors and the United Automobile Workers in Detroit is applied almost unilaterally in Lansing. This pattern *must* then be generally taken over by other locally owned manufacturing plants if they are to retain their labor force.⁵⁰ The list of gains which the UAW has wrested from GM since World War II is impressive and suggests a shift in power in favor of organized labor. While no entirely suitable indexes of change in bargaining power are available, obtaining new types of economic gains (fringe benefits), keeping ahead of the rise in cost of living, and raising wages faster than distributed profits probably reflect overall union bargaining strength.

The UAW achieved the following gains since World War II: (1) sizable increases in basic wages, (2) share in the growth of productivity, (3) cost of living clauses, (4) supplementary unemployment benefits, and (5) other benefits. While GM could probably make these concessions easily from an

⁵⁰ In a study of a sample of 580 manual workers, one-third were employed in plants hiring less than 500 workers, and two-fifths were employed in locally owned plants.

economic standpoint, they represented a relative loss in bargaining strength. More important, from the point of view of locally owned enterprises, giving workers the “GM package” represented economic concessions relatively greater than those of GM. Within the present framework of ownership, management now has only a slight edge in bargaining power (see Figure 18.2). Interviews with the top 30 business and industry officials in the city revealed that they thought that unions had dominant power in economic bargaining, while the top 40 labor influentials estimated their bargaining power to almost equal that of management.

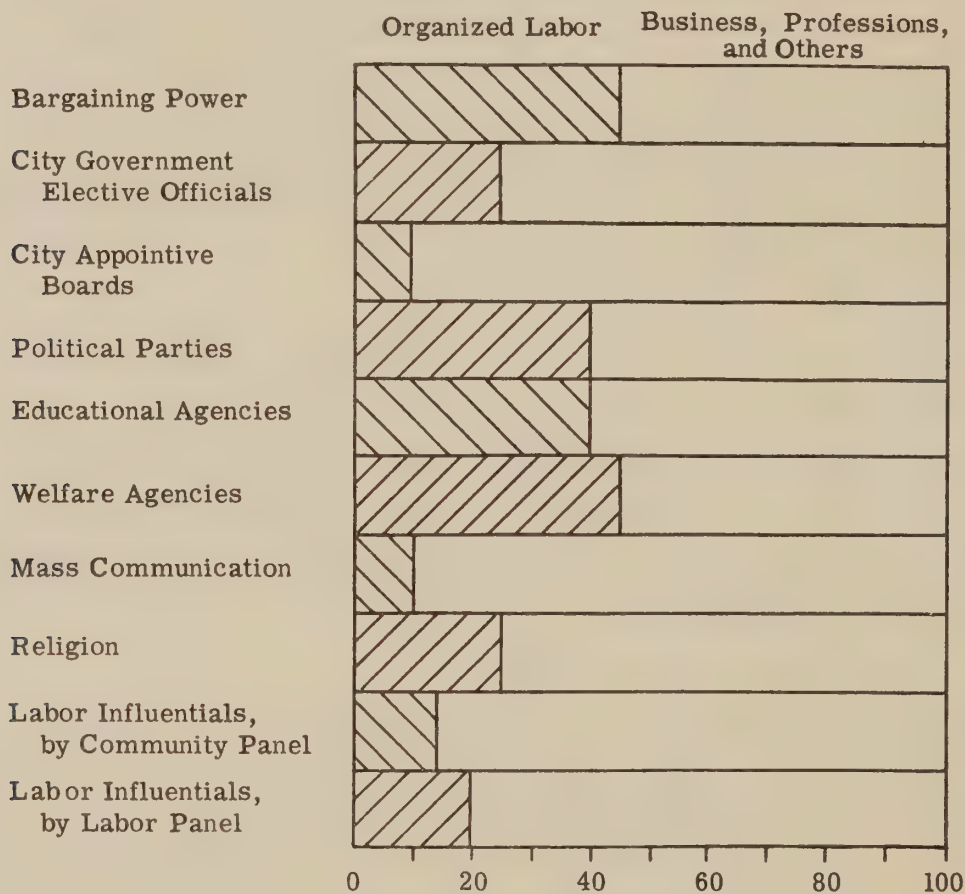


FIGURE 18.2. Estimated Strength of Organized Labor in the Community Power Complex and Influences Structures.

GOVERNMENT

Lansing city government is allegedly nonpartisan, but it is not difficult to identify the party loyalties of those running for office. To determine the influence of organized labor in city government, the occupations and union backing of all candidates for mayor, council, and other elective offices were examined for the period of 1948–1957, when labor was most active. Although almost three-tenths of the 185 *candidates* received moderate support from organized labor, only 4 percent had all-out support. Actually, one-third of all *elected* city officials had moderate backing of labor, although only one union official was actually elected.

Apparently having the backing of labor helped candidates get elected, for almost seven-tenths of those who had such backing got elected, as compared to six-tenths of those who did not. These figures must be interpreted within the context of two trends. First, over the decade organized labor tended to back more incumbents who had proved "not unfriendly" to labor, although they were not initially supported when they ran for office. Almost one-quarter of all labor-backed candidates fell into this category. While this technique stimulated incumbents to accept labor backing and decreased the political labeling of candidates, it also reduced the political initiative of organized labor. Although the political strength of labor is increasing, a majority of candidates with explicit union support have not yet been elected.

Labor officials have been somewhat selective in the incumbents they have supported. Candidates for city offices who were proprietors and salesmen received less support from organized labor than candidates who were manual workers, managers, and employees of state government. Taking all these data into account, we may estimate that organized labor may have accounted for the election at most of one-quarter of the city officials. This proportion may well represent their degree of political power in this area.

It is difficult to appraise the degree of influence which the appointive administrative bureaucracy has on the behavior of the Lansing City Council. Prior to 1955, only a few skilled workers employed in city government were covered by collective bargaining agreements. At that time a successful organizing drive was launched which resulted in about three-quarters of the city workers (including the police) joining unions. Undoubtedly, over a period of time, these workers will affect the operations of the council and the municipal boards.

MUNICIPAL BOARDS

There are nineteen boards in the city, members of which are selected by the mayor with the approval of the Lansing City Council. The president of the Lansing AFL-CIO Council publicly announced that it was union policy to have more "working-class people" on municipal boards and commissions.⁵¹ Table 63 shows the occupational composition of about 500 members who served on municipal boards from 1945 to 1957. Defining manual, protective, clerical,⁵² and service occupations as "working class," about 18 percent of the total met with union definitions of "working class." This was 8 percent less than the proportion of "working-class" *candidates* for elective municipal offices.

⁵¹ *State Journal*, November 5, 1957. He defined hourly or salaried workers as "working class."

⁵² Since at least half of these worked for commissions, they were not included among the working class.

TABLE 63. Occupational Backgrounds of Institutional and Community Influentials

Occupational Level	Percent- age of Elected City Officials, 1945- 1957	Percent- age of Appoint- ive Com- missions, 1945- 1957	Percent- age on Board of Edu- cation, 1937- 1957	Percent- age on Welfare Boards, 1953	Percent- age of Commu- nity In- fluentials, 1958	Percent- age on Labor Force, 1958
Professionals	17	16	32	43	20	12
Proprietors	25	28	36	32	54	3
Managers and officials	10	14	13	6	20	3
Governmental officials	17	19 ^a	5 ^a	2	3	1
Sales and clerical	19	10	8	4	—	29
Manual occupations	6	8 ^b	4 ^c	4	—	51
Union officials	3	1	1	3	3	—
Not ascertained	3	4	1	6	—	1
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	185	515	75	609	40	39,212

^a All professionals^b Largely firemen and policemen^c Two union members^d Three percent (11) are professional

A closer inspection of the data reveals that no manual workers were appointed to seven boards, less than the average of 9 percent served on eight boards, and more than this average were appointed to four boards. However, exactly half of all manual workers were firemen or policemen who were either Trustees of the Police and Fire Retirement Board or members of the Traffic Commission. Excluding these, a liberal estimate of manual workers on city boards and commissions is 10 percent (see Figure 18.2). Small as this proportion is, it represents a rising trend which will probably continue. Clearly, proprietors primarily and professionals secondarily have overwhelmingly dominated municipal boards and commissions. Real estate and insurance agents, typically heavy contributors to political campaigns, were heavily represented on the boards.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Lansing has been traditionally Republican in state politics. Prior to the New Deal it sent an occasional Democrat to the state legislature. On only three occasions since 1932 has it elected a Democrat to the legislature. Organized labor has virtually no influence on the local Republican party. While the local Democratic party would have no elective potential without the support of organized labor, the latter cannot guarantee the votes of union members. In a poll conducted among workers in the UAW in 1956, the party found that only 40 percent would support Democratic candidates for state and national offices. Only an occasional labor union official was on the county executive, finance, or advisory committee of the party.⁵³ However, local Democrats help elect a Democratic governor and an occasional congressman. This gives Lansing unions some political capital which they might otherwise not have (see Figure 18.2).

EDUCATION

Unions had little interest in education prior to 1947. With a change in leadership in the local UAW, labor began to show concern for the operation of local educational agencies. There are four areas of interest in local education: school board elections, the joint industry-labor apprentice program, Business-Industry-Education Day, and the adult education program. Analysis of the occupational background of members of the Lansing Board of Education in Table 63 reveals that only two union members have been elected to the board since 1935. Only 14 percent of the candidates have been manual or clerical workers. Almost six-tenths of the board members have been proprietors, managers, or officials, and one-third have been professional workers. Two-thirds of the proprietors were in wholesale and retail trade, and the remainder were insurance or real estate brokers. Candidates who were managers in the large industries were generally defeated because of insufficient local reputation. A few of the board members who were professionals, government workers, or managers in small home-owned industries were sympathetic to organized labor.⁵⁴

In 1950 the union officials decided to back "liberal candidates sympathetic to labor" rather than run their own candidates. They helped elect all three candidates that year, and have since that time assisted in electing three or four board members out of the ten who were favorable to labor. Recent elections have been hotly contested. Significantly, the chances of a proprietor getting elected to the board were nine out of ten, compared to six out

⁵³ Labor, however, is currently represented on the executive committee by a labor lawyer and has substantial representation in the overall county committee and state Democratic party committees.

⁵⁴ These findings are not untypical. See Roy W. Caughran, "The School Board Member Today," *American School Board Journal*, November and December, 1956.

of ten for professionals, and four out of ten for managers and officials. A trend analysis of the school board elections indicated that there was increasing competition for office, especially among the professionals. Over two-thirds of the candidates for office resided in census tracts ranked in the highest socioeconomic level, and less than one-fifth resided *near* or in working-class tracts. On the basis of occupation and residence it appears that less than a fifth of the board members would be sensitive to the educational "needs" of the "working classes."⁵⁵

The joint Apprentice Program Committee in the city school system supervises the job training and part-time school of those planning to enter the trades. Management and the unions have an equal representation on this committee. Although the participants agree that the program has been administered to their satisfaction, it is clear that industry occupies the dominant position. In the first place, it can accept or reject any candidates for the program, and secondly, the foremen are solely responsible for the reports on the progress of apprentices made to the committee.

The adult education program of the Lansing Board of Education has been expanded significantly since World War II. In addition to offering the standard academic and technical courses, the Board has instituted courses "on demand." Almost all of the course requests from labor have been granted by the Board, and, in some cases, the Board paid instructors to teach courses of interest largely to union members. Each year school administrators have dinner with union officials to discuss problems of mutual concern. This is a far cry from the situation in 1937, when school administrators headed the citizens committee against the UAW strikes.

Michigan has been in the vanguard of sponsoring Business-Industry-Education Day for over a decade. Lansing educators and businessmen have participated in the program annually ever since the idea was first suggested. All parties seem to agree that this program is worthwhile. Since organized labor does not participate in this program, its officials condemn the annual attempt of businessmen to win the loyalties of the teachers. Educational administrators have repeatedly offered to establish a Labor-Education Day, but union officials insist that unions should participate as equal members in the present arrangement.

To summarize, the penetration of labor in various educational agencies has been uneven. Highest influence has been evident in the adult education program, followed by the apprentice program, membership in the Lansing

⁵⁵ Of course, some professionals, government workers, and school administrators are often aware of the educational needs of working class families, and these groups are present in the city. However, when the budget is tight, board members tend to act in terms of the needs of the status groups closest to them. That board composition does not necessarily reflect policy has been indicated by Peter Rossi. See also Alice H. Cook, *Labor's Role in Community Affairs*, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1955, Bulletin 32, pp. 4-15.

Board of Education, and Business-Industry-Education Day. An arbitrary estimation of penetration of unions into education would be about 35 per cent, or about the extent of labor representation on the Board.

WELFARE

Organized labor is attaching increasing importance to the activities of private welfare agencies in the community.⁵⁶ Not only do union members normally utilize the services of welfare agencies more heavily than other groups, but these agencies are also called upon to relieve distress of union members during prolonged strikes. Business groups back private welfare efforts to minimize government spending and control in this area. They also use welfare activities as a highly legitimate status platform. Moreover, during prolonged strikes, they want some control over the funds distributed to striking workers in their industries. Whether other segments of the community would agree with labor that the Lansing Community Chest is an important arena of social power is problematic. Labor is sure that it is. The history of labor's share of control of welfare associations rather accurately reflects labor's increasing economic power. Thus, in 1927, no union representative sat on the Community Chest Board and an involuntary pay roll deduction plan was in effect. In 1933, perhaps in an attempt to head off the UAW, company union representatives were placed on the Community Chest Board. In 1940, two regular union members were hired as staff members of the Lansing Community Services Council and union officers were made co-chairman of the Industry and Labor Section of the annual Community Chest Drive. At present, 6 of the 36 members of the Board of Directors of the Lansing Community Chest are union officials, and one member of the Lansing Community Services Council is a union member. One-third of the Labor Participation Committee of the Chest are union representatives. In addition, union representatives are found in 21 of the 32 agencies participating in the Community Services Council. Through such participation, unions can obtain representation on the huge 152 member budget committee of the Community Chest.

Table 63 presents data on the occupational composition of all board members in agencies participating in the Community Services Council welfare boards. Several findings are noteworthy. First, businessmen do not dominate the boards to the extent that they dominate the Community Chest Drive and other community agencies. Professionals who are often more sympathetic toward labor dominate the boards. Together with staff members of the agencies themselves, professionals comprise over two-fifths of the board members compared to slightly under two-fifths for proprietors and managers.

⁵⁶ Lack of space prohibits a full description of labor's place outside the Community Chest and the Community Services Council. Labor also has representation on hospital boards and on the boards of private and public county, state, and national agencies.

Labor union officials, manual and clerical workers comprise about one-tenth of the total board membership. Organized labor is generally dissatisfied with its share of representation on the individual boards, the Community Services Council, and the Community Chest Board of Directors. It has openly announced its intentions to increase its representation in all of these areas.

Four of the 24 local welfare agencies do not have a labor representative on their boards. Labor has not succeeded in having one of its members elected to the presidency of the board of directors of the Chest. No union member has ever been the general chairman of the annual campaign committee. Labor has never sponsored "progress" dinners during the annual campaigns. Speakers for these dinners are typically businessmen and professionals. While such positions may represent status rather than power holdings, management is anxious to relinquish those offices. Thus, the president of the Chest board of directors has always been a top influential in the community. No general chairman of the annual campaign drive has ever held a secondary position in his business without his boss having previously been chairman. The hospital expansion drive and other community projects have usually been organized and led by influentials who have had highest posts in the Council, Chest, and campaign committee.

How can labor's overall position be evaluated in the welfare area? In the Community Chest structure, labor has one-sixth of the seats on the strategic board of directors, one-third of the members of the Labor Participation Committee, and the co-chairmanship of the important Labor and Industry Section of the annual drive organization. Labor also has two union members on the staff of the Chest and the support of many professionals in and out of the organization. The strongest card that labor holds is the threat to withhold its contributions. Since it is responsible for collecting about 40 percent of the funds, it can, by withholding support, limit local welfare efforts. Although this has been threatened,⁵⁷ labor is reluctant to do so, because it would force it to support welfare activities without outside support. The proportion of financial support to the Chest from unions of 40 percent probably represents the outside dimension of power in the welfare sector.

MASS COMMUNICATION

The only daily newspaper, the TV and radio stations in the city are strongly probusiness, if not antilabor. During the past decade the local daily (*State Journal*) has steadily increased the amount of news it reports about local

⁵⁷ Labor threatened to boycott the Hospital Expansion Fund Drive for four million dollars in 1954 unless it was assured greater representation and greater participation in overall plans. Key business and civic leaders felt it necessary to visit union halls and sell the program, an unprecedented step. See *Lansing Labor News*, June 3, 1954.

union activities. The acquisition of a "labor reporter" who reports on the doings of local unions indicates some recognition of the power of labor. The *Lansing Labor News*, an independent weekly newspaper with a circulation of about 20,000, reaches all members of ex-CIO locals and some members of an ex-AFL local. The editor of the paper tries to make it attractive to maintain membership appeal. In an interview study of the membership of a UAW local in 1954, nine-tenths of the respondents reported that they read the paper.⁵⁸ A content analysis of a sample of papers over a six-month period revealed that almost one-half of the paper was devoted to advertising and three-tenths to local news. Two-thirds of the local news described the activities of the locals and their individual members, and one third was concerned with other institutional activities in the city.⁵⁹

An analysis of the position taken by the *State Journal* during the decade 1945-1955 on major elections, referenda, and city projects indicated that its position was almost overwhelmingly followed. In two referenda, the *Lansing Labor News* successfully opposed the *State Journal*. In the first case, the *News* campaigned vigorously against an increase in bus fare, and in the second it opposed floating a general obligation bond by the city to build parking ramps. On a subsequent referendum taken during the bus strike, the *Journal's* stand was followed by the voters to double the fares. On the parking ramp bond issue the real estate lobby flooded the *Journal* with paid advertising urging voters to reject the proposal, while the *News* espoused the same position editorially. In both cases, when the position taken by the *News* was victorious, the voting turnout was comparatively small, less than half of a "good" turnout. While the *News* could not claim even minor responsibility for the "victories," it could be influential, especially in lightly contested campaigns, and when it had a major economic interest on its side. In 90 percent of the issues, mass communication agencies could be expected to oppose organized labor.

RELIGION

Religious leaders in the city have generally stayed away from management-labor controversy. Yet both management and labor representatives nominated Protestant and Catholic clergy to the top 40 influentials of the city. Top businessmen in the city are predominantly Protestants, and so are a majority of the manual workers. Unlike other cities, the Catholic clergy cannot be considered strongly prolabor. To be sure, especially in the welfare

⁵⁸ Part of this study is reported in William H. Form and H. Kirk Dansereau, "Union Member Orientations and Patterns of Social Integration," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, October, 1957, pp. 3-12.

⁵⁹ The function of the local paper in extending the reader's personal and social contacts is underlined by Morris Janowitz, *The Community Press in an Urban Setting*, Free Press, 1952, pp. 144-153.

sector, clergymen have frequently sided with union representatives. In an effort to increase the *rapprochement* with the clergy, labor has established a permanent liaison organization. Yet in a conflict situation with business groups less than a quarter of the clergy can be counted on to openly side with the unions. This figure is taken as the outside estimate of labor's influence on religious leaders.

Influence of Labor and Business Among Community and Key Influentials

During 1957 and 1958 two panels of community and labor influentials were interviewed. The community influentials were selected by asking two knowledgeable in seven institutional sectors to provide lists of 50 names of the most influential people in the community. Knowledgeables were interviewed from mass communication, business, unions, welfare, education, government, and religion. Forty names on which there were the most consensus were considered community influentials.⁶⁰ The people were interviewed and asked, among other things, to select from the list (or add names) the 10 most influential people in the community. These were called key influentials.

Two labor officials appeared in the list of community influentials, three clergymen, and one insurance agent who could usually be expected to be neutral and occasionally prolabor. Most of the remainder were businessmen and Republicans. The six prolabor influentials comprised about one-seventh of the influentials (see Figure 18.2). They received almost *one-fifth* of the total votes which they could theoretically receive as key influentials.⁶¹ The two labor officials received 12 percent of the total vote they could receive as key influentials. A generous view of labor's strength among community influentials would be about one-seventh of the total.

A slate of "top 40" labor influentials in the community was drawn from names submitted by a panel of knowledgeable in mass communication, industry, government, and professors in the Labor and Industrial Relations Center at Michigan State University. The 40 labor influentials were then interviewed and asked (among other things) to name 10 key influentials in the community. Seventeen percent of the names they gave were union officials, as opposed to 5 percent given by the community panel. Somewhat over three-fifths of the labor influentials listed union officials among the *key influentials* contrasted to one-quarter given by the community influentials. The two labor officials who were among the community influentials received about half of the vote which they could theoretically receive as key influ-

⁶⁰ Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-25.

⁶¹ One influential received three-quarters of the total possible votes, and three received over three-fifths of the total possible votes.

entials from the labor panel, as compared to one-seventh they received from the community influentials. Thus, labor's estimates of its representation among key and community influentials was greater than that given by other community influentials. A crude estimate of labor's perception of its representation in the influence structure would include 7 union officials and the 3 clergy; in all, 20 percent of the influentials.

Conclusions

Prior to 1937, when organized labor had weak bargaining strength, unions had virtually no influence in community-wide agencies. Since that time organized labor increased its bargaining strength materially. The parallel gains made in the institutionalized power structure of the community were so dramatic that one may hazard the conclusion that a near equality in bargaining strength was the *sine qua non* of community involvement.

During the decade 1937-1947, labor sought to compete with management in the community with the same style that was effective in bargaining. However, the blunt accusations, the insistent demands, and the disregard of social niceties were not socially acceptable in the community arena. In 1947, a change in the union leadership was accompanied by a change in the community participation style which was more acceptable to middle- and upper-status groups in the city. The white shirt, the soft-spoken word, and limited community goals became labor's new *modus operandi*. This approach not only enabled labor to penetrate into more community organizations, it resulted in two or three "respectable" labor officials becoming part of the community influence structure. Labor developed most strength in areas in which it was guaranteed representation and in areas where it could withhold support, as in the Community Chest. Labor gained least power in areas where it was denied participation, such as in the mayor's committees and in the area of mass communication. Even within a given institutional area (Community Chest, education, and government), labor's penetration was uneven.

Labor's influence, however, still lags its power. Power is least developed in mass communication, city municipal boards, and city government. Without control of the municipal elective offices, labor's penetration into the community power structure will be limited. Success in this arena is circumscribed by at least three important factors. Nonpartisanship makes it difficult to conduct partisan campaigns acceptable to middle-status groups. The mass media of communication, which are conservative, are quick to stigmatize labor's political interest as partisan. Last, labor's drive for respectability in other community arenas has decreased its community visibility to the rank and file. Never highly identified as working-class, the Yankee worker is apathetic to the problem of labor's community power.

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Glossary of Specialized Terms

- Business.** Proprietors, officials, and supervisors in business and industry and the associations through which they act.
- Community.** A group living in some locality or region under the same culture and having some common geographical focus for their major activities. The distinctive characteristic of the community is that a constellation of institutional organizations has grown up around a particular center of specialized function.
- Community power.** The network of influences among persons and organizations involved in community issues and projects.
- Community power complex.** A power arrangement among temporary or permanent organizations, special-interest associations, and informal groups emerging in specific community issues and projects.
- Community power structure.** Components of the power structure of the community which may be activated by a community issue or project. It is composed of the top influentials, the key influentials, the community power complex, and those parts of the institutionalized power structure of the community which come into play when activated by a community concern.
- Economic organizational complex.** The totality of firms, businesses, independent professions, labor organizations, and other industrial and occupational associations in the local community.
- Independent professions.** Self-employed professions usually found in law, medicine, dentistry, and, sometimes, in engineering.
- Industry.** Economic institutions and associations.
- Institution.** A defined need and the culture surrounding it, including dominant attitude and behavior patterns, symbolic and utilitarian culture traits, and written or oral codes that specify conduct. The most common local institutions include local business, political parties, and government, family, church, school, welfare, recreation, and health.
- Institutional (organizational) complex.** Unit organizations, positions, roles, and coordinating agencies of a particular social institution in the community.
- Interinstitutional complex.** The economic complex of the community in its relation with the organizational complex of another social institution.
- Institutional power structure of society.** The relative distribution of power among societal institutions.
- Institutionalized power structure of community.** The relative distribution of power among local institutions in a given community.
- Key influentials.** Acknowledged leaders among the top influentials.

Labor. Officials and members of organized labor and the associations through which they act. Also refers to wage workers, salaried workers, and consumers whose values labor unions represent.

Power arrangement. A patterned distribution of power among organizations as they align themselves on specific issues or projects.

Salaried professions. Professions in which the practitioners are employed on a salary for a term of service. These professions are largely those of education, religion, welfare, and government.

Top influentials. Persons who are reputed to be of most influence and power in decision-making.

Appendixes

Appendix A

IMPORTANT SOURCES OF COMMUNITY INFORMATION

1950 United States Census of Population by States, Vol. II, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1952.

Contains the following information for most urban places of 2500 or more: size of population by sex, size of labor force by sex, major occupational groups by sex, major industry groups by sex, income for stated year of total families and unrelated individuals, color of population by sex, age of population by sex, years of school completed, marital status of males and females, 14 years and above, country of birth of foreign born white.

1950 United States Census of Population, Vol. III, *Census Tract Bulletins P-D*, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1952.

The following information for 60 cities is available: (1) characteristics of the population by census tracts; (2) age, marital status, and economic characteristics by sex, by census tracts; (3) characteristics of dwelling units by census tracts. (Census tracts are small areas of roughly the same size and socio-economic homogeneity.)

U.S. Census of Manufacturers, Vol. 3, *Area Statistics*, United States Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., 1952.

Gives the following data for each urban place of 10,000 or more: population, number of establishments, average number of employees, total salaries and wages, average number of production workers, total wages.

The County and City Data Book, 1956, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1957.

Lists numerous tables for each county and for cities of 25,000 or more. Contains such tables as labor force, income, elections, banking and finance, business enterprises, and education.

The Municipal Year Book, The International City Managers Association, Chicago (issued yearly).

Authoritative reference book on municipal governments. Most tables apply to cities of 10,000 or more, but some include cities of 5000 to 10,000. Facts about

the role of city governments including education, housing, welfare, health, and so on makes it possible to compare any city with other cities on hundreds of items.

Poor's Register of Directors and Executives, Standard and Poor's Corporation, New York (issued yearly).

Contains list of all the most important corporate directors of the United States by company. Also contains list of directors by name and their total corporate affiliations as directors.

Rand-McNally's International Bankers Directory, Rand McNally & Co., Chicago, 1957.

Contains list of bank officers and often has members of the board of directors.

A statement of condition is also included.

Moody's Industrial Manual, Moody's Investors Service, New York (issued yearly).

Contains list of principal officers and members of the board for all important corporations. Describes company's financial history, subsidiaries, principal plants and properties, and operating statistics.

City Directories

Often useful in giving a wide range of information about industries and social organizations of the community. Contain alphabetical lists of persons and typically list occupation and address of each adult.

Editor and Publisher Market Guide, 1958, Editor and Publisher Co., Inc., New York 36, N.Y.

Contains standard surveys of over 1500 key newspaper markets, 1957-1958.

Estimates of retail sales and individual incomes; 1958 population estimates.

Sales Management, Survey of Buying Power, Bill Brothers Publication, New York 16, N.Y.

Contains surveys of population, effective buying income, retail sales, and other data for cities and countries of United States.

Editor and Publisher 1958 International Yearbook, Editor and Publisher Co., Inc., New York 36, N.Y.

A directory of publishers and department editors of United States daily newspapers.

Robert Cooley Angell, "The Moral Integration of American Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1951.

Contains measures of moral integration and causal factors of 43 cities of more than 100,000. There are indexes of crime, welfare effort, heterogeneity, and mobility for each of the cities.

E. L. Thorndike, *Your City*, Harcourt, Brace, 1939.

Contains ratings of "goodness" of city for 310 American cities over 30,000. Thirty-seven characteristics were used in the final ratings, including income, health, education, and various welfare services.

E. L. Thorndike, *144 Smaller Cities*, Harcourt, Brace, 1940.

Contains "goodness" ratings for 144 cities between 20,000 and 30,000 population.

Paul B. Gillen. *The Distribution of Occupations as a City Yardstick*, Columbia University Press, 1951.

Describes occupational indexes for 1073 American cities. The occupational index has predictive value for income, education, and health. It correlates highly with Thorndike's Goodness Rating in larger cities.

Who's Who in America, A. N. Marquis, Chicago (issued every two years).

Contains career sketches of men and women who have achieved prominence in the public eye in all lines of useful and reputable achievement. The Geographical Index issued as a separate publication provides reference when the researcher wishes to obtain all important persons listed from a given city.

Who's Who in East, *Who's Who in the Midwest*, *Who's Who in the South and Southwest*, *Who's Who on the Pacific Coast*, all published by A. N. Marquis, Chicago (published periodically).

These volumes contain much more extensive listing of prominent Americans than is to be found in *Who's Who in America*, and therefore they offer broader coverage of career sketches.

Who's Who in Commerce and Industry, A. N. Marquis, Chicago, 1957.

Contains career sketches of leading businessmen and has indexed catalogue of selected businesses to provide from business-to-executive reference when only the name of a company which is the principal interest of a sketched executive is known.

Who's Who in Labor, Dryden, New York, 1946.

Contains biographies of union officials, a directory of the labor press, list of educational directors, and addresses of international unions.

The Economic Almanac, National Industrial Conference Board, New York (issued yearly).

This handy factbook about the American economy includes several tables listing important economic data for various large cities.

Labor Fact Book No. 13, Labor Research Association, International Publishers, 1957.

Contains important information about labor organizations and labor movement.

Sourcebook of Union Government Structure and Procedures, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., 460 Park Avenue, New York 22, New York.

Contains detail descriptions of internal organization of unions and various operating procedures.

Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States, 1957. United States Department of Labor Bulletin No. 1222, United States Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1957.

Contains list of all unions having national or international affiliation in the United States.

Appendix B

FIELD STUDY OUTLINE OF INDUSTRY AND COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS IN A SELECTED COMMUNITY

(This outline is for the initial training of the student in field study of industry-community relations)

ELEMENTS OF THE INDUSTRY-COMMUNITY NEXUS	SOURCES OF INFORMATION
I. Structural setting of the community	
A. Population composition	
1. Present statistical tables describing population of the community by age, sex, race, occupation, nationality distributions.	1950 <i>United States Census</i> : characteristics of population by states.
2. Using age and sex, draw a social base map of the community.	
3. Draw an occupational profile using major occupational groups as shown by census data.	Use occupational groups of the census.
4. Describe religious composition of the community. If statistics are not available, describe the major religious groups.	Informant, city directory, or telephone book.
5. Describe the educational and cultural background of population (rural or urban, Southern or Northern), community educational level, traditional work habits and attitudes.	1950 <i>United States Census</i> (look for <i>Years of school completed</i> and <i>Income of families and unrelated individuals</i>).
6. Compare population 1950 with 1940. Report percentage of change.	See <i>World Almanac</i> (look for Table of Places in United States over 2500).

- B. Describe social class structure of the community
1. Identify number of classes and basis of their identity. Informants.
- C. Land use and geography of community
1. Describe parks, industrial areas, retail trade area, slum areas, high-class residential area, workingmen's homes. City surveyor or engineer.
 2. Make or procure a land-use map showing the residential, commercial, industrial, and recreational areas of the community.
- D. Economic institutions
1. Describe major industries (heavy or light industry, producer goods or consumer goods, retail or wholesale, single-industry town or diversified). For a wide range of communities, see *Editor and Publisher Market Guide*, 1958. Ask reference librarian for the *State Industrial Directory*.
 2. Identify type of economic community; apply Harris Classification using unemployment figures by industry. Use employment by industry as shown in 1950 *United States Census*
 3. What industries are the largest employers of labor? Use your state *Industrial Directory* if available; *Moody's* or *Poor's Industrials* for current year.
 - a. How are these industries owned? (local, absentee, banks, investment corporations, other manufacturing corporations).
 4. What is ratio of basic to service activities? Ratio of basic activity to population? Use employment by industry as shown in 1950 census.
- E. Religious institutions
1. Describe the number and the kinds of churches. Try the city directory; if not successful, call clergyman.
 2. What are the largest churches? Who are the board members? What is the occupational background of the board members?
- F. Mass communication
1. Describe newspapers, radio stations, plant papers, union publications. Give information on number and ownership. Find out composition of the board members, if possible. Check *Editor and Publisher 1958 International Yearbook*. See *Poor's Register of Directors and Executives*.

G. Political institutions

1. Describe platform and operation of political parties. Who are the most important leaders of the major parties?
 - a. County Chairman, Finance Committee, and County Committee.
2. Describe the recent history of political elections.
3. Who are the members of the City Council? What is their occupational background?
4. Describe the prevailing tax structure of the city.

City clerk can usually provide most of this information.

H. Educational institutions

1. Describe the number and the type of grade schools, high schools, business schools, trade schools, colleges, private schools.
2. Who are the members of the school board? What is their occupational background?

Phone book or city directory.

Office of superintendent of schools or city clerk.

I. Social institutions

1. Describe number and type of clubs, lodges, and service groups (Kiwanis, Rotary, Community Chest, YMCA, Boy and Girl Scouts, etc.). Does organized labor have a Community Services Committee?

City directory or local newspaper may have list. Also try Chamber of Commerce.

J. Business and labor associations

1. Describe work of Chamber of Commerce and Central Labor Council.
 - a. List names of chief officials.

May have brochures. Arrange interviews with executives. Ask them also questions IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII.

K. Unions

1. Which unions have the largest membership?
2. What percentage of workers are members of unions?

Central labor council

II. Social analysis of relation between major work plant and community

A. Historical development

1. Origin of industry: local capital, recruitment.
2. Reputation in community.

Examine *Moody's Industrial Manual*, 1958. Also useful: *Directors and Execu-*

3. Support of company of community agencies.
4. Record of labor relations.
5. List president, chairman of board, and board directors.
- B. Financial participation in other institutions
 1. Financial support by company, direct or indirect through advertising, of newspapers, radio stations; financial support of community institutions, such as schools, colleges, churches, Chamber of Commerce.
- C. Social participation in other institutions
 1. Management membership in policy-making positions in churches, schools, clubs, lodges, political parties.
 2. What is policy of company toward community participation on the part of their managers and employees?

III. Social analysis of relations between major union and community

- A. Historical development
 1. Origin of unions.
 2. Reputation of unions in the community.
 3. Support of community agencies.
 4. Record of labor-management relations.
 5. List chief officers of the unions.
- B. Unions' involvement in the community
 1. In politics and government.
 2. In welfare.
 3. In education, religion, and recreation.

IV. Community issues and attitudes

- A. Analyze community issues for past five years. Select major issues and indicate role played by industry and labor (back issues of local newspaper available in local community library or newspaper office may help).

tives. Use informants. If possible, secure interview with personnel manager or industrial relations director. Ask them also Questions IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII.

If possible, arrange interview with union president, business agent, or other local officer. Ask them also Questions IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII. If interviewing cannot be arranged, secure informant.

Interview a sample of respondents. An ideal sample would contain representatives from business, labor, education, religion, welfare. In previous interviews you may have secured many of these representatives. Seek for a full range as above.

V. Attitude of community groups toward labor-management relations. Use following Community Rating Schedule with sample.

1. In general, what do you think of the conditions of labor-management relations in _____ (city)?
2. Do you think that the managements have played fair in their dealings with labor (or workers)?
3. Have the managements been interested in the workers welfare and problems?
4. Do you think the unions (or workers) have played fair in their dealings with management?
5. Have the unions been interested in the rights of individual members—given them a voice in running the union and looked after their personal welfare?
6. Have the unions been concerned only with the interests of their members, or have they proved themselves interested in the goals of the community as well?

Follow instructions for interviewing as described under IV.

VI. Community power structure

1. Who are the most influential persons in the town? (Get names and occupations.)
2. Which groups or associations are most influential?
3. Prepare a spot map of residences of top influential persons using city directory or telephone book.

Follow instructions for interviewing as under IV. List names of most frequently nominated and check *Directors and Executives* for names of persons. List other corporate affiliations of influentials.

VII. Community Rating Schedule¹

- A. Ask respondent to rate community as good, fair, or poor as judged by similar communities in the United States.

Standard No. 1: Education

Modern education available for every child, youth, and adult. Uncrowded, properly equipped schools in good physical conditions. Highly qualified, well paid teachers.

Good	Fair	Poor

¹ Prepared by New York State Citizen's Council, reprinted in *Adult Leadership*, October, 1952, p. 19.

	Good	Fair	Poor
Standard No. 2: Housing and Planning			
Every family decently housed. Continuous planning for improvement of residential areas, parks, highways, and other community essentials. Parking, traffic, and transportation problems under control.			
Standard No. 3: Religion			
Full opportunity for religious expression accorded to every individual. Churches strong and well supported.			
Standard No. 4: Equality of Opportunity			
People of different races, religions, and nationalities have full chance for employment and for taking part in community life. Dangerous tensions kept at minimum by avoidance of discrimination and injustices.			
Standard No. 5: Economic Development			
Good jobs available. Labor, industry, agriculture, and government work together to insure sound economic growth.			
Standard No. 6: Cultural Opportunities			
Citizens' lives strengthened by ample occasion to enjoy music, art, and dramatics. A professionally administered library service benefits people of all ages. Newspapers and radio carefully review community affairs.			
Standard No. 7: Recreation			
Enough supervised playgrounds and facilities for outdoor activities. Full opportunity to take part in arts and crafts, photography, and other hobbies.			
Standard No. 8: Health and Welfare			
Positive approach to improving health of entire community. Medical care and hospitalization readily available. Provision made for underprivileged children, the aged, and the handicapped. Families in trouble can secure needed assistance.			
Standard No. 9: Government			
Capable citizens seek public office. Officials concerned above all with community betterment. Controversy stems from honest differences of opinion, not from squabbles over privilege.			
Standard No. 10: Community Organization			
An organization-community forum, citizen's			

council, or community federation-representative of entire town, is working for advancement of the whole community. Citizens have opportunity to learn about and take part in local affairs. There is an organized, community-wide discussion program. Specialized organizations give vigorous attention to each important civic need.

Good	Fair	Poor

Total score for your town	Good	10 points for each item
	Fair	5* points for each item
	Poor	no points
	Total	

- B. Ask respondents to discuss whether local action is needed on any of the ten standards. If so, what specific action does he recommend? When you have completed the interviewing of your panel members, summarize and point out those projects which have been defined as most needed to make the town or city a better place in which to live and raise children.

VIII. Community development

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Is there an active group supporting industrial development? How is it composed? What is it trying to achieve? How does it exercise its influence? 2. Is there an active city planning body supporting zoning and broad-range planning for city growth? How is it composed? What is it trying to achieve? How does it exercise its influence? 3. Are there other groups concerned with the cultural life of the community? How are they composed? What are they trying to achieve? How do they exercise their influence? | Interview representative panel as described in IV. |
|--|--|

Appendix C

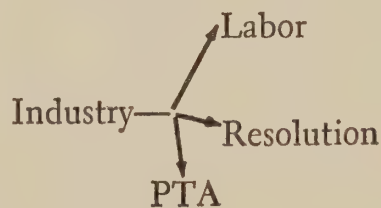
OUTLINE FOR ANALYSIS OF AN INTER-INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL COMPLEX INVOLVING INDUSTRY, LABOR, AND A SOCIAL INSTITUTION WITHIN A LOCAL COMMUNITY

(This guide was prepared to aid the advanced student or community relations specialist wishing to make a thorough study of one specific social institution in an interinstitutional complex.)

- I. Make an historical analysis of the relationships which have existed within the interinstitutional organization complex.
- II. Make a structural-functional analysis of the interinstitutional complex.
 - A. Identify all parts of the interinstitutional organization complex.
 - B. Indicate the organizational values for each participating component. Evaluate the organizational values for their order of importance, intensity, saliency. Measure if possible.
 - C. Use structural pattern of the organizational complex and study organizational behavior as components interact in functional relationships. Ascertain the *pattern of customary relations* which arises as values and as patterns of control are brought into play. Reconstruct roles of each component in the complex.
- III. Determine power action models.
 - A. Ascertain various roles played by components of the organizational complex in contemporary communities, and construct alternate ideal-typical models.
 1. Postulate conditions for the approximate appearance of ideal-typical models and suggest significance of each for organizational dynamics.
 - B. Select model of maximum likelihood and make hypothetical predictions for organizational dynamics.
- IV. Determine pattern of control by:
 - A. Examining the occupational and social composition of all policy-making boards, committees, or agencies involved.
 - B. Identifying the social and career background of the chief officers in the

organizations. Describe their style of life and evaluate their orientation toward the organizational values.

- C. Evaluate the financial stake of each organizational component for maintaining its values.
- D. Examine the financial resources of the organizational components which might be brought to bear to resolve an issue in line with organizational values.
- V. Conflict relations of the interinstitutional organizational complex
 - A. Outline influence network which may be activated by an issue which arouses conflict.
- VI. Dynamics of issue resolution
 - A. Select a live issue which will show as clearly as possible the economic roles of industry and labor as they interact with a specific institution.
 - B. Analyze organizational values of the participating components.
Criteria for analysis of values may include:
 - 1. Value saliency of participating components.
 - 2. Value conflict of participating components.
 - 3. Value coincidence of participating components.
 - C. Locate structure brought into play. This structure should ideally be composed of industry, labor, and one local social institution, with no large "outside" competing component. Identify tension points.
 - D. Identify vector model elements.
 - 1. F = force-power
 - 2. D = direction of force = value orientation
 - 3. R = resolution of forces = equilibration of organizational complex
 - 4. Formula: $R = \Sigma FD$
 - 5. Example:



- E. Describe tactics of organizations and their use of resources.
- F. Depict organizational accommodation resulting from resolution of issue.
- G. Relate other community experience or issues with this issue.
- VII. Changes in industry, labor and community relations
 - A. Describe new trends.
 - B. Refer to most likely alternative models as above, and discuss relevance of trends. Explain conditions attending their rise.
 - C. Describe empirical variations to be observed in contemporary communities in Western society.
 - 1. Seek complexes in which industry and labor vary in relative strength.
 - 2. Analyze complexes varying in homogeneity and heterogeneity of the institutional segments.
 - 3. Seek significance of variations in communities with different economic bases, social bases, or community power structures.

Appendix D

GUIDE FOR THE STUDY OF A PARTICULAR COMMUNITY

(This guide has been constructed to assist in the training of the professional researchers who desire to make a thorough community study embracing the economic, social, and power bases of the community.)

- I. Goals of exploratory research
 - A. Describe economic base: industrial composition, occupational composition.
 - B. Describe social base: organizational composition, race, religious, economic, social, political and other associations.
 - C. Describe institutional power structure of the community: business, political, economic, religious, educational leaders and associations.
 - D. Describe history, in terms of important issues.
- II. Steps in exploratory community research
 - A. Preparatory period.
 - 1. Reconnaissance of entire community, observing community character, as in Chapter 2, distribution of plants, residential districts, etc.
 - 2. Read sources:
 - a. Newspapers: read with increasing selectivity for information on
 - (1) economic base: industry and labor.
 - (2) important organizations.
 - (3) important issues.
 - (4) leaders in various institutional segments.
 - (5) interrelations among organizations.
 - b. Reference Books: *U.S. Census*, *Editor and Publisher Market Guide*, city directory, *Moody's Industrials*, Rand McNally's *Banker's Register*, *Poor's Register of Directors and Executives*.
 - c. Historians and histories: look for
 - (1) origin of economic base and institutional power.
 - (2) important old families and organizations.
 - (3) organizational literature at the chamber of commerce, union center, board of education, etc.

3. Informal interviewing
 - (1) to get information about economic base, social base, power structure.
 - (2) to acquire sensitivity to issues and cleavages for later interviewing. Talk to neighbors, cab drivers, hotel people, salesmen, chamber of commerce directors, ministers, YMCA officials, head of employment services, local history teachers, and others.
 4. Announcing your plans, to learn how things get done in the community, and the role of individuals in providing leadership.
 5. Locating informants: university professors, reporters, historians, lawyers, professionals in government, retired leaders, and others.
- III. Community context study in definitive stage
- A. Guide to research on reputed structure of top influentials.
 1. Secure nomination of influential leaders and ascertain their institutional connections. Identify key influentials, using panel interviewing and ratings.
 2. Validation of the nominations.
 - a. Study role of nominees on current and past issues (use records and informants).
 - b. Identities of influentials (interview influentials). See Appendixes D and E for career and leadership schedules. Use
 - (1) acquaintance schedules to find who they know.
 - (2) intimacy schedules to find who intimates are.
 - (3) organizational affiliation to find organizations they belong to and the officerships and committee memberships in them.
 - (4) background questionnaire to secure education, age, residential, and work history.
 - B. The first approximation of the top influential structure.
 1. Identify the approximate model of top influential structure.
 - a. Use rating scales above.
 - b. Use open-end image responses. Example: "Are there crowds who get things done?"
 - c. Build matrices of overlapping participations, friendship, and acquaintance matrices.
 - d. Identify patterns from the career schedules of top influentials, especially overlapping business affiliations.
 - C. Some research guides to a study of structural power arrangements of the community power complex and its influentials.
 1. Build a preliminary roster of the most influential organizations and the community power complex influentials in the community (use community newspapers, informants, and records).
 2. Interview chief officials of the "most influential organizations" to discover:
 - a. Chief spokesmen for the various institutional sectors.
 - b. Community power complex influentials.
 - c. Community power organizations.
 - d. Power arrangement of the community power complex.

3. The following questions are suggestive of those to be posed to the roster of reputed CPC representatives.
 - a. Whom do you regard as the spokesmen for business, labor, education, (other sectors) in the community?
 - b. Who are the leaders who have actively worked and influenced others to work hard for the achievement of goals in the last community issue? What organizations do they represent?
 - c. Which of these (show list) would you select as the most important to get things done for the community?
 - d. Which of these organizations (show list) do you think of as most important to put things across in a community issue?
 - e. Does your organization usually "go it alone" in a community issue or does it work with other organizations?
 - f. Do other firms and organizations usually get together on issues to exert joint influence or not?
 4. Approximation of community power complex structure.
 - a. Identify the CPC influentials and organizations which are nominated by the representatives.
 - b. Examine organizational affiliations of the CPC influentials to build matrices of the social relationships found among them. Also identify their patterns of social origins and occupational histories.
 - c. Examine role of confederations in initiating and supporting action. Evidence of Model C of CPC arrangement suggested if confederation
 - (1) issues joint resolutions.
 - (2) takes joint stands on issues.
 Evidence of Model A or B of CPC arrangement if individuals or separate organizations in the CPC
 - (1) issue resolutions independently.
 - (2) take stands independently.
- D. Some research guides to the study of issue context analysis as it involves relations between the TI and the CPC.
1. Objectives.
 - a. Explore the relationship of the TI to the CPC in an issue context.
 - b. Determine the social processes of issue resolution.
 2. Procedure.

The researcher must plan to move back and forth between the TI and the CPC, observing and interviewing at all stages. He is faced with the task of determining almost simultaneously the type of TI structure, the type of CPC structure, and the relation between them. Moreover, he must understand the social processes of issue resolution by stages.

See pages 702-705 in leadership schedule shown as Appendix E.
- E. First questions.
1. Initiation stage.

Who brings up the issue? Is issue of high or low level? Which part of the institutional structure will come into being? What part of

- the TI and CPC will become activated? What relations develop at this stage? Do the TI or influential organizations predict the outcome, or whose power will be decisive in the issue?
2. Mobilization stage.
Do the TI bring in organizations of CPC, vice versa, or both?
Do the TI, KI, or key organizations threaten to veto action?
Do they succeed or not?
 3. Debate stage.
How do the TI align themselves?
What pattern of organization alignment arises within the CPC?
Is the debate held within a fixed organizational framework or does it spread to the larger community?
 4. Resolution stage.
 - a. Concerning the TI,
Was it a stable or fluid group?
How autonomous was it from the CPC?
Were the TI solidary or factionalized?
 - b. Which organizations were the most influential organizations in the CPC? Was the CPC model stable or did it have fluid power arrangements? Were CPC organizations autonomous from TI? What was the internal alignment of the CPC?
- F. Reconstruct the decision-making process of the CPS by functions which various influentials and groups played at various stages.
1. Establish expectations of behavior of elements of the CPS from knowledge of the TI models, the CPC model, and the IPSC.
 2. Check the actual behavior of each segment against the expectations to observe whether patterns were observable in the process.
 3. Identify the appropriate model of the community power structure; i.e., pyramidal or ring.
- G. Verification of the pattern.
1. Validate by repeated issue analysis.
 2. Refer to informants for substantiation.
- H. Predict the decision-making outcome of a new issue. Follow through and verify. (Use Miller-Form theory with methodology developed by Robert C. Hanson, "Predicting a Community Decision," *American Sociological Review*, October, 1959, pp. 662-671.)

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP STUDY SCHEDULE

(The accompanying schedules are for the use of advanced students or professional community relations specialists who wish to study the community power structure of a selected community.)

TOP LEADERSHIP SCHEDULE¹

(See Chapter 14 for information about use of this schedule.)

If you were responsible for a major project which was before the community that required *decision* by a group of leaders—leaders that nearly everyone would accept—which ten on this list would you choose, regardless of whether they are known personally to you or not? Add other names if you wish.

Check 10 Here	Names of Influentials Name of Leader	Don't Know	Heard of	Know Slightly	Know Well	Know Socially (Exchange of Home Visits)	Worked on Committees with During Past Two Years

¹ Adapted from Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

MAJOR ORGANIZATIONS IN COMMUNITY

RATER: Kindly rate the following organizations for their influence in initiating or supporting actions which have the most effect on the community. Add any organizations which you feel should be on the list.

- 1—most influential
- 2—influential
- 3—less influential

City Light
 Catholic Archdiocese, Chancery Office
 University
 First National Bank
 Airplane Company
Post-Intelligencer newspaper
 School District #1
Times newspaper
 Great Northern & Northern Pacific Railroads
 Air line companies
 Western Gear Company
 Pacific Car & Foundry Company
 Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company
 Bogle, Bogle, & Gates, law firm
 Holman Law Firm
 Frederick & Nelson Company
 Simpson Logging Company
 Van Waters & Rogers Company
 Charles Clise Organization

MAJOR ASSOCIATIONS IN COMMUNITY

RATER: Kindly rate the following voluntary associations for their influence in initiating or supporting actions which have the most effect on the community. Add any voluntary associations which you feel should be on the list.

- 1—most influential
- 2—influential
- 3—less influential

Ranier Club
 Tennis Club
 101 Club
 Democratic Party Organization
 Republican Party Organization
 Chamber of Commerce
 Parent-Teacher Association
 Greater Inc.

- Board of Regents
- United Good Neighbors
- AFL & Teamsters Council
- Municipal League
- Congress of Industrial Organizations
- American Legion
- Bar Association
- Central Labor Council

MAJOR ISSUES IN THE COMMUNITY

We are not interested in how you stand for or against issues (or projects) but what, in your opinion, are two major issues before [name of city] either immediately past or current? Examples of such issues might include:

- 1. Proposed freeway
- 2. World's Fair site
- 3. New public library
- 4. Location of lake bridge
- 5. Pollution of lake and sewer issue
- 6. Released school time for religious education
- 7. Right-to-work petition
- 8. University football issue

Issue (or project) #1:

Have you been contacted on this issue?
yes no

How were you contacted? Personal call.....
By phone.....
Private luncheon.....
Committee meeting.....
Informal chance meeting.....
Other (specify).....
.....

Did you contact others?
yes no

How did you contact others? Personal call....
By phone.....
Private luncheon.....
Committee meeting.....
Informal, chance meeting.....
Other (specify).....
.....

What persons and organizations will work for the issue?
(refer to lists of people, firms, and organizations)

Issue (or project) #2:.....

Have you been contacted on this issue?

yes no

How were you contacted? Personal call.....

By phone

Private luncheon

Committee meeting.

Informal, chance meeting

Other (specify)

• • • • •

Did you contact others?

yes no

How did you contact others? Personal call.....

By phone

Private luncheon.....

Committee meeting.

Informal, chance meeting.....

Other (specify)

• • • • •

What persons and organizations will work for this issue?

What persons and organizations will oppose the issue?

In your judgment is the following statement true or false?

There are several crowds in that work together and pretty much make the big decisions. (Explain)

True False

Comments:

SUPPLEMENTARY SCHEDULE: INTERVIEW OF AN
INFLUENTIAL TO ASCERTAIN HIS INVOLVEMENT
IN COMMUNITY ISSUES

(This interview may also be used with CPC influentials.)

What are the community issues in which you have been most actively involved within your lifetime?

Let us suppose that a general community issue arises in which you have a vital interest, what are the ways in which you can make your influence felt? (List, be specific for techniques, groups contacted, etc.)

Which of these do you feel most effective? (Rank order them)

Have you been involved in a vital community issue in the past five years?

What did you do?

What did you feel was most effective? Why?

What was the least effective? Why?

What was your feeling when it was all over? Were you glad you participated or do you wish now that you had stayed out?

Do you feel that it is generally advisable for a person in order to get things done in a vital community issue, to fight openly or to use more indirect means?

Why do you feel this way?

Have you had any experiences or do you know of others which support your belief?

14. Please list the names of other companies with which you now have business affiliations.

BUSINESS AFFILIATIONS

<i>Name of Company</i>	<i>Office Held</i>
.....
.....
.....
.....

15. Please fill in the organizations with which you are associated.

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS
(Such as Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club, Political Party)

<i>Name of Organization</i>	<i>Attend Regularly</i>	<i>Committee Member</i>	<i>Officer</i>
.....
.....
.....
.....

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS
(Such as Golf Club, Savages, Constitutional Club, etc.)

<i>Name of Organization</i>	<i>Attend Regularly</i>	<i>Committee Member</i>	<i>Officer</i>
.....
.....
.....
.....

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE ORGANIZATIONS
(Such as Trade Associations, Labor Unions, and Professional Association)

<i>Name of Organization</i>	<i>Attend Regularly</i>	<i>Committee Member</i>	<i>Officer</i>
.....
.....
.....
.....

Appendix F

THORNDIKE TEN-ITEM CITY YARDSTICK FOR MEASURING GOODNESS OF CITY¹

(This scale is for use of any student who wishes to secure rather quickly an estimate of the "goodness" of a selected city. Comparative scores are available at the end of the appendix. Scores today tend to run higher than those reported by Thorndike.)

Item 1. Get from the health officer of your city the infant death rate; that is, number of deaths per year of infants 1 to 365 days old per 1000 live births. Subtract this number from 120, and multiply the result by 2.

Item 2. Get from the city treasurer the year's expenditures for the operation and maintenance of parks, playgrounds, and other means of recreation; that is, the figure he would report to the census authorities as "government-cost payments for operation and maintenance of the department of recreation." Divide this amount by the estimated population of the city, and take ten times the quotient expressed as dollars. For example, if the amount is \$46,359.00 and the population is 60,000, the quotient is \$0.7721, and ten times it is 7.7 (or 8 to the nearest whole number).

Item 3. Get from the city treasurer the estimated value of all the city's property in the form of schools, libraries, museums, parks, and other recreational facilities. Divide this amount by the estimated population of the city; then multiply the result expressed in dollars by 1.25.

Item 4. Get from the city treasurer the total value of all public property (exclusive of streets and sewers), both that (such as schools, fire engines, and jails) used for municipal services, and that (such as water-works, docks, and power plants) used for public service enterprises. Get also the net public debt, subtract the latter from the former, then divide by the population. Enter a credit of 1 for every \$3 per capita excess of property over debt. In case your city owes more than its public property is worth enter the appropriate negative number.

Item 5. Get from the city treasurer or from the superintendent of schools the expenditures for the operation and maintenance of schools. This does not include

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capital outlays or payment of interest on school debts. Divide this amount by the population. Multiply the number of dollars in the quotient by 2. That is, enter a credit of 1 for every 50 cents per capita spent for teachers' salaries; books and supplies; heat, light, and care of the schools, etc.

Item 6. Get from the superintendent of schools the number of persons who graduated from senior high school during the year, and divide this number by the city's population. Multiply the quotient by 14141. This is equivalent to giving a credit of 10 for every 7 graduates per 10,000 population.

Item 7. Get from the person in charge of the public library the circulation of books as he would report it to the American Library Association. Divide this number by the city's population. Multiply the result by 5.

Item 8. Get from the superintendent of schools the number of pupils in school who were aged 16 years 0 months to 17 years 11 months at the date when the school enrollment was taken. Find what percent this number is of the estimated number of persons 16 years 0 months to 17 years 11 months living in the city at that date and give a credit of 1 for each percent.²

TABLE 64. Sample Scores in the Ten-Item City Yardstick

	Cities						
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1. Infant death rate reversed	20	52	68	138	156	150	164
2. Expenditures for recreation	11	5	8	11	14	24	40
3. Value of schools, parks, etc.	72	93	84	110	111	160	161
4. Property less debt	10	18	17	36	39	38	46
5. Expenditures for schools	23	33	24	29	32	46	56
6. High school graduates	69	101	96	99	139	177	191
7. Library circulation	11	12	38	37	40	46	84
8. Percentage of 16- and 17-year-olds in school	55	52	54	57	87	92	91
9. Telephones	25	33	60	62	60	73	93
10. Homes wired for electricity	30	32	58	49	58	54	64
Totals	326	431	527	628	736	860	990

² Estimating the total number of persons 16 and 17 years old accurately is a matter of some difficulty, but a very easy procedure will give sufficiently accurate results for the present purpose, if you can be sure that all the 11- and 12-year-olds except a few diseased or feeble-minded are enrolled in school. If that is the case, estimate that the number of all 16- and 17-year-olds in school and out will be .99 times the number of 10- and 11-year-olds in school, obtaining the latter figure from the superintendent of schools, who should, of course, include children in parochial or other private schools.

A somewhat less accurate, but even easier, method available for cities over 25,000 is to find in the last census the percentage which the number of 15- to 19-year-olds inclusive was of the total population in your city. In the 1930 census this will be found in the *Census of Population*, Vol. 2, Tables 38 and 39. Find .395 of that percentage. Multiply the estimated total population for the year you are studying by this number. Still better, use .39 or .38 instead of .395, since the percentages which the young are of the total populations are declining at the present time in most cities.

Item 9. Get from the superintendent of the telephone company the number of subscribers, or estimate the number by counting the names on 30 pages taken at random from the phone book. Multiply the number of phones by 3000 and divide the product of the city's population. That is, give a credit of 1 for every three phones per thousand population.

Item 10. Get from the electric light company the number of *homes* that are supplied with electricity. Multiply by 200 and divide by the city's population. That is, give a credit of 2 for each domestic installation of electricity per hundred population.

Sum the ten entries to obtain your city's total score, as shown in Table 64.

The ten-item yardstick scores in 1930 for the cities over 30,000 run from about 300 to about 1000. The average was about 575; about 10 percent were below 400 and about 10 percent were above 750.

Some study of cities from 10,000 to 29,000 in population indicates that the following adjectives are appropriate for their scores in the 10-item city yardstick:

200-350	Far below the American standard
351-500	Inferior
501-650	Ordinary
651-800	Superior
801-950	In the class of Evanston; Glendale; Newton; Oakland; Springfield, Mass.; Grand Rapids; and the like.
951-more	Among the world's highest 1 per cent.

Appendix G

GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SURVEY¹

(This guide was prepared by sociologists at the University of Kentucky for Community Development Specialists.)

INFORMATION SHEET #1 (Revised 1951)

Bureau of Community Service
University of Kentucky, Lexington
Community: 1950 Population:
Date:
Consultant:
County:

Primary Services (Number of each):

.....Groceries	.....Eating places	.....Banks
.....Drugs	.....Hotels	.....Bakeries
.....Clothing	.....Hardware	.....Loan and/or
.....Department	.....Electric	ins.
stores	appliances	.....Laundry
.....Furniture	.....Gasoline	.....Barber, beauty
.....Auto sales	stations	shops
and repair	.....Variety stores	.....Frozen locker
.....Other	.....	.....

Public Service Facilities (indicate name of company):

.....Water system	.....Type of local govern-
.....Gas system	.....ment
.....Electric	.....Size of police force
.....Phone system	.....Fire department (size
.....Sewage system	.....and type)
.....Garbage disposal	.....Other

¹ See Irwin T. Sanders, "The Community Social Profile," *American Sociological Review*, February 1960, pp. 75-77.

Communication, Transportation (number of):

.....Telephones	.....Rail lines
.....Radio and TV stations	.....City bus company
.....Newspapers (name, political slant)	.....Inter-city bus
.....Post office—city delivery?	.....Airport
.....Taxi companies	.....Other

Education (number of white schools within city limits):

	(City)	Public	(County)	(City)	Private	(County)
Elementary
Junior High
Senior High
Junior College
Four-Year College
Business School

Which of the above are consolidated?

What are the provisions for Negro education? Grade and High School

.....Library.....Volumes.....Number of adults in classes

Number of agricultural extension agents.....

Number of teachers:....Elementary....Junior High....High School....

In general, how do the school and the community get along?

Do the people back the school?

Health, welfare, and Professional services (number of):

.....Doctors	Clinics:.....Public.....Private.....
.....Dentists	Hospitals.....Beds (check if there is a
.....Trained nurses	local)
.....Welfare workers	.....Red Cross
.....Public health staff	.....Legal Aid Society
.....Lawyers	.....Community Chest
.....Others	.....T.B. Association

.....Traveler's Aid, Family Service Society, City Welfare Department,
County Welfare Department

Does this community seem to have adequate health services?.....

Leisure time activities and organizations (number of):

.....Theaters	.....Country club, golf links
.....Dance facilities	.....Skating rinks
.....Auditorium (name and number seating)	.....
.....Recreation centers	.....Swimming pools Public...Private...
.....Teen-age club	.....Playground, parks
.....Other youth groups	Specify
.....Bowling	.....Pool hall
.....Other	.....Other

How is the outlook for business here?

Is there economic opportunity for youth?

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP SCHEDULE

This information restricted to use of
Bureau of Community Service,
University of Kentucky

Date
Interview by

1. Community County
2. Informant: Name Age Sex
- Lived here how long? Elsewhere?
- Occupation
- Residence: In town or out of town. Own, rent, other
- Belong to what organizations? (Church, civic, business, etc.)
3. What are the different *neighborhoods*? Describe (use map if possible)
4. How do the *town* and *farm* people get along?
 Townpeople toward farm people? Farm people toward townspeople?
 Either group feel superior? Any change in the relationship?
5. Leading "community-minded" *organizations*? (In order of importance)
6. Organizations which coöperate with each other. (Examples)
7. Organizations which seem to be in conflict with each other?
8. Are there too many organizations in the community? (Explain)
9. Belonging to *what* organizations give people most prestige?
10. What are the important *community events*? (dances, parades, drives, etc.)
11. **VALUES:** Which of the following are most important to the people of this community? (What gives a man his status?)
 Church attendance Going far in school
 Leading Christian life Friendliness
 Location of residence Wealth
 Kind of work one does Nationality
 Individual worth Family background
 Service to community Economic success
 Length of residence Others
12. Every community has social layers. How would you describe the layers in this community? How easy is it to move from one layer to another?
13. How *loyal* are the people to their community? (Explain)
14. How do the people react to *new ideas*? (Examples)
15. How are newcomers received by the local people?
 How do they seem to adjust to the town?
16. Do you recall any groups or factions in the community which seem to disagree or can't seem to get along? List and explain.

17. Are the people here different from other places in regard to relationships or customs? Yes.... No..... (Explain)
18. Do the people or organizations here coöperate with those of nearby communities for their mutual benefit?
19. What would you consider the outstanding needs of the community and what organizations should or could tackle them?
20. What do you like best about your community?
21. What is your biggest complaint about it?
What could or should be done about it?
22. Give the names of the eight most outstanding leaders of the community.

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